

THE DHAMMAPADA

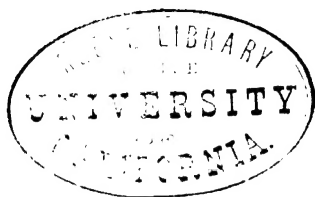
A COLLECTION OF VERSES

BEING ONE OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE
BUDDHISTS

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

BY

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Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE DHAMMAPADA.

THE DHAMMAPADA, A CANONICAL BOOK.

THE Dhammapada forms part of the Pāli Buddhist canon, though its exact place varies according to different authorities, and we have not as yet a sufficient number of complete MSS. of the Tipitaka to help us to decide the question¹.

Those who divide that canon into three Piṭakas or baskets, the Vinaya-piṭaka, Sutta-piṭaka, and Abhidhamma-piṭaka, assign the Dhammapada to the Sutta-piṭaka. That Piṭaka consists of five Nikāyas: the Dīgha-nikāya, the Magghima-nikāya, the Samyutta-nikāya, the Aṅguttara-nikāya, and the Khuddaka-nikāya. The fifth, or Khuddaka-nikāya, comprehends the following works: 1. Khuddaka-pāṭha; 2. DHAMMAPADA; 3. Udāna; 4. Itivuttaka; 5. Sutta-nipāta; 6. Vimānavatthu; 7. Petavatthu; 8. Theragāthā; 9. Therīgāthā; 10. Gāthaka; 11. Niddesa; 12. Paṭisambhidā; 13. Apadāna; 14. Buddhavaṃsa; 15. Kariyā-piṭaka.

According to another division², however, the whole Buddhist canon consists of five Nikāyas: the Dīgha-nikāya, the Magghima-nikāya, the Samyutta-nikāya, the Aṅguttara-nikāya, and the fifth, the Khuddaka-nikāya, which Khuddaka-nikāya is then made to comprehend the whole of the Vinaya (discipline) and Abhidhamma (metaphysics), together with the fifteen books beginning with the Khuddaka-pāṭha.

The order of these fifteen books varies, and even, as it would seem, their number. The Dīghabhāṣaka school

¹ See Feer, *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 263. There is now at least one complete MS. of the Tipitaka, the Phayre MS., at the India Office, and Professor Forchhammer has just published a most useful List of Pāli MSS., collected in Burma, the largest collection hitherto known.

² See Childers, s. v. Nikāya, and extracts from Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Brahmajāla-sutta.

admits twelve books only, and assigns them all to the Abhidhamma, while the *Magghimabhânakas* admit fifteen books, and assign them to the Sutta-piṭaka. The order of the fifteen books is: 1. *Gâtaka* [10]; 2. *Mahâniddesa* [11]; 3. *Kullaniddesa* [11]; 4. *Paṭisambhidâmagga* [12]; 5. *Suttanipâta* [5]; 6. DHAMMAPADA [2]; 7. *Udâna* [3]; 8. *Itivuttaka* [4]; 9. *Vimânavatthu* [6]; 10. *Petavatthu* [7]; 11. *Theragâthâ* [8]; 12. *Therīgâthâ* [9]; 13. *Kariyâpiṭaka* [15]; 14. *Apadâna* [13]; 15. *Buddhavamsa* [14]¹.

The *Khuddaka-pâṭha* is left out in the second list, and the number is brought to fifteen by dividing *Niddesa* into *Mahâ-niddesa* and *Kulla-niddesa*.

There is a commentary on the Dhammapada in Pâli, and supposed to be written by Buddhaghosa², in the first half of the fifth century A.D. In explaining the verses of the Dhammapada, the commentator gives for every or nearly every verse a parable to illustrate its meaning, which is likewise believed to have been uttered by Buddha in his intercourse with his disciples, or in preaching to the multitudes that came to hear him.

DATE OF THE DHAMMAPADA.

The only means of fixing the date of the Dhammapada is trying to ascertain the date of the Buddhist canon of which it forms a part, or the date of Buddhaghosa, who wrote a commentary on it. This, however, is by no means easy, and the evidence on which we have to rely is such that we must not be surprised if those who are accustomed to test historical and chronological evidence

¹ The figures within brackets refer to the other list of books in the *Khuddaka-nikâya*. See also p. xxviii.

² M. Léon Feer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 266, mentions another commentary of a more philosophical character, equally ascribed to Buddhaghosa, and having the title *Vivara Bra Dhammapada*, i. e. *L'auguste Dhammapada dévoilé*. Professor Forchhammer in his 'List of Manuscripts,' 1879-80, mentions the following works in connection with the Dhammapada: *Dhammapada-Nissayo*; Dh. P. *Atthakathâ* by Buddhaghosa; Dh. P. *Atthakathâ Nissayo*, 3 vols., containing a complete translation of the commentary; Dh. P. *Vatthu*. Of printed books he quotes: *Kayanupassanakyam*, a work based on the *Garâvago*, Mandalay, 1876 (390 pages), and *Dhammapada-desanakyam*, printed in 'British Burma News.'

in Greece and Rome, decline to be convinced by it. As a general rule, I quite agree that we cannot be too sceptical in assigning a date to ancient books, particularly if we intend to use them as documents for tracing the history of human thought. To the initiated, I mean to those who have themselves worked in the mines of ancient Oriental literature, such extreme scepticism may often seem unscientific and uncalled for. They are more or less aware of hundreds of arguments, each by itself, it may be, of small weight, but all combined proving irresistible. They are conscious, too, of having been constantly on the look out for danger, and, as all has gone on smoothly, they feel sure that, in the main, they are on the right road. Still it is always useful to be as incredulous as possible, particularly against oneself, and to have before our eyes critics who will not yield one inch beyond what they are forced to yield by the strongest pressure of facts.

The age of our MSS. of the canonical books, either in Pāli or Sanskrit, is of no help to us. All Indian MSS. are comparatively modern, and one who has probably handled more Indian MSS. than anybody else, Mr. A. Burnell, has lately expressed his conviction that 'no MS. written one thousand years ago is now existent in India, and that it is almost impossible to find one written five hundred years ago, for most MSS. which claim to be of that date are merely copies of old MSS. the dates of which are repeated by the copyists¹.'

Nor is the language, whether Sanskrit or Pāli, a safe guide for fixing dates. Both languages continue to be written to our own time, and though there are some characteristic marks to distinguish more modern from more ancient Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli, this branch of critical scholarship requires to be cultivated far more extensively and accurately before true scholars would venture to fix the date of a Sanskrit or Pāli text on the strength of linguistic evidence alone².

¹ Indian Antiquary, 1880, p. 233.

² See some important remarks on this subject in Fausböll's Introduction to Sutta-nipāta, p. xi.

The Buddhists themselves have no difficulty in assigning a date to their sacred canon. They are told in that canon itself that it was settled at the First Council, or immediately after the death of Buddha, and they believe that it was afterwards handed down by means of oral tradition, or actually written down in books by order of Kâsyapa, the president of the First Council¹. Buddhaghosa, a learned and in some respects a critical scholar, living in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., asserts that the canon which he had before him, was the same as that fixed by the First Council².

Several European students have adopted the same opinion, and, so far as I know, no argument has yet been advanced showing the impossibility of the native view, that some collection of Buddha's doctrines was made immediately after his death at Râgagaha, and that it was finally settled at what is called the Second Council, or the Council of Vesâlî. But what is not impossible is not therefore true, nor can anything be gained by appealing to later witnesses, such as, for instance, Hiouen Thsang, who travelled through India in the seventh century, and wrote down anything that he could learn, little concerned whether one statement tallied with the other or not³. He says that the Tipiṭaka was written down on palm leaves by Kâsyapa at the end of the First Council. But what can be the weight of such a witness, living more than a thousand years after the event, compared with that, for instance, of the Mahāvamsa, which dates from the fifth century of our era, and

¹ Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* (Rangoon, 1866), p. 350; but also p. 120 note.

² See Childers, s. v. *Tipiṭaka*. There is a curious passage in Buddhaghosa's account of the First Council. 'Now one may ask,' he says, 'Is there or is there not in this first Parāṅgika anything to be taken away or added?' I reply, 'There is nothing in the words of the Blessed Buddha that can be taken away, for the Buddhas speak not even a single syllable in vain, yet in the words of disciples and devatās there are things which may be omitted, and these the elders who made the recension, did omit. On the other hand, additions are everywhere necessary, and accordingly, whenever it was necessary to add anything, they added it. If it be asked, What are the additions referred to? I reply, Only sentences necessary to connect the text, as 'at that time,' 'again at that time,' 'and so forth.'

³ Pèlerin's *Bouddhistes*, vol. i. p. 158.

tells us in the account of Mahinda's missionary journey to Ceylon (241/318), that the son of Asoka had to spend three years in learning the Tipitaka by heart from the mouth of a teacher¹? No mention is then made of any books or MSS., when it would have been most natural to do so². At a later time, during the reign of King Vattagâmani³ (88-76 B.C.), the same chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, tells us that 'the profoundly wise priests had theretofore orally (*mukhapâthēna*) perpetuated the Pāli of the *Pitakattaya* and its *Attakathā* (commentary), but that at this period the priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people assembled, and in order that the religion might endure for ages, re-recorded the same in books (*potthakesu likhāpayum*)⁴.'

No one has yet questioned the dates of the *Dīpavamsa*, about 400 A.D., or of the first part of the *Mahāvamsa*, between 459-477 A.D., and though no doubt there is an interval of nearly 600 years between the composition of the *Mahāvamsa* and the recorded writing down of the Buddhist canon under Vattagâmani, yet we must remember that the Ceylonese chronicles were confessedly founded on an older *Attakathā* preserved in the monasteries of the island, and representing an unbroken line of local tradition.

My own argument therefore, so long as the question was only whether we could assign a pre-Christian date to the Pāli Buddhist canon, has always been this. We have the commentaries on the Pāli canon translated from Sinhalese into Pāli, or actually composed, it may be, by Buddhaghosa. Buddhaghosa confessedly consulted various

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 37; *Dīpavamsa* VII, 28-31; Buddhaghosa's Parables, p. xviii.

² Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 351.

³ Dr. E. Müller (*Indian Antiquary*, Nov. 1880, p. 270) has discovered inscriptions in Ceylon, belonging to Devanapiya Maharāga Gāmini Tissa, whom he identifies with Vattagâmani.

⁴ The same account is given in the *Dīpavamsa* XX, 20, and in the *Sārasaṅgraha*, as quoted by Spence Hardy, *Legends*, p. 192. As throwing light on the completeness of the Buddhist canon at the time of King Vattagâmani, it should be mentioned that, according to the commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* (Turnour, p. liii), the sect of the *Dhammarukikas* established itself at the *Abhayavihāra*, which had been constructed by Vattagâmani, and that one of the grounds of their secession was their refusing to acknowledge the *Parivāra* (thus I read instead of *Pariwāna*) as part of the *Vinaya-pitaka*. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (VII, 42) Mahinda knew the *Parivāra*.

MSS., and gives various readings, just as any modern scholar might do. This was in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., and there is nothing improbable, though I would say no more, in supposing that some of the MSS., consulted by Buddhaghosa, dated from the first century B.C., when Vattagâmani ordered the sacred canon to be reduced to writing.

There is one other event with reference to the existence of the sacred canon in Ceylon, recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*, between the time of Buddhaghosa and Vattagâmani, viz. the translation of the Suttas from Pâli into the language of Ceylon, during the reign of Buddhadâsa, 339–368 A. D. If MSS. of that ancient translation still existed, they would, no doubt, be very useful for determining the exact state of the Pâli originals at that time¹. But even without them there seems no reason to doubt that Buddhaghosa had before him old MSS. of the Pâli canon, and that these were in the main the same as those written down at the time of Vattagâmani.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S AGE.

The whole of this argument, however, rested on the supposition that Buddhaghosa's date in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. was beyond the reach of reasonable doubt. 'His age,' I had ventured to say in the Preface to Buddhaghosa's Parables (1870), 'can be fixed with greater accuracy than most dates in the literary history of India.' But soon after, one of our most celebrated Pâli scholars, the great Russian traveller, Professor Joh. Minayeff, expressed in the *Mélanges Asiatiques* (13/25 April, 1871) the gravest doubts as to Buddhaghosa's age, and thus threw the whole Buddhist chronology, so far as it had then been accepted by all, or nearly all scholars, back into chaos. He gave as his chief reason that Buddhaghosa was not, as I supposed, the contemporary of Mahânâma, the

¹ A note is added, stating that several portions of the other two divisions also of the *Piṭakattaya* were translated into the Sinhalese language, and that these alone are consulted by the priests, who are unacquainted with Pâli. On the other hand, it is stated that the Sinhalese text of the *Attakathâ* exists no longer. See Spence Hardy, *Legends*, p. xxv, and p. 69.

author of the *Mahāvamsa*, but of another *Mahânâma*, the king of Ceylon.

Professor Minayeff is undoubtedly right in this, but I am not aware that I, or anybody else, had ever questioned so palpable a fact. There are two *Mahânâmas*; one, the king who reigned from 410–432 A.D.; the other, the supposed author of the *Mahāvamsa*, the uncle and protector of King Dhātusena, 459–477. ‘Dhātusena,’ I had written, ‘was the nephew of the historian *Mahânâma*, and owed the throne to the protection of his uncle. Dhātusena was in fact the restorer of a national dynasty, and after having defeated the foreign usurpers (the Damilo dynasty) “he restored the religion which had been set aside by the foreigners”’ (*Mahāv.* p. 256). Among his many pious acts it is particularly mentioned that he gave a thousand, and ordered the *Dīpavamsa* to be promulgated. As *Mahânâma* was the uncle of Dhātusena, who reigned from 459–477, he may be considered as a trustworthy witness with regard to events that occurred between 410 and 432. Now the literary activity of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon falls in that period¹.

These facts being admitted, it is surely not too great a stretch of probability to suppose, as I did, that a man whose nephew was king in 459–477, might have been alive in 410–432, that is to say, might have been a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. I did not commit myself to any further theories. The question whether *Mahânâma*, the uncle of Dhātusena, was really the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, the question whether he wrote the second half of the 37th chapter of that work, or broke off his chronicle in the middle of that chapter, I did not discuss, having no new materials to bring forward beyond those on which Turnour and those who followed him had founded their conclusions, and which I had discussed in my *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1859), p. 267. All I said was, ‘It is difficult to determine whether the 38th as well as the (whole of the) 37th chapter came from the pen of *Mahânâma*, for

¹ ‘Ungefähr 50 Jahre älter als *Mahânâma* ist Buddhaghosha,’ see Westergaard, *Über Buddha's Todesjahr*, p. 99.

the *Mahāvamsa* was afterwards continued by different writers, even to the middle of the last century. But, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, it is most probable that Mahânâma carried on the history to his own time, to the death of Dhātusena, 477 A.D.¹

What I meant by 'all the circumstances of the case' might easily be understood by any one who had read Turnour's Preface to the *Mahāvamsa*. Turnour himself thought at first that Mahânâma's share in the *Mahāvamsa* ended with the year 301 A.D., and that the rest of the work, called the *Sulu Wansé*, was composed by subsequent writers¹. Dharmakīrti is mentioned by name as having continued the work to the reign of Prākrama Bāhu (A.D. 1266). But Turnour afterwards changed his mind². Considering that the account of Mahāsena's reign, the first of the Seven Kings, terminates in the middle of a chapter, at verse 48, while the whole chapter is called the *Sattarāgiko*, 'the chapter of the Seven Kings,' he naturally supposed that the whole of that chapter, extending to the end of the reign of his nephew Dhātusena, might be the work of Mahânâma, unless there were any strong proofs to the contrary. Such proofs, beyond the tradition of writers of the MSS., have not, as yet, been adduced³.

But even if it could be proved that Mahânâma's own pen did not go beyond the 48th verse of the 37th chapter, the historical trustworthiness of the concluding portion of that chapter, containing the account of Buddhaghosa's literary activity, nay, even of the 38th chapter, would be little affected thereby. We know that both the *Mahāvamsa* and the somewhat earlier *Dīpavamsa* were founded on the Sinhalese *Atthakathās*, the commentaries and chronicles preserved in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. We also know that that Vihāra was demolished by Mahāsena, and deserted by nearly all its inmates for the space of nine years (p. 235), and again for the space of nine months

¹ Introduction, p. ii. The *Kūlavamsa* is mentioned with the *Mahāvamsa*, both as the works of Mahânâma, by Professor Forchhammer in his List of Pāli MSS.

² Introduction, p. xci.

³ See Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1875, p. 196.

(p. 237). We can well understand therefore why the older history, the *Dīpavamsa*, should end with the death of Mahāsena (died 302 A.D.), and why in the *Mahāvamsa* too there should have been a break at that date. But we must not forget that, during Mahānāma's life, the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura was restored, that some kind of chronicle, called the *Dīpavamsa*, whether it be a general name of any 'chronicle of the island,' or of our *Dīpavamsa*, or, it may be, even of our *Mahāvamsa*, was ordered to be published or promulgated (*dīpetum*) under Dhātusena, the nephew and protégé of Mahānāma. Therefore, even if we do not insist on the personal authorship of Mahānāma, we may certainly maintain that historical entries had been made in the chronicles of Anurādhapura during Dhātusena's reign, and probably under the personal auspices of Mahānāma, so that if we find afterwards, in the second half of the 37th chapter of his *Mahāvamsa*, an account of events which had happened between the destruction of the Mahāvihāra and the reign of Dhātusena, and among them an account of so important an event as the arrival of Buddhaghosa from Magadha and his translation of the Sinhalese *Atthakathā* into the language of Magadha, we may well suppose that they rest on the authority of native chronicles, written not long after the events, and that therefore, 'under all the circumstances of the case,' the age of Buddhaghosa can be fixed with greater accuracy than most dates in the literary history of India.

There is one difficulty still remaining with regard to the date of the historian Mahānāma which might have perplexed Turnour's mind, and has certainly proved a stumbling-block to myself. Turnour thought that the author of the commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, was the same as the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, viz. Mahānāma. The date of that commentary, however, as we know now, must be fixed much later, for it speaks of a schism which took place in the year 601 A.D., during the reign of Agrabōdhi (also called Dhātāpatisso). Turnour¹ looked

¹ Introduction, p. liii.

upon that passage as a later interpolation, because he thought the evidence for the identity of the author and the commentator of the *Mahāvamsa* too strong to be set aside. He trusted chiefly to a passage in the commentary, and if that passage had been correctly rendered, the conclusion which he drew from it could hardly be resisted. We read in the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 254):

‘Certain members of the Moriyān dynasty, dreading the power of the (usurper) Subho, the *bālattho*, had settled in various parts of the country, concealing themselves. Among them there was a certain landed proprietor *Dhātusena*, who had established himself at *Nandivāpi*. His son named *Dhâtâ*, who lived at the village *Ambiliyāgo*, had two sons, *Dhātusena* and *Sīlatissabodhi*, of unexceptional descent. Their mother’s brother (*Mahânâma*), devoted to the cause of religion, continued to reside (at *Anurādhapura*) in his sacerdotal character, at the edifice built by the minister *Dīghasandana*. The youth *Dhātusena* became a priest in his fraternity, and on a certain day, while he was chaunting at the foot of a tree, a shower of rain fell, and a *Nāga*, seeing him there, encircled him in his folds, and covered him and his book with his hood. . . . Causing an image of *Mahâ Mahinda* to be made, and conveying it to the edifice (*Ambamālaka*) in which the *thera*’s body had been burnt, in order that he might celebrate a great festival there, and that he might also promulgate the contents of the *Dīpavamsa*, distributing a thousand pieces, he caused it to be read aloud¹.

If we compare with this extract from the *Mahāvamsa* a passage from the commentary as translated by Turnour, we can well understand how he arrived at the conclusion that it was written by the same person who wrote the *Mahāvamsa*.

Turnour translates (p. liv):

‘Upon these data by me, the *thera*, who had, with due

¹ Mr. Turnour added a note in which he states that *Dīpavamsa* is here meant for *Mahāvamsa*, but whether brought down to this period, or only to the end of the reign of *Mahāsena*, to which alone the *Tīkā* extends, there is no means of ascertaining (p. 257).

solemnity, been invested with the dignified title of Mahânâma, resident at the parivena founded by the minister Dîghasandana, endowed with the capacity requisite to record the narrative comprised in the Mahāvamsa, in due order, rejecting only the dialect in which the Singhalese *Atthakathâ* are written, but retaining their import and following their arrangement, the history, entitled the Palapadôruvamsa (*Padyapadânuvamsa*), is compiled. As even in times when the despotism of the ruler of the land, and the horrors arising from the inclemencies of the seasons, and when panics of epidemics and other visitations prevailed, this work escaped all injury; and moreover, as it serves to perpetuate the fame of the Buddhas, their disciples, and the Paché Buddhas of old, it is also worthy of bearing the title of *Vamsatthappakâsinî*.'

As the evidence of these two passages in support of the identity of the author and the commentator of the Mahāvamsa seemed to me very startling, I requested Mr. Rhys Davids to copy for me the passage of the commentary.

The passage runs as follows :

Yâ ettavatâ mahāvamsatthânusâra kusaleṇa Dîghasandāsenāpatinā kārāpita-mahāparivenavāsīnā Mahānāmo ti garūhi gahitanāmadheyyena therena pubba-Sīhala-bhāsītāya Sīhalatthakathāya bhāsantaram eva vaggiya atthasāram eva gahetva tantinayānurūpena katassa imassa Padyapadānuvamsassa atthavannanā mayā tam eva sannissitena āradhā, padesissariya-dubbutthibhaya-rogabhayādi-vividha-antarāya-yuttakāle pi anantarāyena nitthānam upagatā, sâ buddha-buddhasāvaka-pakkabuddhādīnam porāṇānam kikkam pubbavamsatthappakāsanato ayam Vamsatthappakāsinī nāmā ti dhāretabbā. . . . Padyapadānuvamsavannanā Vamsatthappakāsinī nitthitā.

Mr. Rhys Davids translates this :

'The commentary on this *Padyapadānuvamsa*, which (latter work) was made (in the same order and arrangement, and retaining the sense, but rejecting the dialect, of the Sinhalese commentary formerly expressed in the Sinhalese tongue) by the elder who bore the name of Mahānāma, which he had

received from the venerable, who resided at the Mahâparivena built by the minister Dîghasanda, and who was well able to conform to the sense of the Mahâvamsa—(this commentary) which was undertaken by me out of devotion to that (history), and which (though thus undertaken) at a time full of danger of various kinds—such as the danger from disease, and the danger from drought, and the danger from the government of the province—has been safely brought to a conclusion—this (commentary), since it makes known the meaning of the history of old, the mission of the ancients, of the Buddhas, of their disciples, and of the Pakkêka Buddhas, should bear the name Vamsatthappakâsinî. . . .

‘End of the Vamsatthappakâsinî, the commentary on the Padyapadânuvamsa.’

This shows clearly that Turnour made a mistake in translating this exceedingly involved, yet perfectly intelligible, passage, and that so far from proving that the author of the commentary was the same person as the author of the text¹, it proves the very contrary. Nay, I feel bound to add, that we might now argue that as the commentator must have lived later than 601 A. D., the fact that he too breaks off at verse 48 of chapter 37, seems to show that at his time also the Mahâvamsa did not extend as yet beyond that verse. But even then, the fact that with the restoration of the Mahâvihâra of Anurâdhapura an interest in historical studies revived in Ceylon, would clearly show that we may trust the date of Buddhaghosa, as fixed by the second part of the 37th chapter of the Mahâvamsa, at all events till stronger evidence is brought forward against such a date.

Now I am not aware of any such evidence². On the contrary, making allowance for a difference of some ten or twenty years, all the evidence which we can gain from other quarters tends to confirm the date of Buddha-

¹ Dr. Oldenberg informs me that the commentator quotes various readings in the text of the Mahâvamsa.

² The passage, quoted by Professor Minayeff from the Sâsanavamsa, would assign to Buddhaghosa the date of 930 - 543 = 387 A. D., which can easily be reconciled with his accepted date. If he is called the contemporary of Siripâla, we ought to know who that Siripâla is.

ghosa¹. I therefore feel no hesitation in here reprinting that story, as we find it in the *Mahāvamsa*, not free from legendary ingredients, it is true, yet resting, I believe, on a sound foundation of historical fact.

‘A Brāhman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo-tree (in Magadha), accomplished in the “*viggā*” (knowledge) and “*sippa*” (art), who had achieved the knowledge of the three Vedas, and possessed great aptitude in attaining acquirements; indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over *Gambudîpa*, established himself, in the character of a disputant, in a certain *vihāra*², and was in the habit of rehearsing, by night and by day with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain Mahāthera, Revata, becoming acquainted with him there, and (saying to himself), “This individual is a person of profound knowledge, it will be worthy (of me) to convert him;” enquired, “Who is this who is braying like an ass?” The Brāhman replied to him, “Thou canst define, then, the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses.” On the Thera rejoining, “I can define it;” he (the Brāhman) exhibited the extent of the knowledge he possessed. The Thera criticised each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He who had been thus refuted, said, “Well, then, descend to thy own creed;” and he propounded to him a passage from the *Abhidhamma* (of the *Piṭakattaya*). He (the Brāhman) could not divine the signification of that passage, and enquired, “Whose manta is this?”—“It is Buddha’s manta.” On his exclaiming, “Impart it to me;” the Thera replied, “Enter the sacerdotal order.” He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the *Piṭakattaya*, subsequently coming to this conviction, “This is the sole road” (to salvation), became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his eloquence (ghosa) as Buddha himself, they conferred on him the appellation of *Buddhaghosa* (the

¹ See Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, pp. 351, 381.

² On this *vihāra*, its foundation and character, see Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, vol. i. p. liii; Hiouen-thsang, III, p. 487 seq.

voice of Buddha); and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddha. Having there (in Gāmbudīpa) composed an original work called *Ñānodaya* (Rise of Knowledge), he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called *Atthasālinī*, on the *Dhammasaṅgani* (one of the commentaries on the *Abhidhamma*).

‘Revata Thera then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a general commentary on the *Piṭakattaya*, thus addressed him: “The text alone of the *Piṭakattaya* has been preserved in this land, the *Atthakathā* are not extant here, nor is there any version to be found of the schisms (*vāda*) complete. The Sinhalese *Atthakathā* are genuine. They were composed in the Sinhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahinda, who had previously consulted the discourses (*kathāmagga*) of Buddha, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sāriputta and others, and they are extant among the Sinhalese. Preparing for this, and studying the same, translate them according to the rules of the grammar of the *Māgadhās*. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world.”

‘Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein, departed from thence, and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (i. e. Mahānāma, 410–432). On reaching the Mahāvihāra (at Anurādhapura), he entered the Mahāpadhāna hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the vihāra, and listened to the Sinhalese *Atthakathā*, and the Theravāda, from the beginning to the end, propounded by the Thera Saṅghapāla; and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the Lord of Dhamma. Thereupon paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned: “I am desirous of translating the *Atthakathā*; give me access to all your books.” The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two gāthās, saying, “Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all our books.” From these (taking these gāthā for his text), and

consulting the *Piṭakattaya*, together with the *Attḥakathā*, and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the work called the *Visuddhimagga*. Thereupon, having assembled the priesthood, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Buddha, at the Bo-tree, he commenced to read out the work he had composed. The devatās, in order that they might make his (Buddhaghosa's) gifts of wisdom celebrated among men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and third time re-composed it. When he was in the act of producing his book for the third time, for the purpose of propounding it, the devatās restored the other two copies also. The assembled priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In those three versions there was no variation whatever from the orthodox Theravādas in passages, in words, or in syllables. Thereupon, the priesthood rejoicing, again and again fervently shouted forth, saying, "Most assuredly this is Metteya (Buddha) himself," and made over to him the books in which the *Piṭakattaya* were recorded, together with the *Attḥakathā*. Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthākara-vihāra (at Anurādhapura), he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Māgadhās, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Sinhalese *Attḥakathā* (into Pāli). This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all beings, whatever their language.

'All the Theras and Āṭṭariyas held this compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the *Piṭakattaya*). Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Gambudīpa, to worship at the Bo-tree (at Uruvelāya, or Uruvilvā, in Magadha).'

Here¹ we have a simple account of Buddhaghosa² and

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 250, translated by Turnour.

² The Burmese entertain the highest respect for Buddhaghosa. Bishop Bigandet, in his *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (Rangoon, 1866), writes: 'It is perhaps as well to mention here an epoch which has been, at all times, famous in the history of Buddhism in Burma. I allude to the voyage which a Religious of Thaton, named Budhagosa, made to Ceylon, in the year of religion 943 = 400 A.D. The object of this voyage was to procure a copy of the scriptures. He succeeded in his undertaking. He made use of the Burmese, or rather Talaing

his literary labours written by a man, himself a priest, and who may well have known Buddhaghosa during his stay in Ceylon. It is true that the statement of his writing the same book three times over without a single various reading, partakes a little of the miraculous; but we find similar legends mixed up with accounts of translations of other sacred books, and we cannot contend that writers who believed in such legends are therefore altogether unworthy to be believed as historical witnesses.

But although the date which we can assign to Buddhaghosa's translation of the commentaries on the Pāli Tipi-taka proves the existence of that canon, not only for the beginning of the fifth century of our era, but likewise, though it may be, with less stringency, for the first century before our era, the time of Vattagâmani, the question whether Buddhaghosa was merely a compiler and translator of old commentaries, and more particularly of the commentaries brought to Ceylon by Mahinda (241 B.C.), or whether he added anything of his own¹, requires to be more carefully examined. The Buddhists themselves have no difficulty on that point. They consider the *Atthakathâs* or commentaries as old as the canon itself. To us, such a supposition seems improbable, yet it has never been proved to be impossible. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that Mahinda, the son of Asoka, who had become a priest, learnt the whole of the Buddhist canon, as it then was, in three years (p. 37)²; and that at the end of the Third Council he was despatched to Ceylon, in order to establish there the religion of Buddha (p. 71). The king of Ceylon, Devānampiya Tissa, was converted, and Buddhism soon became the dominant

characters, in transcribing the manuscripts, which were written with the characters of Magatha. The Burmans lay much stress upon that voyage, and always carefully note down the year it took place. In fact, it is to Buddhaghosa that the people living on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban owe the possession of the Buddhist scriptures. From Thaton, the collection made by Buddhaghosa was transferred to Pagan, six hundred and fifty years after it had been imported from Ceylon.' See *ibid.* p. 392.

¹ He had written the *Ñānodaya*, and the *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the Dhamma-saṅgāsi, before he went to Ceylon. Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, p. 251.

² He learnt the five Nikāyas, and the seven sections (of the Abhidhamma); the two Vibhaṅgas of the Vinaya, the Parivāra and the Khandhaka. See *Dīpavamsa* VII, 42.

religion of the island. The *Tipitaka* and the *Atthakathâ*, such as they had been collected or settled at the Third Council in 242 B.C., were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, who promulgated them orally, the *Tipitaka* in Pâli, the *Atthakathâ* in Sinhalese, together with an additional *Atthakathâ* of his own. It does not follow that Mahinda knew the whole of that enormous literature by heart, for, as he was supported by a number of priests, they may well have divided the different sections among them, following the example of Ānanda and Upâli at the First Council. The same applies to their disciples also. But the fact of their transmitting the sacred literature by oral tradition¹ was evidently quite familiar to the author of the *Mahāvamsa*. For when he comes to describe the reign of Vattagâmani (88–76 B.C.) he simply says: ‘The profoundly wise priests had heretofore orally perpetuated the Pâli *Pitakattaya* and its *Atthakathâ* (commentaries). At this period these priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrines), assembled; and in order that the religion might endure for ages, wrote the same in books.’ No valid objection has yet been advanced to our accepting Buddhaghosa’s *Atthakathâs* as a translation and new redaction of the *Atthakathâs* which were reduced to writing under Vattagâmani², and these again as a translation of the old *Atthakathâs* brought to Ceylon by Mahinda³. There is *prima facie* evidence in favour of the truth of historical events vouched for by such works as the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* so far back at least as Mahinda, because we know that historical events were recorded in the monasteries of Ceylon long before Mahânâma’s time. Beyond Mahinda we move in legendary history, and must be ready to surrender every name and every date as soon as rebutting evidence has been produced, but not till then.

I cannot, therefore, see any reason why we should not treat the verses of the *Dhammapada*, if not as the utterances of Buddha, at least as what were believed by the

¹ On the importance of oral tradition in the history of Sanskrit literature see the writer’s *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, pp. 497–524.

² *Mahāvamsa*, p. 207; *Dīpavamsa* XX, 20.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 251.

members of the Council under Asoka, in 242 B.C., to have been the utterances of the founder of their religion; nor can I see that Professor Minayeff has shaken the date of Buddhaghosa and the general credibility of the Ceylonese tradition, that he was the translator and editor of commentaries which had existed in the island for many centuries, whether from the time of Vattagâmani or from the time of Mahinda.

DATE OF THE BUDDHIST CANON.

We now return to the question of the date of the Buddhist canon, which, as yet, we have only traced back to the first century before Christ, when it was reduced to writing in Ceylon under King Vattagâmani. The question is, how far beyond that date we may trace its existence in a collected form, or in the form of the three *Pitakas* or baskets. There may be, and we shall see that there is, some doubt as to the age of certain works, now incorporated in the *Tipitaka*. We are told, for instance, that some doubt attached to the canonicity of the *Kariyâ-pitaka*, the *Apadâna*, and the *Buddhavamsa*¹, and there is another book of the *Abhidhamma-pitaka*, the *Kathâvatthu*, which was reported to be the work of Tissa Moggaliputta, the president of the Third Council. Childers, s. v., stated that it was composed by the apostle Moggaliputtatissa, and delivered by him at the Third Mahâsaṅgîti. The same scholar, however, withdrew this opinion on p. 507 of his valuable Dictionary, where he says: 'It is a source of great regret to me that in my article on *Kathâvatthupakkaranam* I inadvertently followed James D'Alwis in the stupendous blunder of his assertion that the *Kathâvatthu* was added by Moggaliputtatissa' at the Third Convocation. The *Kathâvatthu* is one of the *Abhidhamma* books, mentioned by Buddhaghosa as having been rehearsed at the First Convocation, immediately after Gotama's death; and the passage in *Mahâvamsa* upon which D'Alwis rests his assertion is as follows, *Kathâvatthupakkaranam paravâdappamaddanam abhâsi Tissatthero ka tasmim saṅgiti-mandale*, which simply means 'in that Convocation-assem-

¹ See Childers, s. v. *Nikâya*.

bly the Thera Tissa also recited (Buddha's) heresy-crushing Kathâvatthuppakarana.'

This mistake, for I quite agree with Childers that it was a mistake, becomes however less stupendous than at first sight it would appear, when we read the account given in the *Dîpavamsa*. Here the impression is easily conveyed that Moggaliputta was the author of the Kathâvatthu, and that he recited it for the first time at the Third Council. 'Wise Moggaliputta,' we read¹, 'the destroyer of the schismatic doctrines, firmly established the Theravâda, and held the Third Council. Having destroyed the different (heretical) doctrines, and subdued many shameless people, and restored splendour to the (true) faith, he proclaimed (pakâsayi) (the treatise called) Kathâvatthu.' And again: 'They all were sectarians², opposed to the Theravâda; and in order to annihilate them and to make his own doctrine resplendent, the Thera set forth (desesi) the treatise belonging to the Abhidhamma, which is called Kathâvatthu³.'

At present, however, we are not concerned with these smaller questions. We treat the canon as a whole, divided into three parts, and containing the books which still exist in MSS., and we want to find out at what time such a collection was made. The following is a short abstract of the Tipiṭaka, chiefly taken from Childers' Pâli Dictionary:

I. Vinaya-piṭaka.

1. Vibhaṅga⁴.

Vol. I, beginning with Pârâgika, or sins involving expulsion.

Vol. II, beginning with Pâkittiya, or sins involving penance.

2. Khandhaka.

Vol. I, Mahâvagga, the large section.

Vol. II, Kullavagga, the small section.

3. Parivârapâṭha, an appendix and later resumé (25 chapters). See p. xiii, n. 4; p. xxiv, n. 2.

¹ *Dîpavamsa* VII, 40.

² *Dîpavamsa* VII, 55.

³ Dr. Oldenberg, in his Introduction to the Vinaya-piṭaka, p. xxxii.

⁴ Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka* I, p. xvi, treats it as an extended reading of the Pâtimokkha.

II. Sutta-piṭaka.

1. *Dīgha-nikāya*, collection of long suttas (34 suttas)¹.
2. *Magghima-nikāya*, collection of middle suttas (152 suttas).
3. *Samyutta-nikāya*, collection of joined suttas.
4. *Aṅguttara-nikāya*², miscellaneous suttas, in divisions the length of which increases by one.
5. *Khuddaka-nikāya*³, the collection of short suttas, consisting of—
 1. *Khuddakapāṭha*, the small texts⁴.
 2. *Dhammapada*, law verses (423)⁵.
 3. *Udāna*, praise (82 suttas).
 4. *Itivuttaka*, stories referring to sayings of Buddha.
 5. *Suttanipāta*, 70 suttas⁶.
 6. *Vimānavatthu*, stories of *Vimānas*, celestial palaces.
 7. *Petavatthu*, stories of *Pretas*, departed spirits.
 8. *Theragāthā*, stanzas of monks.
 9. *Therīgāthā*, stanzas of nuns.
 10. *Gāṭaka*, former births (550 tales)⁷.
 11. *Niddesa*, explanations of certain suttas by *Sāriputta*.

¹ The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, ed. by Childers, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, translated with other Suttas by Rhys Davids (S. B. E. vol. xi). *Sept Suttas Palis*, par Grimblot, Paris, 1876.

² The first four are sometimes called the Four *Nikāyas*, the five together the Five *Nikāyas*. They represent the *Dharma*, as settled at the First and Second Councils, described in the *Kullavagga* (Oldenberg, I, p. xi).

³ Sometimes *Khuddaka-nikāya* stands for the whole *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, with the fifteen divisions here given of *Khuddaka-nikāya*. In the commentary on the *Brahmagāla-sutta* it is said that the *Dīghanikāya* professors rehearsed the text of the *Gāṭaka*, *Mahā* and *Kulla Niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimāna*, and *Petavatthu*, *Thera* and *Therī Gāthā*, and called it *Khuddakagantha*, and made it a canonical text, forming part of the *Abhidhamma*; while the *Magghimanikāya* professors assert that, with the addition of the *Kariyāpiṭaka*, *Apadāna*, and *Buddhavamsa*, the whole of this *Khuddakagantha* was included in the *Suttapiṭaka*. See Childers, s. v. *Nikāya*. See also p. x.

⁴ Published by Childers, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1869.

⁵ Published by Fausböll, 1855.

⁶ Thirty translated by Sir Coomāra Swāmy; the whole by Fausböll, in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x.

⁷ Published by Fausböll, translated by Rhys Davids.

12. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the road of discrimination, and intuitive insight.
13. *Apadāna*¹, legends.
14. *Buddhavaṃsa*¹, story of twenty-four preceding Buddhas and of Gotama.
15. *Kariyāpiṭaka*¹, basket of conduct, Buddha's meritorious actions².

III. Abhidhamma-piṭaka.

1. *Dhammasaṅgani*, numeration of conditions of life³.
2. *Vibhaṅga*, disquisitions (18).
3. *Kathāvatthupakaraṇa*, book of subjects for discussion (1000 suttas).
4. *Puggalapaññatti* or *paññatti*, declaration on puggala, or personality.
5. *Dhātukathā*, account of dhātus or elements.
6. *Yamaka*, pairs (ten divisions).
7. *Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa*, book of causes.

Taking this collection as a whole we may lay it down as self-evident that the canon, in its collected form, cannot be older than any of the events related therein.

There are two important facts for determining the age of the Pāli canon, which, as Dr. Oldenberg⁴ has been the first to show, should take precedence of all other arguments, viz.

1. That in the *Tipiṭaka*, as we now have it, no mention is made of the so-called Third Council, which took place at Pāṭaliputta, under King Asoka, about 242 B.C.

2. That in the *Tipiṭaka*, as we now have it, the First Council of Rāgagaha (477 B.C.) and the Second Council of Vesālī (377 B.C.) are both mentioned.

From these two facts it may safely be concluded that the Buddhist canon, as handed down to us, was finally closed

¹ Buddhaghosa does not say whether these were recited at the First Council.

² Partly translated by Gogerly, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, 1852.

³ Cf. Gogerly, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, 1848, p. 7.

⁴ See Oldenberg's *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxv. The kings Agātasatru (485-453 B.C.), Udāyin (453-437 B.C.), and Munda (437-429 B.C.) are all mentioned in the *Tipiṭaka*. See Oldenberg, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, XXXIV, pp. 752, 753.

after the Second and before, or possibly at, the Third Council. Nay, the fact that the description of the two Councils stands at the very end of the *Kullavagga* may be taken, as Dr. Oldenberg remarks, as an indication that it was one of the latest literary contributions which obtained canonical authority, while the great bulk of the canon may probably claim a date anterior to the Second Council.

This fact, namely, that the collection of the canon, as a whole, must have preceded the Second Council rests on an argument which does great credit to the ingenuity of Dr. Oldenberg. The Second Council was convoked to consider the ten deviations¹ from the strict discipline of the earliest times. That discipline had been laid down first in the *Pâtimokkha* rules, then in the commentary now included in the *Vibhaṅga*, lastly in the *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*. The rules as to what was allowed or forbidden to a *Bhikkhu* were most minute², and they were so firmly established that no one could have ventured either to take away or to add anything to them as they stood in the sacred code. In that code itself a distinction is made between the offences which were from the first visited with punishment (*pârâgika* and *pâkittiya*) and those misdemeanours and crimes which were put down as punishable at a later time (*dukkata* and *thullakkaya*). With these classes the code was considered as closed, and if any doubt arose as to the criminality of certain acts, it could be settled at once by an appeal to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Now it so happens that, with one exception, the ten deviations that had to be considered at the Second Council, are not provided for in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*; and I quite agree with Dr. Oldenberg's argument that, if they had been mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the Second Council would have been objectless. A mere appeal to chapter and verse in the existing *Piṭaka* would then have silenced all dissent. On the other side, if it had been possible to add anything to the canon, as it then existed, the ten, or nine, deviations might have been con-

¹ Oldenberg, Introduction, p. xxix.

² Oldenberg, loc. cit. p. xx.

demned by a few additional paragraphs of the canon, without convoking a new Council.

I think we may be nearly certain, therefore, that we possess the principal portion of the Vinaya-piṭaka as it existed before the Council of Vesālī.

So far I quite agree with Dr. Oldenberg. But if he proceeds to argue¹ that certain portions of the canon must have been finally settled before even the First Council took place, or was believed to have taken place, I do not think his arguments conclusive. He contends that in the Parinibbāna-sutta, which tells of the last days of Buddha's life, of his death, the cremation of his body, and the distribution of his relics, and of Subhadda's revolt, it would have been impossible to leave out all mention of the First Council, if that Council had then been known. It is true, no doubt, that Subhadda's disloyalty was the chief cause of the First Council, but there was no necessity to mention that Council. On the contrary, it seems to me that the unity of the Parinibbāna-sutta would have been broken if, besides telling of the last days of Buddha, it had also given a full description of the Council. The very title, the Sutta of the Great Decease, would have become inappropriate, if so important a subject as the first Saṅgīti had been mixed up with it. However, how little we may trust to such general arguments, is best shown by the fact that in some very early Chinese renderings of the Hīnayāna text of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the story is actually carried on to the First Council, two (Nos. 552 and 119) mentioning the rehearsal under Kāśyapa, while the third (No. 118) simply states that the Tipiṭaka was then collected².

¹ Loc. cit. pp. xxvi-xxviii.

² There are several Chinese translations of Sūtras on the subject of the Mahāparinirvāṇa. Three belong to the Mahāyāna school: 1. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, translated by Dharmarakṣa, about 414-423 A. D.; afterwards revised, 424-453 (Nos. 113, 114). 2. Translation by Fa-hian and Buddhahadra, about 415 A. D.; less complete (No. 120). 3. Translation (vaipulya) by Dharmarakṣa I, i. e. Ku Fa-hu, about 261-308 A. D. (No. 116). Three belong to the Hīnayāna school: 1. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, translated by Po-fa-tsu, about 290-306 A. D. (No. 552). 2. Translation under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, 317-420 A. D. (No. 119). 3. Translation by Fa-hian, about 415 A. D. (No. 118).

We must be satisfied therefore, so far as I can see at present, with fixing the date, and the latest date, of a Buddhist canon at the time of the Second Council, 377 B.C. That some works were added later, we know; that many of the treatises included in the canon existed before that Council, can hardly be doubted. The second chapter of the Dhammapada, for instance, is called the Appamâda-vagga, and if the Mahāvamsa (p. 25) tells us that at the time when Asoka was converted by Nigrodha, that Buddhist priest explained to him the Appamâda-vagga, we can hardly doubt that there existed then a collection (vagga) of verses on Appamâda, such as we now possess in the Dhammapada and in the Samyutta-nikâya¹.

With regard to the Vinaya, I should even feel inclined to admit, with Dr. Oldenberg, that it must have existed in a more or less settled form before that time. What I doubt is whether such terms as Piṭaka, basket, or Tipiṭaka, the three baskets, i.e. the canon, existed at that early time. They have not been met with, as yet, in any of the canonical books; and if the Dīpavamsa (IV, 32) uses the word 'Tipiṭaka,' when describing the First Council, this is due to its transferring new terms to older times. If Dr. Oldenberg speaks of a Dvi-piṭaka² as the name of the canon before the third basket, that of the Abhidhamma, was admitted, this seems to me an impossible name, because at the time when the Abhidhamma was not yet recognised as a third part of the canon, the word piṭaka had probably no existence as a technical term³.

We must always, I think, distinguish between the three portions of the canon, called the basket of the Suttas, the

¹ Feer, *Revue Critique*, 1870, No. 24, p. 377.

² Introduction, pp. x, xii.

³ Dr. Oldenberg informs me that piṭaka occurs in the Kaṅkīsuttanta in the *Magghima Nikāya* (Turnour's MS., fol. the), but applied to the Veda. He also refers to the tipīṭakâṭṭhāras mentioned in the Western Cave inscriptions as compared with the Pañānekāyāka in the square Asoka character inscriptions (Cunningham, Bharhut, pl. lvi, No. 52). In the *Sūtrakṛd-aṅga* of the Gainas, too, the term piḍagam occurs (MS. Berol. fol. 77 a). He admits, however, that piṭaka or tipiṭaka, as the technical name of the Buddhist canon, has not yet been met with in that canon itself, and defends Dvipiṭaka only as a convenient term.

basket of Vinaya, and the basket of Abhidhamma, and the three subjects of Dhamma (sutta), Vinaya, and Abhidhamma, treated in these baskets. The subjects existed and were taught long before the three baskets were definitely arranged. Dhamma had originally a much wider meaning than Sutta-piṭaka. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha; and even when it refers more particularly to the Sutta-piṭaka, we know that the Dhamma there taught deals largely with Vinaya and Abhidhamma doctrines. Even the fact that at the First Council, according to the description given in the *Kullavagga*, the Vinaya and Dhamma only were rehearsed, though proving the absence at that time of the Abhidhamma, as a separate Piṭaka, by no means excludes the subject of the Abhidhamma having been taught under the head of Dhamma. In the *Mahākaruṇāpundarīka-sūtra* the doctrine of Buddha is divided into Dharma and Vinaya; the Abhidharma is not mentioned. But the same text knows of all the twelve *Dharmapraṣaṅganāni*¹, the 1. Sūtra; 2. Geyā; 3. Vyākaraṇa; 4. Gāthā; 5. Udāna; 6. Nidāna; 7. Avadāna; 8. Itivṛttaka; 9. Gāthaka; 10. Vaipulya; 11. Adbhutadharma; 12. Upadesa; some of these being decidedly metaphysical.

To my mind nothing shows so well the historical character both of the *Kullavagga* and of Buddhaghosa in the Introduction to his commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*, as that the former, in its account of the First Council, should know only of the Vinaya, as rehearsed by Upāli, and the Dhamma, as rehearsed by Ānanda, while the much later Buddhaghosa, in his account of the First Council², divides the Dhamma into two parts, and states that the second part, the Abhidhamma, was rehearsed after the first part, the Dhamma. Between the time of the *Kullavagga* and the time of Buddhaghosa the Abhidhamma must have assumed its recognised position by the side of Vinaya and Sutta. It must be left to further researches to determine, if possible,

¹ See Academy, August 28, 1880, Division of Buddhist Scriptures.

² Oldenberg, Introduction, p. xii; Turnour, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vi, p. 510 seq.

the time when the name of *pitaka* was first used, and when *Tipitaka* was accepted as the title of the whole canon.

Whenever we see such traces of growth, we feel that we are on historical ground, and in that sense Dr. Oldenberg's researches into the growth of the Vinaya, previous to the Second Council, deserve the highest credit. He shows, in opposition to other scholars, that the earliest elements of Vinaya must be looked for in the short *Pâtimokkha* rules, which were afterwards supplemented by explanations, by glosses and commentaries, and in that form answered for some time every practical purpose. Then followed a new generation who, not being satisfied, as it would seem, with these brief rules and comments, wished to know the occasion on which these rules had been originally promulgated. What we now call the *Vibhaṅga*, i. e. the first and second divisions of the Vinaya-pitaka, is a collection of the stories, illustrating the origin of each rule, of the rules themselves (the *Pâtimokkha*), and of the glosses and comments on these rules.

The third and fourth books, the *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*, are looked upon as possibly of a slightly later date. They treat, in a similar manner as the *Vibhaṅga*, on the rules not included in that collection, and give a general picture of the outward life of the monks. While the *Vibhaṅga* deals chiefly with the original so-called *pârâgika*, *saṅghâdisesa*, and *pâkittiya* offences, the *Khandhaka*, i. e. the *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*, treats of the so-called *dukkata* and *thullakkaya* crimes. The arrangement is the same, story, rule, and comment succeeding each other in regular sequence.

If we follow the guidance of the Vinaya-pitaka, we should be able to distinguish the following steps in the growth of Buddhism before the Second Council of Vesâlî :

1. Teaching of Buddha and his disciples (543/477 A. D. Buddha's death).
2. Collection of *Pâtimokkha* rules (first code).
3. Comment and glosses on these rules.
4. Stories in illustration of these rules (*vibhaṅga*).
5. *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga* (*Khandhaka*).

6. Council of Vesâli for the repression of ten abuses
(443/377 A.D.)

7. Description of First and Second Councils in *Kullavagga*.

The *Kullavagga* ascribes the settlement of the canon to the First Council, and does not even claim a revision of that canon for the Second Council. The *Dîpavamsa* claims a revision of the canon by the 700 Arhats for the Second Council.

CHRONOLOGY.

In order to bring the Council of Vesâli in connection with the chronology of the world, we must follow the Buddhist historians for another century. One hundred and eighteen years after the Council of Vesâli they place the anointment of King Asoka, during whose reign a Third Council, under the presidency of Tissa Moggaliputta, took place at Pâtaliputta, the new capital adopted by that king, instead of Râgagaha and Vesâlî. This Council is chiefly known to us through the writings of the southern Buddhists (*Dîpavamsa*, *Mahāvamsa*, and *Buddhaghosa*), who belong to the school of Moggaliputta (Theravâda or Vibhaggavâda), which ruled supreme at Pâtaliputta, while Upagupta, the chief authority of the northern Buddhists, is altogether ignored in the Pâli chronicles.

Now it is well known that Asoka was the grandson of Kandagutta, and Kandagutta the contemporary of Alexander the Great. Here we see land, and I may refer to my *History of Sanskrit Literature*, published in 1859, for the process by which the storm-tossed ship of Indian chronology has been landed in the harbour of real historical chronology. We are told by the monks of the Mahāvihâra in Ceylon that Asoka was crowned, according to their computation, 146 + 18 years before the accession of Dutthagâmani, 161 B.C., i.e. 325 B.C.; that between his coronation and his father's death four years had elapsed (329 B.C.); that his father Bindusâra had reigned twenty-eight years¹ (357–329 B.C.), and Bindusâra's father, Kan-

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 21.

dagutta, twenty-four years (381-357). As we know that *Kandagutta*, whom the Ceylonese place 381-357 B.C., was king of India after Alexander's conquest, it follows that Ceylonese chronology is wrong by more than half a century. For reasons stated in my *History of Sanskrit Literature*, I fix the exact fault in Ceylonese chronology as sixty-six years, assigning to *Kandagutta* the dates 315-291, instead of 381-357. This gives us 291-263 for Bindusâra, 259 for Asoka's abhisheka; $259 + 118 = 377$ for the Council of Vesâlî, and $377 + 100 = 477$ for Buddha's death, instead of 543 B.C.¹

These dates are, of course, approximate only, and they depend on one or two points on which people may differ. But, with that reservation, I see no ground whatever for modifying the chronological system which I put forward more than twenty years ago. Professor Westergaard and Professor Kern, who have since suggested different dates for the death of Buddha, do not really differ from me in principle, but only in their choice of one or the other alternative, which I readily admit as possible, but not as more certain than my own. Professor Westergaard², for instance, fixes Buddha's death at 368 (370), instead of 477. This seems a wide difference, but it is so in appearance only.

Following Justinus, who says that Sandrokyptos³ had conquered the empire of India at the time when Seleucus laid the foundations of his own greatness, I had accepted 315⁴, half-way between the murder of Porus and the taking of Babylon by Seleucus, as the probable beginning

¹ According to Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 361, the era of Buddha's death was introduced by Agâtasatru, at the conclusion of the First Council, and began in the year 146 of the older Eetzana era (p. 12). See, however, Rhys Davids, *Num. Orient.* vi, p. 38. In the *Kârandavâyâha*, p. 96, a date is given as 300 after the Nirvâna, 'trîtiye varshasate gate mama parinirvritasya.' In the *Asoka-avadâna* we read, *mama nirvritim ârabhya satavarshagata Upagupto nâma bhikshur utpatsyati.*

² *Über Buddha's Todesjahr* (1860), 1862.

³ The Greek name Sandrokyptus shows that the Pâli corruption *Kandagutta* was not yet the recognised name of the king.

⁴ Mr. Rhys Davids accepts 315 B.C. as the date when, after the murder of king Nanda, *Kandragupta* stepped into the vacant throne, though he had begun to count his reign seven or eight years before. *Buddhism*, p. 220.

of *Kandragupta's* reign. Westergaard prefers 320 as a more likely date for *Kandragupta*, and therefore places the death of the last Nanda and the beginning of *Asoka's* royal pretensions 268. Here there is a difference between him and me of five years, which depends chiefly on the view we take as to the time when Seleucus really laid what Justinus calls the foundation of his future greatness. Secondly, Westergaard actually adopts the idea, at which I only hinted as possible, that the southern Buddhists made two *Asokas* out of one, and two Councils out of one. Trusting in the tradition that 118 years elapsed between Buddha's death and the Council under *Asoka* (at *Pâṭaliputra*), and that the Council took place in the king's tenth year (as was the case with the imaginary *Kâlâsoka's* Council), he gets $268 - 10 = 258$ as the date of the Council, and 368 or 370 as the date of Buddha's death¹.

The two points on which Westergaard differs from me, seem to me questions which should be kept before our mind in dealing with early Buddhist history, but which, for the present at least, admit of no definite solution.

The same remark seems to me to apply to the calculations of another eminent Sanskrit scholar, Professor Kern². He lays great stress on the general untrustworthiness of Indian chronology, and I am the last to differ from him on that point. He then places the beginning of *Kandragupta's* reign in 322 B.C. Allowing twenty-four years to him and twenty-eight to his son *Bindusâra*, he places the beginning of *Asoka's* reign in 270. *Asoka's* inscriptions would fall about 258. As *Asoka* reigned thirty-six or thirty-seven years, his death would fall in 234 or 233 B.C. Like Westergaard, Professor Kern too eliminates *Kâlâsoka*, as a kind of chronological *Asoka*, and the Council of *Vaisâlî*, and therefore places Buddha's death, according to the northern tradition, 100 or 110 years before *Dharmâsoka*, i.e. $270 + 100$ or $+ 110 = 370$ or 380³; while, according to the southern

¹ Westergaard, loc. cit. p. 128.

² Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten, 1873.

³ See Professor Kern's remark in *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 79.

tradition, that 118 years elapsed between Asoka's accession and Buddha's death, the Ceylonese monks would seem originally to have retained $270 + 118^1 = 388$ B.C. as Buddha's Nirvâṇa, a date which, as Professor Kern holds, happens to coincide with the date assigned to the death of Mahāvīra, the founder of the Gaiṇa religion.

Here we see again that the moot point is the beginning of Kāndragupta's reign in accordance with the information supplied by Greek historians. Professor Kern places it in 322, Westergaard in 320, I myself in 315. That difference once granted, Dr. Kern's reasoning is the same as my own. According to the traditions which we follow, Buddha's death took place 100, 110, 118, or 228 years before Asoka. Hence Professor Westergaard arrives at 368 or 370 B.C. Professor Kern at 370 (380) or 388 B.C., I myself at 477 B.C. Every one of these dates is liable to certain objections, and if I prefer my own date, 477 B.C., it is simply because it seems to me liable to neither more nor less reservations than those of Professor Westergaard and Professor Kern, and because, so long as we always remember the grounds of our differences, namely, the beginning of Kāndragupta's reign, and the additional century, every one of these dates furnishes a good hypothesis to work on, until we can arrive at greater certainty in the ancient chronology of India.

To my mind all dates beyond Kāndragupta are as yet purely tentative, resting far more on a chronological theory than on actual tradition; and though I do not doubt the historical character of the Council of Vaisālī, I look upon the date assigned to it, on the authority of the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, as, for the present, hypothetical only.

¹ When Professor Kern states that the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 22) places the Third Council 218 years after Buddha's death, this is not so. Asoka's abhisheka takes place in that year. The prophecy that a calamity would befall their religion, 118 years after the Second Council (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 28), does not refer to the Council, but to Kāṇḍāsoka's accession, $477 - 218 = 259$ B.C.

B. C.

557. Buddha born.

552. Bimbisâra born.

537-485. Bimbisâra, 5 years younger than Buddha, was 15 when crowned, 30 or 31 when he met Buddha in 522.

485-453. Agâtasatru (4×8 years).477. Buddha's death ($485 - 8 = 477$).

477. COUNCIL AT RÂGAGRIHA under Kâsyapa, Ânanda, and Upâli.

453-437. Udâyibhadra (2×8 years).437-429. { Anuruddhaka (8 years).
 { Munda (at Pâtaliputra).429-405. Nâgadâsaka (3×8 years).

405-387. Sisunâga (at Vaisâlî).

387-359. Kâlâsoka.

377. COUNCIL AT VAISÂLÎ, under Yasas and Revata, a disciple of Ânanda ($259 + 118 = 377$).

359-337. Ten sons of Kâlâsoka (22 years).

337-315. Nine Nandas (22 years); the last, Dhana-nanda, killed by Kânakya.

315-291. Kandragupta ($477 - 162 = 315$; 3×8 years)¹.

291-263. Bindusâra.

263-259. Asoka, sub-king at Uggayinî, as pretender—his brothers killed.

259. Asoka anointed at Pâtaliputra ($477 - 218 = 259$).

256. Asoka converted by Nigrodha (D. V. VI, 18).

256-253. Building of Vihâras, Sthûpas, &c.

255. Conversion of Tishya (M. V. p. 34).

253. Ordination of Mahendra (born $477 - 204 = 273$).

251. Tishya and Sumitra die (D. V. VII, 32).

242. COUNCIL AT PÂTALIPUTRA ($259 - 17 = 242$; $477 - 236 = 241$), under Tishya Maudgalîputra ($477 - 236 = 241$; D. V. VII, 37).

241. Mahendra to Ceylon.

222. Asoka died ($259 - 37 = 222$).

193. Mahendra died (D. V. XVII, 93).

161. Duttâgâmani.

88-76. Vattagâmani, canon reduced to writing.

A. D.

400. Dîpavamsa.

420. Buddhaghosha, Pâli commentaries.

459-477. Mahâvamsa.

¹ Westergaard, 320-296; Kern, 322-298.

Though the preceding table, embodying in the main the results at which I arrived in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, still represents what I hold to be true or most probable with respect to Indian chronology, previous to the beginning of our era, yet I suppose I may be expected to say here a few words on the two latest attempts to fix the date of Buddha's death ; the one by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *Numismata Orientalia*, Part VI, 1877, the other by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1877 and 1878¹. Mr. Rhys Davids, to whom we owe so much for the elucidation of the history of Buddha's religion, accepts Westergaard's date for the beginning of *Kandragupta's* reign, 320 B.C., instead of 322 (Kern), 315 (myself); and as he assigns (p. 41) to Bindusâra 25 years instead of 28 (*Mahâvamsa*, p. 21), he arrives at 268 as the year of Asoka's coronation². He admits that the argument derived from the mention of the five foreign kings in one of Asoka's inscriptions, dated the twelfth year of his reign, is too precarious to enable us to fix the date of Asoka's reign more definitely, and though, in a general way, that inscription confirms the date assigned by nearly all scholars to Asoka in the middle of the third century B.C., yet there is nothing in it that Asoka might not have written in 247 quite as well as in 258-261. What chiefly distinguishes Mr. Rhys Davids' chronology from that of his predecessors is the shortness of the period between Asoka's coronation and Buddha's death. On the strength of an examination of the list of kings and the list of the so-called patriarchs, he reduces the traditional 218 years to 140 or 150, and thus arrives at 412 B.C. as the probable beginning of the Buddhist era.

In this, however, I cannot follow him, but have to follow Dr. Bühler. As soon as I saw Dr. Bühler's first essay on the Three New Edicts of Asoka, I naturally felt delighted at the unexpected confirmation which he furnished of the date which I had assigned to Buddha's death, 477 B.C. And though I am quite aware of the

¹ Three New Edicts of Asoka, Bombay, 1877 ; Second Notice, Bombay, 1878.

² Mr. Rhys Davids on p. 50 assigns the 25 years of Bindusâra rightly to the *Purânas*, the 28 years to the *Ceylon Chronicles*.

danger of unexpected confirmations of one's own views, yet, after carefully weighing the objections raised by Mr. Rhys Davids and Professor Pischel against Dr. Bühler's arguments, I cannot think that they have shaken Dr. Bühler's position. I fully admit the difficulties in the phraseology of these inscriptions: but I ask, Who could have written these inscriptions, if not Asoka? And how, if written by Asoka, can the date which they contain mean anything but 256 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa? These points, however, have been argued in so masterly a manner by Dr. Bühler in his 'Second Notice,' that I should be afraid of weakening his case by adding anything of my own, and must refer my readers to his 'Second Notice.' Allowing that latitude which, owing to the doubtful readings of MSS., and the constant neglect of odd months, we must allow in the interpretation of Buddhist chronology, Asoka is the only king we know of who could have spoken of a thirty-fourth year since the beginning of his reign and since his conversion to Buddhism. And if he calls that year, say the very last of his reign (222 B.C.), 256 after the departure of the Master, we have a right to say that as early as Asoka's time, Buddha was believed to have died about 477 B.C. Whether the inscriptions have been accurately copied and rightly read is, however, a more serious question, and the doubts raised by Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahāvagga*, p. xxxviii) make a new collation of the originals absolutely indispensable, before we can definitely accept Dr. Bühler's interpretation.

I cannot share Dr. Bühler's opinion¹ as to the entire worthlessness of the *Gaina* chronology in confirming the date of Buddha's death. If the *Svetāmbara* *Gainas* place the death of Mahāvīra 470 before Vikramāditya, i. e. 56 B.C. + 470 = 526 B.C., and the *Digambaras* 605, i. e. 78 A.D. deducted from 605 = 527 B.C., this so far confirms Dr. Bühler's and Dr. Jacobi's brilliant discovery that Mahāvīra was the same as *Nigantʰa* Nātaputta, who died at Pāvā during Buddha's lifetime². Most likely 527 is too early a date, while another

¹ Three Edicts, p. 21; Second Notice, pp. 9, 10.

² See Jacobi, *Kalpa-sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, and Oldenberg, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, XXXIV, p. 749.

tradition fixing Mahāvīra's death 155 years before Kāndragupta¹, 470 B.C., is too late. Yet they both show that the distance between Asoka (259–222 B.C.), the grandson of Kāndragupta (315–291 B.C.), and the contemporaries of Buddha was by the Gainas also believed to be one of two rather than one century.

When I saw that the date of Buddha's death, 477 B.C., which in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859) I had myself tried to support by such arguments as were then accessible, had received so powerful a support by the discovery of the inscriptions of Sahāsrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt, due to General Cunningham, who had himself always been an advocate of the date 477 B.C., and through their careful decipherment by Dr. Bühler, I lost no time in testing that date once more by the *Dīpavamsa*, that Ceylonese chronicle having lately become accessible through Dr. Oldenberg's edition and translation². And here I am able to say that, before having read Dr. Bühler's Second Notice, I arrived, though by a somewhat different way, at nearly the same conclusions as those so well worked out by Dr. Bühler in his restoration of the Episcopal Succession (therāvali) of the Buddhists, and therefore feel convinced that, making all such allowances as the case requires, we know now as much of early Buddhist chronology as could be known at the time of Asoka's Council, 242 B.C.

Taking the date of Buddha's death 477 B.C. for granted, I found that Upāli, who rehearsed the Vinaya at the First Council, 477 B.C., had been in orders sixty years in the twenty-fourth year of Agātasatru, i. e. 461 B.C., which was the sixteenth year A.B. He must therefore³ have been born in 541 B.C., and he died 447 B.C., i. e. thirty years A.B., at the age of 94. This is said to have been the sixth year of Udāyi, and so it is, $453 - 6 = 447$ B.C.

In the year 461 B.C. Dāsaka received orders from Upāli, who was then 80 years of age; and when Dāsaka had been

¹ Oldenberg, loc. cit. p. 750.

² The *Dīpavamsa*, an ancient Buddhist historical record. London, 1879.

³ Assuming twenty to be the minimum age at which a man could be ordained.

in orders forty-five years (*Dīpavaṃsa* IV, 41), he ordained Saunaka. This would give us $461 - 45 = 416$ B.C., while the tenth year of Nāgadāsa, $429 - 10$, would give us 419 A.D. Later on the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 78) allows an interval of forty years between the ordinations of Dāsaka and Saunaka, which would bring the date of Saunaka's ordination to 421 B.C., instead of 419 or 416 B.C. Here there is a fault which must be noted. Dāsaka died $461 - 64 = 397$ A.D., which is called the eighth year of Sisunāga, and so it is, $405 - 8 = 397$ A.D.

When Saunaka had been in orders forty years, i. e. $416 - 40 = 376$, Kālāsoka is said to have reigned a little over ten years, i. e. $387 - 11 = 376$ A.D., and in that year Saunaka ordained Siggava. He died $416 - 66 = 350$ A.D., which is called the sixth year of the Ten, while in reality it is the ninth, $359 - 6 = 353$ A.D. If, however, we take 419 as the year of Saunaka's ordination, his death would fall $419 - 66 = 353$ B.C.

Siggava, when he had been in orders sixty-four years, ordained Tishya Maudgalīputra. This date $376 - 64 = 312$ B.C. is called more than two years after Kāndragupta's accession, and so it very nearly is, $315 - 2 = 313$.

Siggava died when he had been in orders seventy-six years, i. e. $376 - 76 = 300$ A.D. This year is called the fourteenth year of Kāndragupta, which it very nearly is, $315 - 14 = 301$.

When Tishya had been in orders sixty¹ years, he ordained Mahendra, $312 - 60 = 252$ B.C. This is called six years after Asoka's coronation, $259 - 6 = 253$, and so it very nearly is. He died $312 - 80 = 232$ B.C., which is called the twenty-sixth year of Asoka, and so it very nearly is.

¹ I take 60 (80), as given in *Dīpavaṃsa* V, 95, 107, instead of 66 (86), as given in *Dīpavaṃsa* V, 94.

BUDDHIST PATRIARCHS.

	Birth.	Ordination.	Ordination of successor.	Death.	Age.	Patriarchate.
Upâli	(Generally 20 years before ordination.)	527	461	447	94	30
Dâsaka		461	416	397	84	50
		45	419			
		42	421			
Saunaka	„	416	376	350	86	44 (47)
		419	379			
		421	381			
Siggava	„	376½	312½	300½	96	50 (52)
Tishya	„	312½	253	233	100	68
Mahendra	273	253	„	193	80	40
						282 (284)

If we test the dates of this table by the length of time assigned to each patriarchate, we find that Upâli ruled thirty years, from Buddha's death, 477 to 447; Dâsaka fifty years. To Saunaka forty-four years are assigned, instead of forty-seven, owing to a fault pointed out before; and to Siggava fifty-two years, or fifty-five¹ instead of fifty. Tishya's patriarchate is said to have lasted sixty-eight years, which agrees with previous statements.

Lastly, the years of the death of the six patriarchs, as fixed according to the reigns of the kings of Magadha, agree extremely well.

Upâli died in the sixth year of Udâyi, i. e. 453—6=447 B.C.

Dâsaka died in the eighth year of Sisunâga, i. e. 405—8=397 B.C.

Saunaka died in the sixth year of the Ten, i. e. 359—6=353 B.C., showing again the difference of three years.

¹ The combined patriarchates of Saunaka and Siggava are given as 99 by the *Dîpavamsa*.

Siggava died in the fourteenth year of *Kandragupta*, i. e. 315—14=301 B.C.

Tishya died in the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year of *Asoka*, i. e. 259—27=233 B.C.

This general and more than general agreement between dates taken from the history of the kings and the history of the patriarchs leaves on my mind a decided impression of a tradition which, though not strictly historical, in our sense of the word, represents at all events the result of such enquiries as could be made into the past ages of Buddhism at the time of *Asoka*. There are difficulties in that tradition which would certainly have been avoided, if the whole chronology had been simply made up: but there is no doubt a certain method too perceptible throughout, which warns us that we must not mistake a smooth chronology for solid history.

THE TITLE OF DHAMMAPADA.

The title of *Dhammapada* has been interpreted in various ways. It is an ambiguous word, and has been accepted as such by the Buddhists themselves. *Dhamma* has many meanings. Under one aspect it means religion, particularly the religion taught by *Buddha*, the law which every Buddhist should accept and observe. Under another aspect *dhamma* is virtue, or the realisation of the law.

Pada also has many meanings. In the *Abhidhâna-padâpikâ* it is explained by place, protection, *Nirvâna*, cause, word, thing, portion, foot, footstep.

Hence *dhammapada* may mean 'footstep of religion,' and thus the title was first rendered by Gogerly, only that he used the plural instead of the singular, and called it 'The Footsteps of Religion,' while *Spence Hardy* still more freely called it 'The Paths of Religion.' It may be quite true, as pointed out by *Childers*, that *pada* by itself never means path. But it means footstep, and the footstep towards a thing is much the same as what we call the path to a thing. Thus we read, verse 21, '*appamâdo amatapadam*,' earnestness is the step, i.e. the path that leads to immor-

tality. Again, 'pamâdo makḥuno padam' can hardly mean anything but that thoughtlessness is the path of death, is the path that leads to death. The commentator, too, rightly explains it here by amatasya adhigamupâya, the means of obtaining immortality, i. e. Nirvâna, or simply by upâyo, and even by maggo, the way. If we compare verses 92 and 93 of our text, and verses 254 and 255, we see that pada is used synonymously with gati, going. In the same manner dhammapada would mean the footstep or the footpath of virtue, i. e. the path that leads to virtue, and supply a very appropriate title for a collection of moral precepts. In verses 44 and 45 'path of virtue' seems to be the most appropriate meaning for dhammapada¹, and it is hardly possible to assign any other meaning to it in the following verse (*Kundāsutta*, v. 6):

Yo dhammapade sudesite
Magge gīvati saññato satimā,
Anavagga-padāni sevamāno
Tattiyam bhikkhum āhu maggagīvim,

'He who lives restrained and attentive in the way that has been well pointed out, in the path of the law, cultivating blameless words, such a Bhikkhu they call a Maggagīvi (living in the way).'

I therefore think that 'Path of Virtue,' or 'Footstep of the Law,' was the idea most prominent in the mind of those who originally framed the title of this collection of verses. It seems to me that Buddhaghosa also took the same view, for the verse which D'Alwis² quotes from the introduction of Buddhaghosa's commentary,—

Sampatta-saddhammapado satthā dhammapadam subham
Desesi,

and which he translates, 'The Teacher who had reached the very depths (lit. bottom) of Saddhamma, preached this holy Dhammapada,'—lends itself far better to another translation, viz. 'The Teacher who had gained a firm

¹ Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 285, nibbānam sugaṭen i desitam.

² *Buddhist Nirvâna*, p. 62.

footing in the Good Law, showed (preached) the holy Path of the Law.'

Gogerly, again, who may generally be taken as a faithful representative of the tradition of the Buddhists still preserved in Ceylon, translates the title by the 'Footsteps of Religion,' so that there can be little doubt that the priests of that island accept Dhammapada in the sense of 'Vestiges of Religion,' or, from a different point of view, 'The Path of Virtue.'

M. L. Feer¹ takes a slightly different view, and assigning to pada the meaning of foot or base, he translates Dhammapada by *Loi fondamentale*, or *Base de la Religion*.

But it cannot be denied that the title of Dhammapada was very soon understood in a different sense also, namely, as 'Sentences of Religion.' Pada means certainly a foot of a verse, a verse, or a line, and dhammapadam actually occurs in the sense of a 'religious sentence.' Thus we read in verse 102, 'Though a man recite a hundred Gâthâs made up of senseless words, one dhammapadam, i. e. one single word or line of the law, is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.' But here we see at once the difficulty of translating the title of 'dhammapadam' by 'religious sentences.' Dhammapadam means one law verse, or wise saw, not many. Professor Fausböll, who in his excellent edition of the Dhammapada translated that title by 'a collection of verses on religion,' appeals to such passages as verses 44 and 102 in support of his interpretation. But in verse 42 dhammapadam sudesitam, even if it does not mean the path of the law, could never mean 'versus legis bene enarratos,' but only *versum legis bene enarratum*, as Dr. Fausböll himself renders *ekam dhammapadam*, in verse 102, by *unus legis versus*. Buddhaghosa, too, when he speaks of many law verses uses the plural, for instance², 'Be it known that the Gâthâ consists of the Dhammapadâni, Theragâthâ, Therīgâthâ, and those unmixed (detached) Gâthâ not comprehended in any of the above-named Suttânta.'

¹ *Revue Critique*, 1870, p. 378.

² D'Alwis, *Pâli Grammar*, p. 61.

The only way in which Dhammapada could be defended in the sense of 'Collection of Verses of the Law,' would be if we took it for an aggregate compound. But such aggregate compounds, in Sanskrit at least, are possible with numerals only; for instance, *tribhuvanam*, the three worlds; *ṣaturyugam*, the four ages¹. It might therefore be possible in Pāli, too, to form such compounds as *daśa-padam*, a collection of ten *padas*, a work consisting of ten *padas*, a decamerone, but it would in no wise follow that we could in that language attempt such a compound as *Dhammapadam*, in order to express a collection of law verses². Mr. Beal³ informs us that the Chinese seem to have taken *Dhammapada* in the sense of 'stanzas of law,' 'law texts,' or 'scripture texts.'

It should be remembered, also, that the idea of representing life, and particularly the life of the faithful, as a path of duty or virtue leading to deliverance, (in Sanskrit *dharmapatha*.) is very familiar to Buddhists. The four great truths of their religion⁴ consist in the recognition of the following principles: 1. that there is suffering; 2. that there is a cause of that suffering; 3. that such cause can be removed; 4. that there is a way of deliverance, viz. the doctrine of Buddha. This way is the *āṣṭāṅga-mārga*, the eightfold way⁵, taught by Buddha, and leading to *Nirvāṇa*⁶. The faithful advances on that road, *padāṭṭha-padam*,

¹ See M. M.'s Sanskrit Grammar, § 519.

² Mr. D'Alwis' arguments (*Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, pp. 63-67) in support of this view, viz. the *dhammapada* may be a collective term, do not seem to me to strengthen my own conjecture.

³ *Dhammapada* from Chinese, p. 4.

⁴ Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 496.

⁵ Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 520, 'Ajoutons, pour terminer ce que nous trouvons à dire sur le mot *magga*, quelque commentaire qu'on en donne d'ailleurs, que suivant une définition rapportée par Turnour, le *magga* renferme une sous-division que l'on nomme *paṭipadā*, en sanscrit *pratipad*. Le *magga*, dit Turnour, est la voie qui conduit au *Nibbāna*, la *paṭipadā*, littéralement "la marche pas à pas, ou le degré," est la vie de rectitude qu'on doit suivre, quand on marche dans la voie du *magga*.'

⁶ See Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 496. Should not *ṣaturvidha-dharmapada*, mentioned on p. 497, be translated by 'the fourfold path of the Law?' It can hardly be the fourfold word of the Law.

step by step, and it is therefore called *paṭipadā*, lit. the step by step.

If we make allowance for these ambiguities, inherent in the name of *Dhammapada*, we may well understand how the Buddhists themselves play with the word *pada* (see v. 45). Thus we read in Mr. Beal's translation of a Chinese version of the *Prātimoksha*¹:

'Let all those who desire such birth,
Who now are living in the world,
Guard and preserve these Precepts, as feet.'

TRANSLATION.

In translating the verses of the *Dhammapada*, I have followed the edition of the Pāli text, published in 1855 by Dr. Fausböll, and I have derived great advantage from his Latin translation, his notes, and his copious extracts from Buddhaghosa's commentary. I have also consulted translations, either of the whole of the *Dhammapada*, or of portions of it, by Burnouf, Gogerly², Upham, Weber, and others. Though it will be seen that in many places my translation differs from those of my predecessors, I can only claim for myself the name of a very humble gleaner in this field of Pāli literature. The greatest credit is due to Dr. Fausböll, whose editio princeps of the *Dhammapada* will mark for ever an important epoch in the history of Pāli scholarship; and though later critics have been able to point out some mistakes, both in his text and in his translation, the value of their labours is not to be compared with that of the work accomplished single-handed by that eminent Danish scholar.

In revising my translation, first published in 1870³, for

¹ Catena, p. 207.

² 'Several of the chapters have been translated by Mr. Gogerly, and have appeared in *The Friend*, vol. iv, 1840.' (Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 169.)

³ Buddhaghosa's *Parables*, translated from Burmese by Captain T. Rogers, R. E. With an Introduction, containing Buddha's *Dhammapada*, translated from Pāli by F. Max Müller. London, 1870.

the Sacred Books of the East, I have been able to avail myself of 'Notes on Dhammapada,' published by Childers in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (May, 1871), and of valuable hints as to the meaning of certain words and verses scattered about in the Pâli Dictionary of that much regretted scholar, 1875. I have carefully weighed the remarks of Mr. James D'Alwis in his 'Buddhist Nirvâna, a review of Max Müller's Dhammapada' (Colombo, 1871), and accepted some of his suggestions. Some very successful renderings of a number of verses by Mr. Rhys Davids in his 'Buddhism,' and a French translation, too, of the Dhammapada, published by Fernand Hû¹, have been consulted with advantage.

It was hoped for a time that much assistance for a more accurate understanding of this work might be derived from a Chinese translation of the Dhammapada², of which Mr. S. Beal published an English translation in 1878. But this hope has not been entirely fulfilled. It was, no doubt, a discovery of great interest, when Mr. Beal announced that the text of the Dhammapada was not restricted to the southern Buddhists only, but that similar collections existed in the north, and had been translated into Chinese. It was equally important when Schiefner proved the existence of the same work in the sacred canon of the Tibetans. But as yet neither a Chinese nor a Tibetan translation of the Pâli Dhammapada has been rendered accessible to us by translations of these translations into English or German, and what we have received instead, cannot make up for what we had hoped for.

The state of the case is this. There are, as Mr. Beal informs us, four principal copies of what may be called Dhammapada in Chinese, the first dating from the Wu dynasty, about the beginning of the third century A.D. This translation, called Fa-kheu-king, is the work of a

¹ Le Dhammapada avec introduction et notes par Fernand Hû, suivi du Sutra en 42 articles, traduit du Tibetain, par Léon Feer. Paris, 1878.

² Texts from the Buddhist Canon, commonly known as Dhammapada, translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal. London, 1878.

Shaman Wei-*ki*-lan and others. Its title means 'the Sûtra of Law verses,' *kheu* being explained by *gâthâ*, a verse, a word which we shall meet with again in the Tibetan title, *Gâthâsaṅgraha*. In the preface the Chinese translator states that the Shamans in after ages copied from the canonical scriptures various *gâthâs*, some of four lines and some of six, and attached to each set of verses a title, according to the subject therein explained. This work of extracting and collecting is ascribed to Tsun-*ke*-Fa-kieou, i. e. Ārya-Dharmatrāta, the author of the *Samyuktābhidharma-sāstra* and other works, and the uncle of Vasumitra. If this Vasumitra was the patriarch who took a prominent part in the Council under Kanishka, Dharmatrāta's collection would belong to the first century B.C.; but this is, as yet, very doubtful.

In the preface to the Fa-*kheu*-king we are told that the original, which consisted of 500 verses, was brought from India by Wai-*ki*-lan in 223 A.D., and that it was translated into Chinese with the help of another Indian called Tsiang-sin. After the translation was finished, thirteen sections were added, making up the whole to 752 verses, 14,580 words, and 39 chapters¹.

If the Chinese translation is compared with the Pāli text, it appears that the two agree from the 9th to the 35th chapter (with the exception of the 33rd), so far as their subjects are concerned, though the Chinese has in these chapters 79 verses more than the Pāli. But the Chinese translation has eight additional chapters in the beginning (viz. On Intemperance, Inciting to Wisdom, The *Srāvaka*, Simple Faith, Observance of Duty, Reflection, Loving-kindness, Conversation), and four at the end (viz. *Nirvāṇa*, Birth and Death, Profit of Religion, and Good Fortune), and one between the 24th and 25th chapter of the Pāli text (viz. Advantageous Service), all of which are absent in our Pāli texts. This, the most ancient

¹ Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 30. The real number of verses, however, is 760. In the Pāli text, too, there are five verses more than stated in the Index; see M. M., *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, p. ix, note; Beal, loc. cit. p. 11, note.

Chinese translation of Dharmatrâta's work, has not been rendered into English by Mr. Beal, but he assures us that it is a faithful reproduction of the original. The book which he has chosen for translation is the Fa-kheu-pi-ü, i. e. parables connected with the Dhammapada, and translated into Chinese by two Shamans of the western Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265-313). These parables are meant to illustrate the teaching of the verses, like the parables of Buddhaghosa, but they are not the same parables, nor do they illustrate all the verses.

A third Chinese version is called *Kuh-yan-king*, i. e. the *Sûtra of the Dawn* (*avadâna*?), consisting of seven volumes. Its author was Dharmatrâta, its translator *Ku-fo-nien* (*Buddhasmrîti*), about 410 A.D. The MS. of the work is said to have been brought from India by a Shaman *Saṅghabhadaṅga* of Kipin (Cabul), about 345 A.D. It is a much more extensive work in 33 chapters, the last being, as in the Pâli text, on the *Brâhmaṇa*.

A fourth translation dates from the Sung dynasty (800 or 900 A.D.), and in it, too, the authorship of the text is ascribed to *Ârya-Dharmatrâta*.

A Tibetan translation of a Dhammapada was discovered by Schiefner in the 28th volume of the *Sûtras*, in the collection called *Udânavarga*. It contains 33 chapters, and more than 1000 verses, of which about one-fourth only can be traced in the Pâli text. The same collection is found also in the *Tangur*, vol. 71 of the *Sûtras*, foll. 1-53, followed by a commentary, the *Udânavarga-vivarana* by the *Âkârya Pragjâvarman*. Unfortunately Schiefner's intention of publishing a translation of it (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. viii. p. 560) has been frustrated by his death. All that he gives us in his last paper is the Tibetan text with translation of another shorter collection, the *Gâthâsaṅgraha* by *Vasubandhu*, equally published in the 72nd volume of the *Sûtras* in the *Tangur*, and accompanied by a commentary.

SPELLING OF BUDDHIST TERMS.

I had on a former occasion¹ pleaded so strongly in favour of retaining, as much as possible, the original Sanskrit forms of Pāli Buddhist terms, that I feel bound to confess openly that I hold this opinion no longer, or, at all events, that I see it is hopeless to expect that Pāli scholars will accept my proposal. My arguments were these: 'Most of the technical terms employed by Buddhist writers come from Sanskrit; and in the eyes of the philologist the various forms which they have assumed in Pāli, in Burmese, in Tibetan, in Chinese, in Mongolian, are only so many corruptions of the same original form. Everything, therefore, would seem to be in favour of retaining the Sanskrit forms throughout, and of writing, for instance, Nirvāṇa instead of the Pāli Nibbāna, the Burmese Niban or Nepbân, the Siamese Niruphan, the Chinese Nipan. The only hope, in fact, that writers on Buddhism will ever arrive at a uniform and generally intelligible phraseology seems to lie in their agreeing to use throughout the Sanskrit terms in their original form, (instead of the various local disguises and disfigurements which they present in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Tibet, China, and Mongolia.)'

I fully admitted that many Buddhist words have assumed such a strongly marked local or national character in the different countries and in the different languages in which the religion of Buddha has found a new home, that to translate them back into Sanskrit might seem as affected, nay, prove in certain cases as misleading, as if, in speaking of priests and kings, we were to speak of presbyters and cynings. The rule by which I meant mainly to be guided was to use the Sanskrit forms as much as possible; in fact, everywhere except where it seemed affected to do so. I therefore wrote Buddhaghosha instead of the Pāli Buddhaghosa, because the name of that famous theologian, 'the Voice of Buddha,' seemed to lose its significance if turned

¹ Introduction to Buddhaghosha's Parables, 1870, p. 1.

into Buddhaghosa. But I was well aware what may be said on the other side. The name of Buddhaghosa, 'Voice of Buddha,' was given him after he had been converted from Brahmanism to Buddhism, and it was given to him by people to whom the Pâli word ghosa conveyed the same meaning as ghosha does to us. On the other hand, I retained the Pâli Dhammapada instead of Dharmapada, simply because, as the title of a Pâli book, it has become so familiar that to speak of it as Dharmapada seemed like speaking of another work. We are accustomed to speak of Samanas instead of Sramanas, for even in the days of Alexander's conquest, the Sanskrit word Sramana had assumed the prakritized or vulgar form which we find in Pâli, and which alone could have been rendered by the later Greek writers (first by Alexander Polyhistor, 80-60 B.C.) by *σάμωναί*¹. As a Buddhist term, the Pâli form Samana has so entirely supplanted that of Sramana that, even in the Dhammapada (v. 388), we find an etymology of Samana as derived from sam, 'to be quiet,' and not from sram, 'to toil.' But if we speak of Samanas, we ought also to speak of Bâhmanas instead of Brâhmanas, for this word had been replaced by bâhmana at so early a time, that in the Dhammapada it is derived from a root vah, 'to remove, to separate, to cleanse'².

I still believe that it would be best if writers on Buddhist literature and religion were to adopt Sanskrit throughout as the lingua franca. For an accurate understanding of the original meaning of most of the technical terms of Buddhism a knowledge of their Sanskrit form is indispensable; and nothing is lost, while much would be gained, if, even in the treating of southern Buddhism, we were to

¹ See Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii. p. 700, note. That Lassen is right in taking the *Σαμῶναι*, mentioned by Megasthenes, for Brahmanic, not for Buddhist ascetics, might be proved also by their dress. Dresses made of the bark of trees are not strictly Buddhistic.

² See Dhammapada, v. 388; Bastian, Völker des östlichen Asien, vol. iii. p. 412: 'Ein buddhistischer Mönch erklärte mir, dass die Brahmanen ihren Namen führten, als Leute, die ihre Sünden abgespült hätten.' See also Lalitavistara, p. 551, line 1; p. 553, line 7.

speak of the town of *Srāvastī* instead of *Sāvatthi* in Pāli, *Sevet* in Sinhalese ; of *Tripitaka*, 'the three baskets,' instead of *Tipitaka* in Pāli, *Tunpitaka* in Sinhalese ; of *Arthakathā*, 'commentary,' instead of *Attakathā* in Pāli, *Atuwāva* in Sinhalese ; and therefore also of *Dharmapada*, 'the path of virtue,' instead of *Dhammapada*.

But inclinations are stronger than arguments. Pāli scholars prefer their Pāli terms, and I cannot blame them for it. Mr. D'Alwis (*Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 68) says : 'It will be seen how very difficult it is to follow the rule rigidly. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that in translating Pāli works, at least, much inconvenience may not be felt by the retention of the forms of the language in which the Buddhist doctrines were originally delivered.' For the sake of uniformity, therefore, I have given up my former plan. I use the Pāli forms when I quote from Pāli, but I still prefer the Sanskrit forms, not only when I quote from Sanskrit Buddhist books, but also when I have to speak of Buddhism in general. I speak of *Nirvāṇa*, *dharma*, and *bhikṣu*, rather than of *Nibbāṇa*, *dhamma*, and *bhikkhu*, when discussing the meaning of these words without special reference to southern Buddhism ; but when treating of the literature and religion of the Theravāda school I must so far yield to the arguments of Pāli scholars as to admit that it is but fair to use their language when speaking of their opinions.

DHAMMAPADA.

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CHAPTER I.

THE TWIN-VERSES.

1. All that we are is the result of what we have thought : it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

1. Dharma, though clear in its meaning, is difficult to translate. It has different meanings in different systems of philosophy, and its peculiar application in the phraseology of Buddhism has been fully elucidated by Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, p. 41 seq. He writes : 'Je traduis ordinairement ce terme par condition, d'autres fois par lois, mais aucune de ces traductions n'est parfaitement complète ; il faut entendre par dharma ce qui fait qu'une chose est ce qu'elle est, ce qui constitue sa nature propre, comme l'a bien montré Lassen, à l'occasion de la célèbre formule, "Ye dharmâ hetuprabhavâ." Etymologically the Latin *for-ma* expresses the same general idea which was expressed by *dhar-ma*. See also Burnouf, *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 524. Fausbøll translates : '*Naturae a mente principium ducunt*,' which shows that he rightly understood dharma in the Buddhist sense. Gogerly (see Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 28) translates : '*Mind precedes action*,' which, if not wrong, is at all events wrongly expressed ; while Professor Weber's rendering, '*Die Pflichten aus dem Herz folgern*,' is quite inadmissible. D'Alwis (*Buddhist Nirwana*, p. 70 seq.), following the commentary, proposes to give a more technical interpretation of this verse, viz. '*Mind is the leader of all its faculties. Mind is the chief (of all its faculties). The very mind is made up of those (faculties). If one speaks or acts with a polluted mind, then affliction follows him as the wheel follows the feet of the bearer (the bullock).*' To me this technical acceptance

2. All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.

3. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,'—in those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never cease.

4. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,'—in those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease.

seems not applicable here, where we have to deal with the simplest moral precepts, and not with psychological niceties of Buddhist philosophy. It should be stated, however, that Childers, who first (s.v. *dhamma*) approved of my translation, seems afterwards to have changed his opinion. On p. 120 of his excellent Pāli Dictionary he said: 'Three of the five *khandhas*, viz. *vedanā*, *saññā*, and *saṅkhāra*, are collectively termed *dhammā* (plur.), "mental faculties," and in the first verse of *Dhammapada* the commentator takes the word *dhammā* to mean those three faculties. But this interpretation appears forced and unnatural, and I look upon Dr. Max Müller's translation, "All that we are is the result of what we have thought," as the best possible rendering of the spirit of the phrase *mano pubbaṅgamā dhammā*.' But on p. 577 the same scholar writes: 'Of the four mental *khandhas* the superiority of *viññāna* is strongly asserted in the first verse of *Dhammapada*, "The mental faculties (*vedanā*, *saññā*, and *saṅkhāra*) are dominated by Mind, they are governed by Mind, they are made up of Mind." That this is the true meaning of the passage I am now convinced; see D'Alwis, *Nirwana*, pp. 70-75.' I do not deny that this may have been the traditional interpretation, at all events since the days of Buddhaghosa, but the very legend quoted by Buddhaghosa in illustration of this verse shows that its simpler and purely moral interpretation was likewise supported by tradition, and I therefore adhere to my original translation.

2. See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 169.

3. On *akkokkhi*, see *Kakkāyana* VI, 4, 17. D'Alwis, *Pāli Grammar*, p. 38 note. 'When *akkokkhi* means "he abused," it is derived from *krus*, not from *krudh*.' See Senart, *Kakkāyana*, l. c.

5. For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time : hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.]

6. The world does not know that we must all come to an end here ;—but those who know it, their quarrels cease at once.

7. He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle, and weak, Mâra (the tempter) will certainly overthrow him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

8. He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, him Mâra will certainly not overthrow, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

9. He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.

6. Pare is explained by 'fools,' but it has that meaning by implication only. It is *oi πολλοι*, cf. Vinaya, ed. Oldenberg, vol. i. p. 5, l. 4. Yamâmase, a 1 pers. plur. imp. Âtm., but really a *Le* in Pâli. See Fausböll, Five Gâtakas, p. 38.

7. Mâra must be taken in the Buddhist sense of 'tempter,' or 'evil spirit.' See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 76 : 'Mâra est le démon de l'amour, du péché et de la mort ; c'est le tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha.' As to the definite meaning of *vîrya*, see Burnouf, Lotus, p. 548.

In the Buddhistical Sanskrit, *kuśīda*, 'idle,' is the exact counterpart of the Pâli *kuśīta* ; see Burnouf, Lotus, p. 548. On the change of Sanskrit *d* into Pâli *t*, see Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 40 ; Weber, Ind. Studien, XIII, p. 135.

9. The dark yellow dress, the *Kâsâva* or *Kâshâya*, is the distinctive garment of the Buddhist priests. See Vishnu-sûtra LXIII, 36. The play on the words *anikkasâvo kâsâvam*, or in Sanskrit *anishkashâya/ kâshâyam*, cannot be rendered in English. *Kashâya* means 'impurity,' *nish-kashâya*, 'free from impurity,' *anish-kashâya*, 'not free from impurity,' while *kâshâya* is the name of the yellowish

10. But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and regards also temperance and truth, he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.

11. They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires.

12. They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires.

13. As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.

14. As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.

15. The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he

Buddhist garment. The pun is evidently a favourite one, for, as Fausböll shows, it occurs also in the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 568 :

Anishkashāye kashāyam ihārtham iti viddhi tam,

Dharmadhvagānām mundānām vr̥ṭtyartham iti me matiḥ.

‘Know that this yellow-coloured garment on a man who is not free from impurity, serves only for the purpose of cupidity ; my opinion is, that it is meant to supply the means of living to those shavelings, who carry their virtue or the dharma like a flag.’

(I read *vr̥ṭtyartham*, according to the Bombay edition, instead of *kr̥tārtham*, the reading of the Calcutta edition.)

On the exact colour of the dress, see Bishop Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Budha of the Burmese*, Rangoon, 1866, p. 504. Cf. *Gātaka*, vol. ii. p. 198.

10. With regard to *sīla*, ‘virtue,’ see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 547.

11, 12. *Sāra*, which I have translated by ‘truth,’ has many meanings in Sanskrit. It means the sap of a thing, then essence or reality ; in a metaphysical sense, the highest reality ; in a moral sense, truth. It is impossible in a translation to do more than indicate the meaning of such words, and in order to understand them fully, we must know not only their definition, but their history. See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 64.

13. See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 65.

15. *Kiliṭṭha* is *klishṭa*, a participle of *klis*. It means literally,

mourns in the next ; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil of his own work.

16. The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next ; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.

17. The evil-doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next ; he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done ; he suffers more when going on the evil path.

18. The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next ; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done ; he is still more happy when going on the good path.

19. The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion (of the law), but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.

what is spoilt. The abstract noun *klesa*, 'evil or sin,' is constantly employed in Buddhist works ; see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 443.

16. Like *klisha* in the preceding verse, *visuddhi* in the present has a technical meaning. One of Buddhaghosa's most famous works is called *Visuddhi-magga*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 844 ; Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 67.

17, 18. 'The evil path and the good path' are technical expressions for the descending and ascending scale of worlds through which all beings have to travel upward or downward, according to their deeds ; see Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 5, note 4, and p. 449 ; Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 599 ; *Lotus*, p. 865, l. 7 ; l. 11. Fausbøll translates 'heaven and hell,' which comes to the same ; cf. vv. 126, 306.

19. In taking *sahitam* in the sense of *samhitam* or *samhitā*, I follow the commentator who says, *Tepiṭakassa Buddhavaṇanass' etam nāmaṃ*, but I cannot find another passage where the *Tipiṭaka*, or any portion of it, is called *Sahita*. *Samhita* in vv. 100-102 has a different meaning. The fact that some followers of Buddha were

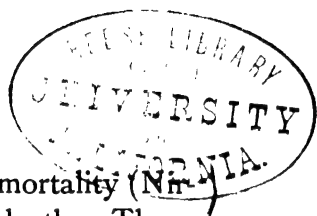
20. The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion (of the law), but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.

allowed to learn short portions only of the sacred writings by heart, and to repeat them, while others had to learn a larger collection, is shown by the story of *Kakkhupâla*, p. 3, of *Mahâkâla*, p. 26, &c. See Childers, s. v. *sahita*.

20. *Sâmañña*, which I have rendered by 'priesthood,' expresses all that belongs to, or constitutes a real *Samana* or *Sramana*, this being the Buddhist name corresponding to the *Brâhmana*, or priest, of the orthodox Hindus. Buddha himself is frequently called the Good *Samana*. Fausböll takes the abstract word *sâmañña* as corresponding to the Sanskrit *sâmânya*, 'community,' but Weber has well shown that it ought to be taken as representing *srâmanya*. He might have quoted the *Sâmañña-phala-sutta*, of which Burnouf has given such interesting details in his *Lotus*, p. 449 seq. Fausböll also, in his notes on v. 332, rightly explains *sâmaññatâ* by *srâmanyatâ*. See Childers, s. v. *sâmañña*.

Anupâdiyâno, which I have translated by 'caring for nothing,' has a technical meaning. It is the negative of the fourth *Nidâna*, the so-called *Upâdâna*, which Köppen has well explained by *Anhänglichkeit*, 'taking to the world, loving the world.' Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, p. 610. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 470.

CHAPTER II.

ON EARNESTNESS¹.

21. Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvâna), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.

22. Those who are advanced in earnestness, having understood this clearly, delight in earnestness, and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas (the elect).

23. These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvâna, the highest happiness.

¹ There is nothing in the tenth section of the Dhammapada, as translated by Beal, corresponding to the verses of this chapter.

21. Apramâda, which Fausböll translates by 'vigilantia,' Gogerly by 'religion,' Childers by 'diligence,' expresses literally the absence of that giddiness or thoughtlessness which characterizes the state of mind of worldly people. It is the first entering into oneself, and hence all virtues are said to have their root in apramâda. (Ye keki kusalâ dhammâ sabbe te appamâdamûlakâ.) I have translated it by 'earnestness,' sometimes by 'reflection.' 'Immortality,' *amrita*, is explained by Buddhaghosa as Nirvâna. *Amrita* is used, no doubt, as a synonym of Nirvâna, but this very fact shows how many different conceptions entered from the very first into the Nirvâna of the Buddhists. See Childers, s. v. nibbâna, p. 269.

This verse, as recited to Asoka, occurs in the *Dîpavamsa* VI, 53, and in the *Mahāvamsa*, p. 25. See also *Sanatsugâtiya*, translated by Telang, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. viii. p. 138.

22. The Ariyas, the noble or elect, are those who have entered on the path that leads to Nirvâna; see Köppen, p. 396. Their knowledge and general status is minutely described; see Köppen, p. 436.

23. Childers, s. v. nibbâna, thinks that nibbâna here and in many other places means Arhatship.

24. If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law,—then his glory will increase.

25. By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm.

26. Fools follow after vanity, men of evil wisdom. The wise man keeps earnestness as his best jewel.

27. Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who is earnest and meditative, obtains ample joy.

28. When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, serene he looks upon the toiling crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.

29. Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the hack.

30. By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.

31. A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtless-

25. Childers explains this island again as the state of an Arhat (arahatta-phalam).

28. Cf. Childers, Dictionary, Preface, p. xiv. See Vinaya, ed. Oldenberg, vol. i. p. 5, s. f.

31. Instead of *saham*, which Dr. Fausböll translates by 'vincens,' Dr. Weber by 'conquering,' I think we ought to read *dahan*, 'burning,' which was evidently the reading adopted by Buddha-

ness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.

32. A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)—he is close upon Nirvâna.

ghosa. Mr. R. C. Childers, whom I requested to see whether the MS. at the India Office gives *saham* or *daham*, writes that the reading *daham* is as clear as possible in that MS. The fetters are meant for the senses. See verse 370.

32. See Childers, Notes, p. 5.

CHAPTER III.

THOUGHT.

33. As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to guard, difficult to hold back,

34. As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Mâra (the tempter).

35. It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth ;
| a tamed mind brings happiness.

36. Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list: thoughts well guarded
/ bring happiness.

37. Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber (of the heart), will be free from the bonds of Mâra (the tempter).

38. If a man's thoughts are unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.

39. If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if

33. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 400.

34. On Mâra, see verses 7 and 8.

35-39. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. pp. 312, 400.

39. Fausböll traces *anavassuta*, 'dissipated,' back to the Sanskrit

his mind is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.

root *syai*, 'to become rigid;' but the participle of that root would be *jāta*, not *syuta*. Professor Weber suggests that *anavassuta* stands for the Sanskrit *anavasruta*, which he translates *unbefleckt*, 'unspotted.' If *avasruta* were the right word, it might be taken in the sense of 'not fallen off, not fallen away,' but it could not mean 'unspotted;' cf. *dhairyam* no 'susruvat', 'our firmness ran away.' I have little doubt, however, that *avassuta* represents the Sanskrit *avasruta*, and is derived from the root *sru*, here used in its technical sense, peculiar to the Buddhist literature, and so well explained by Burnouf in his Appendix XIV (*Lotus*, p. 820). He shows that, according to Hemaṅdra and the *Gīṇa-alaṅkāra*, *āsravakshaya*, Pāli *āsava-samkhaya* is counted as the sixth *abhiṅgā*, wherever six of these intellectual powers are mentioned, instead of five. The Chinese translate the term in their own Chinese fashion by 'stillationis finis,' but Burnouf claims for it the definite sense of destruction of faults or vices. He quotes from the *Lalita-vistara* (*Adhyāya XXII*, ed. Rājendra Lal Mitra, p. 448) the words uttered by Buddha when he arrived at his complete Buddhahood:—

Sushkā āsravā na punaḥ śravanti,

'The vices are dried up, they will not flow again;'

and he shows that the Pāli Dictionary, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, explains *āsava* simply by *kāma*, 'love, pleasure of the senses.' In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, three classes of *āsava* are distinguished, the *kāmāsavā*, the *bhavāsavā*, and the *aviggāsavā*. See also Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 665; Childers, s. v. *āsavo*.

That *sru* means 'to run,' and is in fact a merely dialectic variety of *sru*, has been proved by Burnouf, while Boehtlingk thinks the substitution of *s* for *r* is a mistake. *Āsrava* therefore, or *āsrava*, meant originally 'the running out towards objects of the senses' (cf. *saṅga*, *ālaya*, &c.), and had nothing to do with *āsrāva*, 'a running, a sore,' *Atharva-veda* I, 2, 4. This conception of the original purport of *ā + sru*, or *ava-sru* is confirmed by a statement of Colebrooke's, who, when treating of the *Gainas*, writes (*Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 382): '*Āsrava* is that which directs the embodied spirit (*āsravayati puruṣam*) towards external objects. It is the occupation and employment (*vr̥tti* or *pravṛtti*) of the senses or organs on sensible objects. Through the means of the senses it

40. Knowing that this body is (fragile) like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mâra (the tempter) with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest.

41. Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.

42. Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or

affects the embodied spirit with the sentiment of taction, colour, smell, and taste. Or it is the association or connection of body with right and wrong deeds. It comprises all the karmas, for they (*âśravayanti*) pervade, influence, and attend the doer, following him or attaching to him. It is a misdirection (*mithyâ-pravṛtti*) of the organs, for it is vain, a cause of disappointment, rendering the organs of sense and sensible objects subservient to fruition. *Samvara* is that which stops (*samvṛinoti*) the course of the foregoing, or closes up the door or passage to it, and consists in self-command or restraint of organs internal and external, embracing all means of self-control and subjection of the senses, calming and subduing them.'

For a full account of the *âśravas*, see *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Calc. pp. 445 and 552, where *Kshîṇâśrava* is given as a name of Buddha. *Âśrâva* occurs in *Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtras* II, 5, 9, where the commentator explains it by objects of the senses, by which the soul is made to run out. It is better, however, to take *âśrâva* here, too, as the act of running out, the affections, appetites, passions.

40. *Anivesana* has no doubt a technical meaning, and may signify, one who has left his house, his family and friends, to become a monk. A monk shall not return to his home, but travel about; he shall be *anivesana*, 'homeless,' *anâgâra*, 'houseless.' But I doubt whether this can be the meaning of *anivesana* here, as the sentence, let him be an anchorite, would come in too abruptly. I translate it therefore in a more general sense, let him not return or turn away from the battle, let him watch Mâra, even after he is vanquished, let him keep up a constant fight against the adversary, without being attached to anything or anybody.

an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly-directed mind ✓
will do us greater mischief.

43. Not a mother, not a father will do so much,
nor any other relative; a well-directed mind will
do us greater service.

43. See Beal, Dhammapada, p. 73.

CHAPTER IV.

FLOWERS¹.

44. Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower?

45. The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower.

¹ See Beal, Dhammapada, p. 75.

44, 45. If I differ from the translation of Fausböll and Weber, it is because the commentary takes the two verbs, *vigessati* and *paṭessati*, to mean in the end the same thing, i.e. *saṅkhi-karissati*, 'he will perceive.' I have not ventured to take *vigessati* for *viganissati*, though it should be remembered that the overcoming of the earth and of the worlds below and above, as here alluded to, is meant to be achieved by means of knowledge. *Paṭessati*, 'he will gather' (cf. *vi-ṭi*, Indische Sprüche, 4560), means also, like 'to gather' in English, 'he will perceive or understand,' and the dhammapada, or 'path of virtue,' is distinctly explained by Buddhaghosa as consisting of the thirty-seven states or stations which lead to Bodhi. (See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 430; Hardy, Manual, p. 497.) Dhammapada might, no doubt, mean also 'a law-verse,' and *sudesita*, 'well taught,' and this double meaning may be intentional here as elsewhere. Buddha himself is called *Mārga-darsaka* and *Mārga-desika* (cf. Lal. Vist. p. 551). There is a curious similarity between these verses and verses 6540-41, and 9939 of the *Sānti-parva*:

Pushpāṇīva viśinvantam anyatragatamanasam,

Anavāpteshu kâmeshu mṛṛīyur abhyeti mānavam.

'Death approaches man-like one who is gathering flowers, and

46. He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Mâra, and never see the king of death.

47. Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

48. Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures.

49. As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour or scent, so let a sage dwell in his yillage.

50. Not the perversities of others, not their sins

whose mind is turned elsewhere, before his desires have been fulfilled.'

Suptam vyâghram mahaugho vâ mr̥tyur âdâya gakkhati,
Sañkinvânakam evainam kâmanâm avitriptikam.

'As a stream (carries off) a sleeping tiger, death carries off this man who is gathering flowers, and who is not satiated in his pleasures.'

This last verse, particularly, seems to me clearly a translation from Pâli, and the kam of sañkinvânakam looks as if put in metri causâ.

46. The flower-arrows of Mâra, the tempter, are borrowed from Kâma, the Hindu god of love. For a similar expression see Lalita-vistara, ed. Calc. p. 40, l. 20, mâyâmarîkîsadrisâ vidyutphenopamâs kapalâh. It is on account of this parallel passage that I prefer to translate marîkî by 'mirage,' and not by 'sunbeam,' as Fausböll, or by 'solar atom,' as Weber proposes. The expression, 'he will never see the king of death,' is supposed to mean Arhatship by Childers, s. v. nibbâna, p. 270.

47. See Thiessen, Die Legende von Kisâgotamî, p. 9.

48. Antaka, 'death,' is given as an explanation of Mâra in the Amarakosha and Abhidhânappadîpika (cf. Fausböll, p. 210).

49. See Beal, Catena, p. 159, where vv. 49 and 50 are ascribed to Wessabhu, i. e. Visvabhû. See also Der Weise und der Thor, p. 134.

of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should a sage take notice of.

51. Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.

52. But, like a beautiful flower, full of colour and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly.

53. As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal when once he is born.

54. The scent of flowers does not travel against the wind, nor (that of) sandal-wood, or of Tagara and Mallikâ flowers; but the odour of good people travels even against the wind; a good man pervades every place.

55. Sandal-wood or Tagara, a lotus-flower, or a Vassikî, among these sorts of perfumes, the perfume of virtue is unsurpassed.

56. Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandal-wood;—the perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.

57. Of the people who possess these virtues, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emanci-

51. St. Matthew xxiii. 3, 'For they say, and do not.'

54. Tagara, a plant from which a scented powder is made. Mallaka or mallikâ, according to Benfey, is an oil vessel. Hence tagaramallikâ was supposed to mean a bottle holding aromatic powder, or oil made of the Tagara. Mallikâ, however, is given by Dr. Eitel (Handbook of Chinese Buddhism) as the name of a flower now called Casturi (musk) on account of its rich odour, and Dr. Morris informs me that he has found mallikâ in Pâli as a name of jasmine. See also Childers, s. v.; Notes, p. 6; and Beal, Dhammapada, p. 76.

pated through true knowledge, Mâra, the tempter, never finds the way.

58, 59. As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delight, thus the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people that walk in darkness.

58, 59. Cf. Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 76.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOOL.

60. Long is the night to him who is awake ; long is a mile to him who is tired ; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law.

61. If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey ; there is no companionship with a fool.

62. ' These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me,' with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself ; how much less sons and wealth ?

63. The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.

64. If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.

65. If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup.

66. Fools of little understanding have themselves

60. ' Life,' *samsâra*, is the constant revolution of birth and death which goes on for ever until the knowledge of the true law or the true doctrine of Buddha enables a man to free himself from *samsâra*, and to enter into *Nirvâna*. See Buddhaghosha's Parables, Parable XIX, p. 134.

61. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 46.

63. Cf. Beal, Dhammapada, p. 77.

65. Cf. Beal, Dhammapada, p. 78.

for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which must bear bitter fruits.

67. That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face.

68. No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.

69. As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief.

70. Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa grass, yet is he not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law.

71. An evil deed, like newly-drawn milk, does not turn (suddenly); smouldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool.

67. See Beal, l.c. p. 78.

69. Taken from the *Samyutta-nikâya*, where, however, we read *thânanhī* instead of *madhuvâ*; see Feer, *Comptes Rendus*, 1871, p. 64.

70. The commentator clearly takes *saṅkhâta* in the sense of *saṅkhyâta*, 'reckoned,' for he explains it by *ñâtadhammâ*, *tulita-dhammâ*. The eating with the tip of Kusa grass has reference to the fastings performed by the Brahmans, but disapproved of, except as a moderate discipline, by the followers of Buddha. This verse seems to interrupt the continuity of the other verses which treat of the reward of evil deeds, or of the slow but sure ripening of every sinful act. See Childers, s. v. *saṅkhâto*.

71. I am not at all certain of the simile, unless *muḥḥati*, as applied to milk, can be used in the sense of changing or turning sour. In *Manu* IV, 172, where a similar sentence occurs, the commentators are equally doubtful: *Nâdharmaḥ karito loke sadyaḥ phalati gaur iva*, 'for an evil act committed in the world does not bear fruit at once, like a cow;' or 'like the earth (in due season);' or 'like milk.' See Childers, Notes, p. 6.

72. And when the evil deed, after it has become known, brings sorrow to the fool, then it destroys his bright lot, nay, it cleaves his head.

73. Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for precedence among the Bhikshus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people !

74. ' May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me ; may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done,' thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase.

75. ' One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvâna ;' if the Bhikshu, the disciple of Buddha, has learnt this, he will not yearn for honour, he will strive after separation from the world.

72. I take *ñattam* for *gñāpitam*, the causative of *gñātam*, for which in Sanskrit, too, we have the form without i, *gñāptam*. This *gñāptam*, 'made known, revealed,' stands in opposition to the *khanna*, 'covered, hid,' of the preceding verse. *Sukkamsa*, which Fausböll explains by *suklāmsa*, has probably a more technical and special meaning. Childers traces *ñattam* to the Vedic *gñātram*, 'knowledge.' Fausböll refers to *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 445, v. 118.

75. *Viveka*, which in Sanskrit means chiefly understanding, has with the Buddhists the more technical meaning of separation, whether separation from the world and retirement to the solitude of the forest (*kāya-viveka*), or separation from idle thoughts (*kitta-viveka*), or the highest separation and freedom (*Nirvâna*).

CHAPTER VI.

THE WISE MAN (PANDITA).

76. If you see an intelligent man who tells you where true treasures are to be found, who shows what is to be avoided, and administers reproofs, follow that wise man; it will be better, not worse, for those who follow him.

77. Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is improper!—he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.

78. Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends: have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of men.

79. He who drinks in the law lives happily with a serene mind: the sage rejoices always in the law, as preached by the elect (Ariyas).

80. Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.

78. It is hardly possible to take *mitte kalyâne* in the technical sense of *kalyâna-mitra*, 'ein geistlicher Rath,' a spiritual guide. Burnouf (Introd. p. 284) shows that in the technical sense *kalyâna-mitra* was widely spread in the Buddhist world.

79. Ariya, 'elect, venerable,' is explained by the commentator as referring to Buddha and other teachers.

80. See verses 33 and 145, the latter being a mere repetition of our verse. The *nettikâs*, to judge from the commentary and from the general purport of the verse, are not simply water-carriers, but builders of canals and aqueducts, who force the water to go where it would not go by itself. The Chinese translator says, 'the pilot manages his ship.' See Beal, l. c. p. 79.

81. As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amidst blame and praise.

82. Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.

83. Good people walk on whatever befall, the good do not prattle, longing for pleasure, whether touched by happiness or sorrow wise people never appear elated or depressed.

84. If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous.

85. Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore (become Arhats); the other people here run up and down the shore.

83. The first line is very doubtful. I have adopted, in my translation, a suggestion of Mr. Childers, who writes, 'I think it will be necessary to take sabbattha in the sense of "everywhere," or "under every condition;" paññakhandādibhedeṣu, sabbadhammesu, says Buddhaghosha. I do not think we need assume that B. means the word vigahanti to be a synonym of vaganti. I would rather take the whole sentence together as a gloss upon the word vaganti : —vagaṇṭīti arahattañānena apakaddhantā khandarāgam vigahanti; vaganti means that, ridding themselves of lust by the wisdom which Arhatship confers, they cast it away.' I am inclined to think the line means 'the righteous walk on (unmoved) in all the conditions of life.' Nindā, pasamsā, sukha, dukkha are four of the eight lokadhammas, or earthly conditions; the remaining lokadhammas are lābha, alābha, yasa, ayasa.

In v. 245, passatā, 'by a man who sees,' means 'by a man who sees clearly or truly.' In the same manner vrag may mean, not simply 'to walk,' but 'to walk properly,' or may be used synonymously with pravrag.

85. 'The other shore' is meant for Nirvāṇa, 'this shore' for common life. On reaching Nirvāṇa, the dominion of death is

86. But those who, when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome.

87, 88. A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikshu). After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where there seemed to be no enjoyment. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.

89. Those whose mind is well grounded in the (seven) elements of knowledge, who without cling-

overcome. The commentator supplies *târitvâ*, 'having crossed,' in order to explain the accusative *maññudheyyam*. Possibly *pâram essanti* should here be taken as one word, in the sense of overcoming.

87, 88. Dark and bright are meant for bad and good; cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 526, and *Dhp.* v. 167. Leaving one's home is the same as becoming a mendicant, without a home or family, an *anâgâra*, or anchorite. A man in that state of *viveka*, or retirement (see v. 75, note), sees, that where before there seemed to be no pleasure there real pleasure is to be found, or vice versâ. A similar idea is expressed in verse 99. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 474, where he speaks of 'Le plaisir de la satisfaction, né de la distinction.'

The five troubles or evils of the mind are passion, anger, ignorance, arrogance, pride; see Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 360, 443. As to *pariyodapeyya*, see verse 183, and *Lotus*, pp. 523, 528; as to *akizñāno*, see *Mahābh.* XII, 6568, 1240.

89. The elements of knowledge are the seven *Sambodhyaṅgas*, on which see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 796. D'Alwis explains them as the thirty-seven *Bodhipakkhiya-dhammā*. *Khīṇāsavā*, which I have translated by 'they whose frailties have been conquered,' may also be taken in a more metaphysical sense, as explained in the note to v. 39. The same applies to the other terms occurring in this verse, such as *âdāna*, *anupādāya*, &c. Dr. Fausbøll seems inclined to

ing to anything, rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered, and who are full of light, are free (even) in this world.

take âsava in this passage, and in the other passages where it occurs, as the Pâli representative of âsraya. But âsraya, in Buddhist phraseology, means rather the five organs of sense with manas, 'the soul,' and these are kept distinct from the âsavas, 'the inclinations, the appetites, passions, or vices.' The commentary on the Abhidharma, when speaking of the Yogâkâras, says, 'En réunissant ensemble les réceptacles (âsraya), les choses reçues (âsrita) et les supports (âlambana), qui sont chacun composés de six termes, on a dix-huit termes qu'on appelle "Dhâtus" ou contenants. La collection des six réceptacles, ce sont les organes de la vue, de l'ouïe, de l'odorat, du goût, du toucher, et le "manas" (ou l'organe du cœur), qui est le dernier. La collection des six choses reçues, c'est la connaissance produite par la vue et par les autres sens jusqu'au "manas" inclusivement. La collection des six supports, ce sont la forme et les autres attributs sensibles jusqu'au "Dharma" (la loi ou l'être) inclusivement.' See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 449.

Parinibbata is again a technical term, the Sanskrit parinivṛta meaning 'freed from all worldly fetters,' like vimukta. See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 590. See Childers, s.v. nibbâna, p. 270, and Notes on Dhammapada, p. 3; and D'Alwis, Buddhist Nirvâna, p. 75.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VENERABLE (ARHAT).

90. There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

91. They depart with their thoughts well-collected, they are not happy in their abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

92. Men who have no riches, who live on recognised food, who have perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvâna), their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

91. Satîmanto, Sanskrit *smṛitimantaḥ*, 'possessed of memory,' but here used in the technical sense of sati, the first of the Bodhyaṅgas. See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 797. Clough translates it by 'intense thought,' and this is the original meaning of smar, even in Sanskrit. See Lectures on the Science of Language, vol. ii. p. 332.

Uyyuṅganti, which Buddhaghosa explains by 'they exert themselves,' seems to me to signify in this place 'they depart,' i. e. they leave their family, and embrace an ascetic life. See note to verse 235. See also Rhys Davids, Mahâparinibbâna-sutta, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi. p. 22.

92. Suññato and animitto are adjectives belonging to vimokho, one of the many names of Nirvâna, or, according to Childers, s. v. nibbâna, p. 270, Arhatship; see Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 442, 462, on sūnya. The Sanskrit expression sūnyatānimittāpranīhitam occurs in L'enfant égaré, 5 a, l. 4. Nimitta is cause in the most general sense, i. e. what causes existence. The commentator explains it chiefly in a moral sense: Râgâdinimittābhâvena animittam, tehi ka vimuttan ti animitto vimokho, i. e. owing to the absence of passion and other causes, without causation; because freed from

93. He whose appetites are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom (*Nirvâna*), his path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

94. The gods even envy him whose senses, like horses well broken in by the driver, have been subdued, who is free from pride, and free from appetites.

95. Such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, like Indra's bolt ; he is like a lake without mud ; no new births are in store for him.

96. His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man.

these causes, therefore it is called freedom without causation. See Childers, *Pâli Dictionary*, p. 270, col. 2, line 1.

The simile is intended to compare the ways of those who have obtained spiritual freedom to the flight of birds, it being difficult to understand how the birds move on without putting their feet on anything. This, at least, is the explanation of the commentator. The same metaphor occurs *Mahâbh. XII, 6763*. Childers translates, 'leaving no more trace of existence than a bird in the air.'

95. Without the hints given by the commentator, we should probably take the three similes of this verse in their natural sense, as illustrating the imperturbable state of an *Arahanta*, or venerable person. The earth is always represented as an emblem of patience; the bolt of Indra, if taken in its technical sense, as the bolt of a gate, might likewise suggest the idea of firmness ; while the lake is a constant representative of serenity and purity. The commentator, however, suggests that what is meant is, that the earth, though flowers are cast on it, does not feel pleasure, nor the bolt of Indra displeasure, although less savoury things are thrown upon it ; and that in like manner a wise person is indifferent to honour and dishonour. -

96. That this very natural threefold division, thought, word, and deed, the *trividha-dvâra* or the three doors of the Buddhists (*Hardy, Manual, p. 494*), was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to

97. The man who is free from credulity, but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men.

the Brahmans, has been proved against Dr. Weber by Professor Köppen in his 'Religion des Buddha,' I, p. 445. He particularly called attention to Manu XII, 4-8; and he might have added Mahâbh. XII, 4059, 6512, 6549, 6554; XIII, 5677, &c. Dr. Weber has himself afterwards brought forward a passage from the Atharva-veda, VI, 96, 3 (*yaḥ śakshushâ manasâ yaḥ śa vâḥ upârîma*), which, however, has a different meaning. A better one was quoted by him from the Taitt. Ar. X, 1, 12 (*yan me manasâ, vâḥ, karmanâ vâ dushkrîtam krîtam*). Similar expressions have been shown to exist in the Zend-avesta, and among the Manichæans (Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, III, p. 414; see also Boehtlingk's Dictionary, s. v. *kâya*, and Childers, s. v. *kâyo*). There was no ground, therefore, for supposing that this formula had found its way into the Christian liturgy from Persia, for, as Professor Cowell remarks (Journal of Philology, vol. vii. p. 215), Greek writers, such as Plato, employ very similar expressions, e.g. Protag. p. 348, 30, *πρὸς ἀπὸν ἔργον καὶ λόγον καὶ διανόημα*. In fact, the opposition between words and deeds occurs in almost every writer, from Homer downwards; and the further distinction between thoughts and words is clearly implied even in such expressions as, 'they say in their heart.' That the idea of sin committed by thought was not a new idea, even to the Jews, may be seen from Prov. xxiv. 9, 'the thought of foolishness is sin.' In the Âpastamba-sûtras, lately edited by Professor Bühler, we find the expression, *atho yatkiṇṇa manasâ vâḥ śakshushâ vâ saṅkalpayan dhyâyaty âhâbhivipasyati vâ tathaiva tad bhavâtîtyupadisanti*, 'they say that whatever a Brahman intending with his mind, voice, or eye, thinks, says, or looks, that will be.' This is clearly a very different division, and it is the same which is intended in the passage from the Atharva-veda, quoted above. In the mischief done by the eye, we have, perhaps, the first indication of the evil eye. (Mahâbh. XII, 3417. See Dhammapada, vv. 231-234.)

On the technical meaning of *tâdi*, see Childers, s. v. D'Alwis (p. 78) has evidently received the right interpretation, but has not understood it. *Mâdrîsa* also is used very much like *tâdrîsa*, and from it *mârîso*, a venerable person, in Sanskrit *mârsha*.

98. In a hamlet or in a forest, in the deep water or on the dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arahanta) dwell, that place is delightful.

99. Forests are delightful ; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THOUSANDS.

100. Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

101. Even though a Gâthâ (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a Gâthâ is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

102. Though a man recite a hundred Gâthâs made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

103. If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors.

104, 105. One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Mâra with Brahman could change into defeat the

100. This Sahasravarga, or Chapter of the Thousands, is quoted by that name in the Mahāvastu (Minayeff, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, VI, p. 583): Teshâm Bhagavân *gaṣilânâm* Dharmapadeshu sahasravargam bhâshati: 'Sahasram api vâtânâm anarthapadasamhitânâm, ekârthavati sreyâ yâm srutvâ upasâmyati. Sahasram api gâthânâm anarthapadasamhitânâm, ekârthavati sreyâ yâm srutvâ upasâmyati' (MS. R. A. S. Lond.) Here the Pâli text seems decidedly more original and perfect.

104. *Gitam*, according to the commentator, stands for *gito* (lingavipallâso, i. e. viparyâsa); see also Senart in *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, p. 500.

The Devas (gods), Gandharvas (fairies), and other fanciful beings of the Brahmanic religion, such as the Nâgas, Sarpas, Garuḍas, &c.,

victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.

106. If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month after month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than a sacrifice for a hundred years.

107. If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.

108. Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an oblation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter (a farthing); reverence shown to the righteous is better.

were allowed to continue in the traditional language of the people who had embraced Buddhism. See the pertinent remarks of Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 134 seq., 184. On Mâra, the tempter, see v. 7. Sâstram Aiyar, On the *Gaina* Religion, p. xx, says: 'Moreover as it is declared in the *Gaina* Vedas that all the gods worshipped by the various Hindu sects, viz. Sîva, Brahma, Vishnu, Ganapati, Subramaniyan, and others, were devoted adherents of the above-mentioned Tîrthaṅkaras, the *Gainas* therefore do not consider them as unworthy of their worship; but as they are servants of Arugan, they consider them to be deities of their system, and accordingly perform certain pûgâs in honour of them, and worship them also.' The case is more doubtful with orthodox Buddhists. 'Orthodox Buddhists,' as Mr. D'Alwis writes (*Attanagalu-vansa*, p. 55), 'do not consider the worship of the Devas as being sanctioned by him who disclaimed for himself and all the Devas any power over man's soul. Yet the Buddhists are everywhere idol-worshippers. Buddhism, however, acknowledges the existence of some of the Hindu deities, and from the various friendly offices which those Devas are said to have rendered to Gotama, Buddhists evince a respect for their idols.' See also Buddhaghosha's Parables, p. 162.

109. He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, viz. life, beauty, happiness, power.

110. But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting.

111. And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting.

112. And he who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength.

113. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end.

114. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place.

115. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

109. Dr. Fausböll, in a most important note, called attention to the fact that the same verse, with slight variations, occurs in Manu. We there read, II, 121 :

Abhivâdanasîlasya nityam vridhdhopasevinah,
Kâtvarî sampravardhante âyur vidyâ yasô balam.

Here the four things are, life, knowledge, glory, power.

In the Âpastamba-sûtras, I, 2, 5, 15, the reward promised for the same virtue is svargam âyus ka, 'heaven and long life.' It seems, therefore, as if the original idea of this verse came from the Brahmans, and was afterwards adopted by the Buddhists. How largely it spread is shown by Dr. Fausböll from the Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 259, where the same verse of the Dhammapada is mentioned as being in use among the Buddhists of Siam.

112. On kusîto, see note to verse 7.

CHAPTER IX.

EVIL.

116. If a man would hasten towards the good, he should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.

117. If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again; let him not delight in sin: pain is the outcome of evil.

118. If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it: happiness is the outcome of good.

119. Even an evil-doer sees happiness as long as his evil deed has not ripened; but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the evil-doer see evil.

120. Even a good man sees evil days, as long as his good deed has not ripened; but when his good deed has ripened, then does the good man see happy days.

121. Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.

122. Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.

123. Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant, if he has few companions and carries much wealth,

avoids a dangerous road ; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

124. He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand ; poison does not affect one who has no wound ; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.

125. If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.

126. Some people are born again ; evil-doers go to hell ; righteous people go to heaven ; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvâna.

127. Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where a man might be freed from an evil deed.

128. Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome (the mortal).

125. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 661 ; Indische Sprüche, 1582 ; Kathâsaritsâgara, 49, 222.

126. For a description of hell and its long, yet not endless sufferings, see Buddhaghosha's Parables, p. 132. The pleasures of heaven, too, are frequently described in these Parables and elsewhere. Buddha himself enjoyed these pleasures of heaven, before he was born for the last time. It is probably when good and evil deeds are equally balanced, that men are born again as human beings ; this, at least, is the opinion of the *Gainas*. Cf. *Chintâmani*, ed. H. Bower, Introd. p. xv.

127. Cf. St. Luke xii. 2, 'For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed ;' and Psalm cxxxix. 8-12.

CHAPTER X.

PUNISHMENT.

129. All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death ; remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

130. All men tremble at punishment, all men love life ; remember that thou art like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

131. He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death.

129. One feels tempted, no doubt, to take upama in the sense of 'the nearest (der Nächste), the neighbour,' and to translate, 'having made oneself one's neighbour,' i. e. loving one's neighbour as oneself. But as upamām, with a short a, is the correct accusative of upamā, we must translate, 'having made oneself the likeness, the image of others, having placed oneself in the place of others.' This is an expression which occurs frequently in Sanskrit ; cf. Hitopadesa I, 11 :

Prânâ yathâtmano 'bhîsh/â bhûtânâm api te tathâ,

Âtmaupamyena bhûteshu dayâm kurvanti sâdhavaḥ.

'As life is dear to oneself, it is dear also to other living beings : by comparing oneself with others, good people bestow pity on all beings.'

See also Hit. I, 12 ; Râm. V, 23, 5, âtmânâ upamâm krîtvâ sveshu dâreshu samyatâm, 'making oneself a likeness, i. e. putting oneself in the position of other people, it is right to love none but one's own wife.' Dr. Fausböll has called attention to similar passages in the Mahâbhârata, XIII, 5569 seq.

130. Cf. St. Luke vi. 31.

131. Dr. Fausböll points out the striking similarity between this verse and two verses occurring in Manu and the Mahâbhârata :—

132. He who seeking his own happiness does not punish or kill beings who also long for happiness, will find happiness after death.

133. Do not speak harshly to anybody; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee.

134. If, like a shattered metal plate (gong), thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvâna; contention is not known to thee.

135. As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men.

136. A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds: but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire.

137. He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons, will soon come to one of these ten states:

Manu V, 45:

Yo 'himsakâni bhûtâni hinasty âtnasukhekkhayâ,
Sa gîvams ka mritas kaiva na kvañit sukham edhate.

Mahâbhârata XIII, 5568:

Ahimsakâni bhûtâni dandena vinihanti yañ,
Âtmanañ sukham ikkhan sa pretya naiva sukhñ bhavet.

If it were not for ahimsakâni, in which Manu and the Mahâbhârata agree, I should say that the verses in both were Sanskrit modifications of the Pâli original. The verse in the Mahâbhârata presupposes the verse of the Dhammapada.

133. See Mahâbhârata XII, 4056.

134. See Childers, s.v. nibbâna, p. 270, and s.v. kâmsa; D'Alwis, Buddhist Nirvâna, p. 35.

136. The metaphor of 'burning' for 'suffering' is very common in Buddhist literature. Everything burns, i.e. everything suffers, was one of the first experiences of Buddha himself. See v. 146.

138. He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind,

139. Or a misfortune coming from the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures,

140. Or lightning-fire will burn his houses ; and when his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell.

141. Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust,

138. 'Cruel suffering' is explained by *sîsaroga*, 'headache,' &c. 'Loss' is taken for loss of money. 'Injury of the body' is held to be the cutting off of the arm, and other limbs. 'Heavy afflictions' are, again, various kinds of diseases.

139. *Upasarga* means 'accident, misfortune.' Dr. Fausböll translates *râgato va upassaggam* by '*fulgentis (lunae) defectionem* ;' Dr. Weber by '*Bestrafung vom König* ;' Beal by 'some governmental difficulty.' *Abbhakkhânam*, Sanskrit *abhyâkhyânam*, is a heavy accusation for high treason, or similar offences. Beal translates, 'some false accusation.' The 'destruction of pleasures or treasures' is explained by gold being changed to coals (see Buddha-ghosha's *Parables*, p. 98 ; Thiessen, *Kisâgotamî*, p. 6), pearls to cotton seed, corn to potsherds, and by men and cattle becoming blind, lame, &c.

141. Cf. Hibbert Lectures, p. 355. Dr. Fausböll has pointed out that the same or a very similar verse occurs in a legend taken from the *Divyâvadâna*, and translated by Burnouf (*Introduction*, p. 313 seq.) Burnouf translates the verse : 'Ce n'est ni la coutume de marcher nu, ni les cheveux nattés, ni l'usage d'argile, ni le choix des diverses espèces d'aliments, ni l'habitude de coucher sur la terre nue, ni la poussière, ni la malpropreté, ni l'attention à fuir l'abri d'un toit, qui sont capables de dissiper le trouble dans lequel nous jettent les désirs non-satisfaits ; mais qu'un homme, maître de ses sens, calme, recueilli, chaste, évitant de faire du mal à aucune créature, accomplisse la Loi, et il sera, quoique paré d'ornements, un Brâhmane, un Çramana, un Religieux.' See also *Suttanipâta*, v. 248.

Walking naked and the other things mentioned in our verse are outward signs of a saintly life, and these Buddha rejects because they do not calm the passions. Nakedness he seems to have

not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

142. He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brâhmana, an ascetic (*sramana*), a friar (*bhikshu*).

143. Is there in this world any man so restrained by humility that he does not mind reproof, as a well-trained horse the whip?

144. Like a well-trained horse when touched by

rejected on other grounds too, if we may judge from the Sumâ-gadhâ-avadâna: 'A number of naked friars were assembled in the house of the daughter of Anâtha-pindîka. She called her daughter-in-law, Sumâgadhâ, and said, "Go and see those highly respectable persons." Sumâgadhâ, expecting to see some of the saints, like Sâriputra, Maudgalyâyana, and others, ran out full of joy. But when she saw these friars with their hair like pigeon wings, covered by nothing but dirt, offensive, and looking like demons, she became sad. "Why are you sad?" said her mother-in-law. Sumâgadhâ replied, "O mother, if these are saints, what must sinners be like?"'

Burnouf (Introduction, p. 312) supposed that the Gainas only, and not the Buddhists, allowed nakedness. But the Gainas, too, do not allow it universally. They are divided into two parties, the Svetambaras and Digambaras. The Svetambaras, clad in white, are the followers of Parsvanâtha, and wear clothes. The Digambaras, i. e. sky-clad, disrobed, are followers of Mahâvîra, resident chiefly in Southern India. At present they, too, wear clothing, but not when eating. See Sâstram Aiyar, p. xxi.

The *gañâ*, or the hair platted and gathered up in a knot, was a sign of a Saiva ascetic. The sitting motionless is one of the postures assumed by ascetics. Clough explains *ukkuñka* as 'the act of sitting on the heels;' Wilson gives for *utka/ukâsana*, 'sitting on the hams.' See Fausbøll, note on verse 140.

142. As to *dandanidhâna*, see Mahâbh. XII, 6559, and Suttanipâta, v. 34.

143, 144. I am very doubtful as to the real meaning of these verses. If their object is to show how reproof or punishment

the whip, be ye active and lively, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law you will overcome this great pain (of reproof), perfect in knowledge and in behaviour, and never forgetful.

145. Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; good people fashion themselves.

should be borne, my translation would be right, though *alpabodhāti* in the sense of *parvi facere* is strange.

145. The same as verse 80. According to Fausböll and Subhūti we ought to render the verses by, 'What man is there found on earth so restrained by shame that he never provokes reproof, as a good horse the whip?' See Childers, s. v. *appabodhati*.

CHAPTER XI.

OLD AGE.

146. How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Why do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?

147. Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold!

148. This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death.

148. Dr. Fausböll informs me that Childers proposed the emendation *maranantam* hi *gīvitam*. The following extract from a letter, addressed by Childers to Dr. Fausböll, will be read with interest:—
 ‘As regards Dhp. v. 148, I have no doubt whatever. I quite agree with you that the idea (*mors est vita ejus*) is a profound and noble one, but the question is, Is the idea there? I think not. *Maranam* tamhi *gīvitam* is not Pāli, I mean not a Pāli construction, and years ago even it grated on my ear as a harsh phrase. The reading of your MSS. of the texts is nothing; your MSS. of Dhammapada are very bad ones, and it is merely the vicious Sinhalese spelling of bad MSS., like *kammamtam* for *kammantam*. But the comment sets the question at rest at once, for it explains *maranantam* by *maranapariyosānam*, which is exactly the same. I see there is one serious difficulty left, that all your MSS. seem to have tamhi, and not tam hi; but are you sure it is so? There was a Dhammapada in the India Office Library, and I had a great hunt for it a few days ago, but to my deep disappointment it is missing. I do not agree with you that the sentence “All Life is bounded by Death,” is trivial: it is a truism, but half the noblest passages in poetry are truisms, and unless I greatly mistake, this very passage will be found in many other literatures.’

Dr. Fausböll adds:—

‘I have still the same doubt as before, because of all my

149. Those white bones, like gourds thrown away in the autumn, what pleasure is there in looking at them ?

150. After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit.

151. The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good people never approaches destruction,—thus do the good say to the good.

152. A man who has learnt little, grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow.

153, 154. Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I shall have to run through a course of many births, so long as I do not find (him); and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up

MSS. reading *maranam* tamhi. I do not know the readings of the London MSS. The explanation of the commentary does not settle the question, as it may as well be considered an explanation of my reading as of the reading which Childers proposed.—V. FAUSBÖLL.

149. In the *Rudrâyāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* this verse appears as,

Yānīmāny apariddhāni vikshiptāni diso disaḥ,
Kapṭavarṇāny asthīni tāni dṛish/vaiha kâ ratiḥ.

See Schiefner, *Mél. Asiat.* VIII, p. 589; *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 322.

150. The expression *mamsalohitalepanam* is curiously like the expression used in *Manu* VI, 76, *mâmsasonitalepanam*, and in several passages of the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 12462, 12053, as pointed out by Dr. Fausböll.

153, 154. These two verses are famous among Buddhists, for they are the words which the founder of Buddhism is supposed to have uttered at the moment he attained to Buddhahood. (See Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 180.) According to the *Lalita-vistara*, however, the words uttered on that solemn occasion were those

this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, approaching the Eternal (*visaṅkhāra*, *nirvāṇa*), has attained to the extinction of all desires.

quoted in the note to verse 39. In the commentary on the *Brahmagāla* this verse is called the first speech of Buddha, his last speech being the words in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, 'Life is subject to age; strive in earnest.' The words used in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, Chap. IV, 2, *Katunnam dhammānam ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idam digham addhānam sandhāvitam samsāritam mamañ k' eva tumhākañ ka*, answer to the anticipation expressed in our verse.

The exact rendering of this verse has been much discussed, chiefly by Mr. D'Alwis in the *Attanugalluvansa*, p. cxxviii, and again in his *Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 78; also by Childers, *Notes on Dhammapada*, p. 4, and in his *Dictionary*. Gogerly translated: 'Through various transmigrations I must travel, if I do not discover the builder whom I seek.' Spence Hardy: 'Through many different births I have run (to me not having found), seeking the architect of the desire-resembling house.' Fausböll: 'Multiplices generationis revolutiones percurrebam, non inveniens, domus (corporis) fabricatorem quaerens.' And again (p. 322): 'Multarum generationum revolutio mihi subeunda esset, nisi invenissem domus fabricatorem.' Childers: 'I have run through the revolution of countless births, seeking the architect of this dwelling and finding him not.' D'Alwis: 'Through transmigrations of numerous births have I run, not discovering, (though) seeking the house-builder.' All depends on how we take *sandhaviṣsam*, which Fausböll takes as a conditional, Childers, following Trenckner, as an aorist, because the sense imperatively requires an aorist. In either case, the dropping of the augment and the doubling of the *s* are, however, irregular. *Sandhaviṣsam* is the regular form of the future, and as such I translate it, qualifying, however, the future, by the participle present *anibbisan*, i. e. not finding, and taking it in the sense of, if or so long as I do not find the true cause of existence. I had formerly translated *anibbisan*, as not resting (*anirvisan*), but the commentator seems to authorise the meaning of not finding (*avindanto*, *alabhanto*), and in that case all the material difficulties of the verse seem to me to disappear.

'The maker of the tabernacle' is explained as a poetical expression for the cause of new births, at least according to the views of

155. Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, perish like old herons in a lake without fish.

156. Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, lie, like broken bows, sighing after the past.

Buddha's followers, whatever his own views may have been. Buddha had conquered Mâra, the representative of worldly temptations, the father of worldly desires, and as desires (*tamhâ*) are, by means of upâdâna and bhava, the cause of *gâti*, or 'birth,' the destruction of desires and the conquest of Mâra are nearly the same thing, though expressed differently in the philosophical and legendary language of the Buddhists. *Tamhâ*, 'thirst' or 'desire,' is mentioned as serving in the army of Mâra. (Lotus, p. 443.)

155. On *ghâyanti*, i. e. *kshâyanti*, see Dr. Bollensen's learned remarks, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XVIII, 834, and Boehtlingk-Roth, s. v. *kshâ*.

CHAPTER XII.

SELF.

157. If a man hold himself dear, let him watch himself carefully; during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful.

158. Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others; thus a wise man will not suffer.

159. If a man make himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue (others); one's own self is indeed difficult to subdue.

160. Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.

161. The evil done by oneself, self-begotten, self-bred, crushes the foolish, as a diamond breaks a precious stone.

162. He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.

163. Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.

157. The three watches of the night are meant for the three stages of life. Cf. St. Mark xiii. 37, 'And what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch.'

158. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 441.

161. The Chinese translation renders *vagiram* by 'steel drill.'

164. The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (Arahat), of the elect (Ariya), of the virtuous, and follows false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the *Katthaka* reed.

165. By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one can purify another.

166. Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great; let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be always attentive to his duty.

164. The reed either dies after it has borne fruit, or is cut down for the sake of its fruit.

Di//hi, literally 'view,' is used even by itself, like the Greek 'hairesis,' in the sense of heresy (see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 444). In other places a distinction is made between *mikkhâdi//hi* (vv. 167, 316) and *sammâdi//hi* (v. 319). If *arahatam ariyânam* are used in their technical sense, we should translate 'the reverend Arhats,'—Arhat being the highest degree of the four orders of Ariyas, viz. *Srotaâpanna*, *Sakadâgâmin*, *Anâgâmin*, and Arhat. See note to verse 178.

166. *Attha*, lit. 'object,' must here be taken in a moral sense, as 'duty' rather than as 'advantage.' Childers rendered it by 'spiritual good.' The story which Buddhaghosa tells of the Thera Attadattha gives a clue to the origin of some of his parables, which seem to have been invented to suit the text of the Dhammapada rather than vice versâ. A similar case occurs in the commentary to verse 227.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WORLD.

167. Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine! Be not a friend of the world.

168. Rouse thyself! do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue! The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

169. Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

170. Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage: the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world.

171. Come, look at this glittering world, like unto a royal chariot; the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not touch it.

172. He who formerly was reckless and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

173. He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

174. This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net.

175. The swans go on the path of the sun, they go through the ether by means of their miraculous

168, 169. See Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 65.

170. See Suttanipāta, v. 1118.

175. Hamsa may be meant for the bird, whether flamingo, or swan, or ibis (see Hardy, Manual, p. 17), but it may also, I believe,

power; the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Māra and his train.

176. If a man has transgressed one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do.

177. The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods; fools only do not praise liberality; a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world.

178. Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of the first step in holiness.

be taken in the sense of saint. As to *iddhi*, 'magical power,' i. e. *ṛiddhi*, see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 310; Spence Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 498, 504; *Legends*, pp. 55, 177; and note to verse 254.

178. *Sotāpatti*, the technical term for the first step in the path that leads to *Nirvāṇa*. There are four such steps, or stages, and on entering each, a man receives a new title:—

(1) *The Srotaāpanna*, lit. he who has got into the stream. A man may have seven more births before he reaches the other shore, i. e. *Nirvāṇa*.

(2) *Sakrīdāgāmin*, lit. he who comes back once, so called because, after having entered this stage, a man is born only once more among men or gods. Childers shows that this involves really two more births, one in the *deva* world, the other in the world of men. Burnouf says the same, *Introduction*, p. 293.

(3) *Anāgāmin*, lit. he who does not come back, so called because, after this stage, a man cannot be born again in a lower world, but can only be born into a *Brahman* world, before he reaches *Nirvāṇa*.

(4) *Arhat*, the venerable, the perfect, who has reached the highest stage that can be reached, and from which *Nirvāṇa* is perceived (*sukkhavipassanā*, *Lotus*, p. 849). See Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 280; Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 209; Köppen, p. 398; D'Alwis, *Attanuguluvansa*, p. cxxiv; Feer, *Sutra en 42 articles*, p. 6.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BUDDHA (THE AWAKENED).

179. He whose conquest is not conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

180. He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

181. Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement (from the world).

182. Difficult (to obtain) is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the True Law, difficult is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood).

179, 180. Buddha, the Awakened, is to be taken as an appellative rather than as the proper name of the Buddha (see v. 183). It means, anybody who has arrived at complete knowledge. Anantagokāram I take in the sense of, possessed of unlimited knowledge. Apadam, which Dr. Fausböll takes as an epithet of Buddha and translates by 'non investigabilis,' is translated 'trackless,' in order to show the play on the word pada; see Childers, s. v. The commentator says: 'The man who is possessed of even a single one of such conditions as rāgā, &c., him ye may lead forward; but the Buddha has not even one condition or basis of renewed existence, and therefore by what track will you lead this unconditioned Buddha?' Cf. Dh. vv. 92, 420; and Gâtaka, vol. i. pp. 79, 313.

182. Mr. Beal (Dhammapada, p. 110) states that this verse occurs in the Sûtra of the Forty-two Sections.

183. Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of (all) the Awakened.

184. The Awakened call patience the highest penance, long-suffering the highest Nirvâna; for he is not an anchorite (*pravragita*) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (*sramana*) who insults others.

185. Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,—this is the teaching of the Awakened.

183. This verse is again one of the most solemn verses among the Buddhists. According to Csoma Körösi, it ought to follow the famous Āryâ stanza, 'Ye dhammâ' (Lotus, p. 522), and serve as its complement. But though this may be the case in Tibet, it was not so originally. The same verse (ascribed to Kanakamuni) occurs at the end of the Chinese translation of the Prâtimoksha (Beal, J. R. A. S. XIX, p. 473; Catena, p. 159); in the Tibetan translation of the Gâthâsaṅgraha, v. 14 (Schiefner, Mél. Asiat. VIII, pp. 568, 586; and Csoma Körösi, As. Res. XX, p. 79). Burnouf has fully discussed the metre and meaning of our verse on pp. 527, 528 of his 'Lotus.' He prefers *saṅgittaparidamanam*, which Csoma translated by 'the mind must be brought under entire subjection' (*svaṅgittaparidamanam*), and the late Dr. Mill by 'proprii intellectus subjugatio.' But his own MS. of the Mahâpadhâna-sutta gave likewise *saṅgittapariyodapanam*, and this is no doubt the correct reading. (See D'Alwis, *Attanugaluvasa*, p. cxxix.) We found *pariyodappeya* in verse 88, in the sense of purging oneself from the troubles of thought. From the same verb, (*pari*) *ava* + *dai*, we may derive the name *Avadâna*, a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act, an *âpiṣṭeia*, afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story the hearing of which purifies the mind. See Boehtlingk-Roth, s. v. *avadâna*.

184. Childers, following the commentator, translates, 'Patience, which is long-suffering, is the best devotion, the Buddhas declare that Nirvâna is the best (of things).'

185. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 337. *Pâtimokkhe*, 'under the law,' i. e. according to the law, the law which leads to Moksha, or 'freedom.' *Prâtimoksha* is the title of the oldest collection of the moral laws

186. There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces ; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise ;

187. Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires.

188. Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

189. But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge ; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge.

190. He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law,

of the Buddhists (Burnouf, Introduction, p. 300 ; Bigandet, The Life of Gaudama, p. 439 ; Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 162), and as it was common both to the Southern and the Northern Buddhists, *pâtimokkhe* in our passage may possibly be meant, as Professor Weber suggests, as the title of that very collection. The commentator explains it by *geṭṭhakasīla* and *pâtimokkhasīla*. *Sayanâsam* might stand for *sayanâsanam*, see Mahâbh. XII, 6684 ; but in Buddhist literature it is intended for *sayanâsanam* ; see also Mahâbh. XII, 9978, *sayyâsane*. Fausbøll now reads *pânta* instead of *pathaṇ*.

187. There is a curious similarity between this verse and verse 6503 (9919) of the *Sântiparva* :

Yak ka kâmasukham loke, yak ka divyam mahat sukham,

Trishnâkshayasukhasyaite nârhatâ shodâsîm kalâm.

‘And whatever delight of love there is on earth, and whatever is the great delight in heaven, they are not worth the sixteenth part of the pleasure which springs from the destruction of all desires.’ The two verses 186, 187 are ascribed to king *Mandhâtîri*, shortly before his death (Mél. Asiat. VIII, p. 471 ; see also *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 113).

188–192. These verses occur in Sanskrit in the *Prâtiḥâryasûtra*, translated by Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 162–189 ; see p. 186. Burnouf translates *rukkhaketyâni* by ‘arbres consacrés ;’ properly, sacred shrines under or near a tree. See also *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 97.

190. Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha are called the *Trisarana* (cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 630). The four holy truths are the four statements that there is pain in this world, that the source of

and the Church ; he who, with clear understanding, sees the four holy truths :—

191. Viz. pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain ;—

192. That is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge ; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.

193. A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found, he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.

194. Happy is the arising of the awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.

195, 196. He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host (of evils), and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliverance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by anybody.

pain is desire, that desire can be annihilated, that there is a way (shown by Buddha) by which the annihilation of all desires can be achieved, and freedom be obtained. That way consists of eight parts. (See Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 630.) The eightfold way forms the subject of Chapter XVIII. (See also Feer, *Journal As.* 1870, p. 418, and *Chips from a German Workshop*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 251 seq.)

CHAPTER XV.

HAPPINESS.

197. Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! among men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred! ~~must hate those who hate you~~

198. Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments!

199. Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed!

200. Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!

201. Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented, is happy.

198. The ailment here meant is moral rather than physical. Cf. Mahâbh. XII, 9924, *samprasânto nirâmayaḥ*; 9925, *yo 'sau prânântiko rogas tām trishnām tyagataḥ sukham*.

200. The words placed in the mouth of the king of Videha, while his residence Mithilâ was in flames, are curiously like our verse; cf. Mahâbh. XII, 9917,

Susukham vata gīvāmi yasya me nāsti kiṅkana,

Mithilâyām pradīptâyām na me dahyati kiṅkana.

'I live happily, indeed, for I have nothing; while Mithilâ is in flames, nothing of mine is burning.' Cf. Muir, Religious Sentiments, p. 106.

The âbhassara, i. e. âbhâsvara, 'the bright gods,' are frequently mentioned. Cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 611.

201. This verse is ascribed to Buddha, when he heard of the defeat of Agâtasatru by Prasenagit. It exists in the Northern or

202. There is no fire like passion ; there is no losing throw like hatred ; there is no pain like this body ; (there is no happiness higher than rest.) ✓

203. Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains ; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvâna, the highest happiness.

Sanskrit and in the Southern or Pâli texts, i. e. in the Avadâna-sataka, in the Samyutta-nikâya. See Feer, Comptes Rendus, 1871, p. 44, and Journal As. 1880, p. 509. In the Avadâna-sataka, the Sanskrit version is—

*Gayo vairam prasavati, dukkham sete parâgitaḥ
Upasântaḥ sukham sete hitvâ gayaparâgayam.*

202. I take kali in the sense of an unlucky die which makes a player lose his game. A real simile seems wanted here, as in verse 251, where, for the same reason, I translate graha by 'shark,' not by 'captivitas,' as Dr. Fausböll proposes. The same scholar translates kali in our verse by 'peccatum.' If there is any objection to translating kali in Pâli by 'unlucky die,' I should still prefer to take it in the sense of the age of depravity, or the demon of depravity. To judge from Abhidhânappadîpikâ, 1106, kali was used for parâgaya, i. e. loss at game, a losing throw, and occurs in that sense again in verse 252. The Chinese translation has, 'there is no distress (poison) worse than hate.' A similar verse occurs Mahâbh. Sântip. 175, v. 35.

'Body' for khandha is a free translation, but it is difficult to find any other rendering. The Chinese translation also has 'body.' According to the Buddhists each sentient being consists of five khandhas (skandha), or aggregates, the organized body (rûpa-khandha) with its four internal capacities of sensation (vedanâ), perception (saññâ), conception (saṃskâra), knowledge (viññâna). See Burnouf, Introd. pp. 589, 634 ; Lotus, p. 335.

203. Saṃskâra is the fourth of the five khandhas, but the commentator takes it here, as well as in verse 255, for the five khandhas together, in which case we can only translate it by 'body.' See also verse 278. Childers proposes 'organic life' (Notes on Dhammapada, p. 1). There is, however, another saṃskâra, that which follows immediately upon avidyâ, 'ignorance,' as the second of the nidânas, or 'causes of existence,' and this too might be called the greatest pain, considering that it is the cause of birth, which is the cause of all pain. Saṃskâra seems sometimes to have a different

204. Health is the greatest of gifts, contented-
ness the best riches; trust is the best of relation-
ships, Nirvâṇa the highest happiness. } *fine*

205. He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity, is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the law.

206. The sight of the elect (Arya) is good, to live with them is always happiness; (if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy.)

207. He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk. ? ॐ

208. Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

and less technical meaning, being used in the sense of conceptions, plans, desires, as, for instance, in verse 368, where *saṅkhârāṇaṃ khayam* is used much like *tamhâkhaya*. Again, in his comment on verse 75, Buddhaghosa says, *upadhiviveko saṅkhârasaṅganikam vinodeti*; and again, *upadhiviveko ka nirupadhîṇāṃ puggalāṇaṃ visaṅkhâragatāṇāṃ*.

For a similar sentiment, see Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadânas*, vol. i. p. 40, 'Le corps est la plus grande source de souffrance,' &c. I should say that the *khandhas* in verse 202 and the *saṅkhâras* in verse 203 are nearly, if not quite, synonymous. I should prefer to read *gigaṅṅhâ-paramâ* as a compound. *Gigaṅṅhâ*, or as it is written in one MS., *digakaṅṅhâ* (Sk. *gighatsâ*), means not only 'hunger,' but 'appetite, desire.'

204. Childers translates, 'the best kinsman is a man you can trust.'

205. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 256.

208. I should like to read *sukho ka dhîrasamvâso*.

CHAPTER XVI.

PLEASURE.

209. He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.

210. Let no man ever look for what is pleasant, or what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.

211. Let, therefore, no man love anything ; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters.

212. From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear ; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

213. From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear ; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.

214. From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear ; he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.

215. From love comes grief, from love comes fear ; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear.

216. From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear ; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.

217. He who possesses virtue and intelligence,

214. See Beal, Catena, p. 200.

who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

218. He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvâṇa) has sprung up, who is satisfied in his mind, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called ūrdhvamsrotas (carried upwards by the stream).

219. Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.

220. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good; and has gone from this world to the other;—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

218. Ūrdhvamsrotas or uddhamsoto is the technical name for one who has reached the world of the Avrihas (Aviha), and is proceeding to that of the Akanish/has (Akani//ha). This is the last stage before he reaches the formless world, the Arūpadhātu. (See Buddhaghosha's Parables, p. 123; Burnouf, Introduction, p. 599.) Originally ūrdhvamsrotas may have been used in a less technical sense, meaning one who swims against the stream, and is not carried away by the vulgar passions of the world.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANGER.

221. Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.

222. He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.

223. Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!

224. Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little; by these three steps thou wilt go near the gods.

225. The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (*Nirvâna*), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.

226. Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after *Nirvâna*, their passions will come to an end.

227. This is an old saying, O Atula, this is not only of to-day: 'They blame him who sits silent,

221. 'Name and form' or 'mind and body' is the translation of *nâma-rûpa*, the ninth of the Buddhist *Nidânas*. Cf. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 501; see also Gogerly, Lecture on Buddhism, and Bigandet, The Life of Gaudama, p. 454.

223. *Mahâbh. XII, 3550, asâdhum sadhunâ gayet*. Cf. Ten *Gâtakas*, ed. Fausböll, p. 5.

227. It appears from the commentary that *porânam* and *aggata-nam* are neuters, referring to what happened formerly and what

they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little ; there is no one on earth who is not blamed.

228. There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.

229, 230. But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue, who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the Gambû river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brahman.

231. Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body ! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue !

232. Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue ! Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue !

233. Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind ! Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind !

234. The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled.

happens to-day, and that they are not to be taken as adjectives referring to âsînam, &c. The commentator must have read *atula* instead of *atulam*, and he explains it as the name of a pupil whom Gautama addressed by that name. This may be so (see note to verse 166); but *atula* may also be taken in the sense of incomparable (*Mahâbh.* XIII, 1937), and in that case we ought to supply, with Professor Weber, some such word as 'saw' or 'saying.'

230. The Brahman worlds are higher than the Deva worlds as the Brahman is higher than a Deva; see Hardy, *Manual*, p. 25; Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 134, 184.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMPURITY.

235. Thou art now like a sear leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee ; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

236. Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise ! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariya).

237. Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

238. Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise ! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.

239. Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time.

240. As the impurity which springs from the iron,

235. Uyyoga seems to mean departure. See Buddhaghosa's commentary on verse 152, p. 319, l. 1 ; Fausböll, *Five Gātakas*, p. 35.

236. 'An island,' for a drowning man to save himself ; (see verse 25.) *Dīpaṅkara* is the name of one of the former Buddhas, and it is also used as an appellative of the Buddha, but is always derived from *dīpo*, 'a lamp.'

239. This verse is the foundation of the thirty-fourth section of the *Sūtra* of the forty-two sections ; see Beal, *Catena*, p. 201 ; *Suttanipāta*, v. 962.

when it springs from it, destroys it ; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path.

241. The taint of prayers is non-repetition ; the taint of houses, non-repair ; the taint of the body is sloth ; the taint of a watchman, thoughtlessness.

242. Bad conduct is the taint of woman, greediness the taint of a benefactor ; tainted are all evil ways, in this world and in the next.

243. But there is a taint worse than all taints,—ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants ! throw off that taint, and become taintless !

244. Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame, a crow hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.

245. But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.

246. He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in this world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife ;

247. And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root. *taking advantage of self.*

248. O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state ; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time !

244. Pakkhandin is identified by Dr. Fausböll with praskandin, one who jumps forward, insults, or, as Buddhaghosa explains it, one who meddles with other people's business, an interloper. At all events, it is a term of reproach, and, as it would seem, of theological reproach.

246. On the five principal commandments which are recapitulated in verses 246 and 247, see Buddhaghosa's Parables, p. 153.

248. Cf. Mahâbhârata XII, 4055, yeshâm vrittis ka samyatâ. See also verse 307.

249. The world gives according to their faith or according to their pleasure : if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.

250. He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.

251. There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.

252. The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive ; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler.

253. If a man looks after the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.

254. There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. The world

249. This verse has evidently regard to the feelings of the Bhikshus or mendicants who receive either much or little, and who are exhorted not to be envious if others receive more than they themselves. Several of the Parables illustrate this feeling.

251. Dr. Fausböll translates *gaho* by 'captivitas,' Dr. Weber by 'fetter.' I take it in the same sense as *grâha* in Manu VI, 78 ; and Buddhaghosa does the same, though he assigns to *grâha* a more general meaning, viz. anything that seizes, whether an evil spirit (*yakkha*), a serpent (*agagara*), or a crocodile (*kumbhîla*).

Greed or thirst is represented as a river in *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Calc. p. 482, *trishnâ-nadî tivegâ prasoshitâ me gñânasûryena*, 'the wild river of thirst is dried up by the sun of my knowledge.'

252. See Childers, Notes, p. 7 ; St. Matthew vii. 3.

253. As to *âsava*, 'appetite, passion,' see note to verse 39.

254. I have translated this verse very freely, and not in accord-

delights in vanity, the Tathâgatas (the Buddhas) are free from vanity.

255. There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. -No creatures are eternal; but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken.

ance with Buddhaghosa's commentary. Dr. Fausbøll proposed to translate, 'No one who is outside the Buddhist community can walk through the air, but only a Samana;' and the same view is taken by Professor Weber, though he arrives at it by a different construction. Now it is perfectly true that the idea of magical powers (*ṛiddhi*) which enable saints to walk through the air, &c., occurs in the Dhammapada, see v. 175, note. But the Dhammapada may contain earlier and later verses, and in that case our verse might be an early protest on the part of Buddha against the belief in such miraculous powers. We know how Buddha himself protested against his disciples being called upon to perform vulgar miracles. 'I command my disciples not to work miracles,' he said, 'but to hide their good deeds, and to show their sins' (Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 170). It would be in harmony with this sentiment if we translated our verse as I have done. As to *bahira*, I should take it in the sense of 'external,' as opposed to *adhyâtmika*, or 'internal;' and the meaning would be, 'a Samana is not a Samana by outward acts, but by his heart.' D'Alwis translates (p. 85): 'There is no footprint in the air; there is not a Samana out of the pale of the Buddhist community.'

Prapañka, which I have here translated by 'vanity,' seems to include the whole host of human weaknesses; cf. v. 196, where it is explained by *tamhâditthimânâpapañka*; in our verse by *tamhâdisu papañkesu*: cf. *Lalita-vistara*, p. 564, *anâlayam nishprapañkam anutpâdam asambhavam (dharmaṭakram)*. As to Tathâgata, a name of Buddha, cf. Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 75.

255. *Saṅkhâra* for *samskâra*; cf. note to verse 203. Creature does not, as Mr. D'Alwis (p. 69) supposes, involve the Christian conception of creation.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JUST.

256, 257. A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others, not by violence, but by law and equity, and who is guarded by the law and intelligent, he is called just.

258. A man is not learned because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, he is called learned.

259. A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.

260. A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'Old-in-vain.'

261. He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder.

262. An envious, greedy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.

263. He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise, is called respectable.

259. Buddhaghosa here takes law (dhamma) in the sense of the four great truths, see note to verse 190. Could *dhammam kâyena passati* mean, 'he observes the law in his acts?' Hardly, if we compare expressions like *dhammam vipassato*, v. 373.

264. Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Samana; can a man be a Samana who is still held captive by desire and greediness?

265. He who always quiets the evil, whether small or large, he is called a Samana (a quiet man), because he has quieted all evil.

266. A man is not a mendicant (Bhikshu) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikshu, not he who only begs.

267. He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with knowledge passes through the world, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

268, 269. A man is not a Muni because he observes silence (mona, i. e. mauna), if he is foolish

265. This is a curious etymology, because it shows that at the time when this verse was written, the original meaning of sramana had been forgotten. Sramana meant originally, in the language of the Brahmans, a man who performed hard penances, from sram, 'to work hard,' &c. When it became the name of the Buddhist ascetics, the language had changed, and sramana was pronounced samana. Now there is another Sanskrit root, sam, 'to quiet,' which in Pâli becomes likewise sam, and from this root sam, 'to quiet,' and not from sram, 'to tire,' did the popular etymology of the day and the writer of our verse derive the title of the Buddhist priests. The original form sramana became known to the Greeks as Σαμᾶναι, that of samana as Σαμᾶνῶν; the former through Megasthenes, the latter through Bardesanes, 80-60 B.C. (See Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, II, 700.) The Chinese Shamen and the Tungusian Shamen come from the same source, though the latter has sometimes been doubted. See Schott, Über die doppelte Bedeutung des Wortes Schamane, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1842, p. 463 seq.

266-270. The etymologies here given of the ordinary titles of the followers of Buddha are entirely fanciful, and are curious only as showing how the people who spoke Pâli had lost the etymological consciousness of their language. A Bhikshu is a beggar,

and ignorant ; but the wise who, taking the balance, chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby ; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni.

270. A man is not an elect (Ariya) because he injures living creatures ; because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called Ariya.

271, 272. Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. Bhikshu, be not confident as long as thou hast not attained the extinction of desires.

i. e. a Buddhist friar who has left his family and lives entirely on alms. Muni is a sage, hence Sâkya-muni, a name of Gautama. Muni comes from man, 'to think,' and from muni comes mauna, 'silence.' Ariya, again, is the general name of those who embrace a religious life. It meant originally 'respectable, noble.' In verse 270 it seems as if the writer wished to guard against deriving ariya from ari, 'enemy.' See note to verse 22.

272. See Childers, Notes, p. 7.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAY.

273. The best of ways is the eightfold ; the best of truths the four words ; the best of virtues passionlessness ; the best of men he who has eyes to see.

274. This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this way ! Everything else is the deceit of Māra (the tempter).

275. If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain ! The way was preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns (in the flesh).

276. You yourself must make an effort. The Tathāgatas (Buddhas) are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Māra.

277. 'All created things perish,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way to purity.

273. The eightfold or eight-membered way is the technical term for the way by which Nirvāṇa is attained. (See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 519.) This very way constitutes the fourth of the Four Truths, or the four words of truth, viz. *Duḥkha*, 'pain ;' *Samudaya*, 'origin ;' *Nirodha*, 'destruction ;' *Mārga*, 'road.' (*Lotus*, p. 517.) See note to verse 178. For another explanation of the *Mārga*, or 'way,' see Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 280.

274. The last line may mean, 'this way is the confusion of Māra,' i. e. the discomfiture of Māra.

275. The *salyas*, 'arrows or thorns,' are the *sokasalya*, 'the arrows of grief.' Buddha himself is called *mahāsalya-hartā*, 'the great remover of thorns.' (*Lalita-vistara*, p. 550 ; *Mahābh.* XII, 5616.)

277. See v. 255.

278. 'All created things are grief and pain,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

279. 'All forms are unreal,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

280. He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who, though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to knowledge.

281. Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body ! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.

282. Through zeal knowledge is gotten, through lack of zeal knowledge is lost ; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.

283. Cut down the whole forest (of lust), not a tree only ! Danger comes out of the forest (of lust). When you have cut down both the forest (of lust) and its undergrowth, then, Bhikshus, you will be rid of the forest and free !

278. See v. 203.

279. Dhamma is here explained, like saṅkhâra, as the five khandha, i. e. as what constitutes a living body.

281. Cf. Beal, Catena, p. 159.

282. Bhûri was rightly translated 'intelligentia' by Dr. Fausböll. Dr. Weber renders it by 'Gedeihen,' but the commentator distinctly explains it as 'vast knowledge,' and in the technical sense the word occurs after vidyâ and before medhâ, in the Lalita-vistara, p. 541.

283. A pun, vana meaning both 'lust' and 'forest.' See some mistaken remarks on this verse in D'Alwis, Nirvâna, p. 86, and some good remarks in Childers, Notes, p. 7.

284. So long as the love of man towards women, even the smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother.

285. Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvâna has been shown by Sugata (Buddha).

286. 'Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and summer,' thus the fool meditates, and does not think of his death.

287. Death comes and carries off that man, praised for his children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

288. Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations; there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom death has seized.

289. A wise and good man who knows the meaning of this, should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvâna.

285. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 183.

286. *Antarâya*, according to the commentator, *gâvitântarâya*, i. e. interitus, death. In Sanskrit, *antarita* is used in the sense of 'vanished' or 'perished.'

287. See notes to verse 47, Thiessen, *Kisâgotamî*, p. 11, and *Mahâbh.* XII, 9944, 6540.

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

290. If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure, and look to the great.

291. He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred.

292. What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done ; the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.

293. But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the desires of such watchful and wise people will come to an end.

294. A true Brâhmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects.

295. A true Brâhmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides.

292. Cf. Beal, Catena, p. 264.

294, 295. These two verses are either meant to show that a truly holy man who, by accident, commits all these crimes is guiltless, or they refer to some particular event in Buddha's history. The commentator is so startled that he explains them allegorically. Mr. D'Alwis is very indignant that I should have supposed Buddha capable of pardoning patricide. 'Can it be believed,' he writes, 'that a Teacher, who held life, even the life of the minutest insect,

296. The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.

297. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the law.

298. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the church.

299. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.

may, even a living tree, in such high estimation as to prevent its wanton destruction, has declared that the murder of a Brâhmana, to whom he accorded reverence, along with his own Sangha, was blameless?' D'Alwis, *Nirvâna*, p. 88. Though something might be said in reply, considering the antecedents of king Agâtasatru, the patron of Buddha, and stories such as that quoted by the commentator on the *Dhammapada* (Beal, l.c. p. 150), or in *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 306, still these two verses are startling, and I am not aware that Buddha has himself drawn the conclusion, which has been drawn by others, viz. that those who have reached the highest Sambodhi, and are in fact no longer themselves, are outside the domain of good and bad, and beyond the reach of guilt. Verses like 39 and 412 admit of a different explanation. Still our verses being miscellaneous extracts, might possibly have been taken from a work in which such an opinion was advanced, and I find that Mr. Childers, no mean admirer of Buddha, was not shocked by my explanation. 'In my judgment,' he says, 'this verse is intended to express in a forcible manner the Buddhist doctrine that the Arhat cannot commit a serious sin.' However, we have met before with far-fetched puns in these verses, and it is not impossible that the native commentators were right after all in seeing some puns or riddles in this verse. D'Alwis, following the commentary, explains mother as lust, father as pride, the two valiant kings as heretical systems, and the realm as sensual pleasure, while veyyaggha is taken by him for a place infested with the tigers of obstruction against final beatitude. Some confirmation of this interpretation is sup-

300. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.

301. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.

302. It is hard to leave the world (to become a friar), it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals (to share everything in common), and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. Therefore let no man be an itinerant mendicant, and he will not be beset with pain.

303. Whatever place a faithful, virtuous, celebrated, and wealthy man chooses, there he is respected.

304. Good people shine from afar, like the snowy

plied by a passage in the third book of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, as quoted by Mr. Beal in his translation of the *Dhammapada*, Introduction, p. 5. Here a stanza is quoted as having been recited by Buddha, in explanation of a similar startling utterance which he had made to Mahāmāti:

‘Lust, or carnal desire, this is the Mother,
 Ignorance, this is the Father,
 The highest point of knowledge, this is Buddha,
 All the klesas, these are the Rahats,
 The five skandhas, these are the Priests;
 To commit the five unpardonable sins
 Is to destroy these five
 And yet not suffer the pains of hell.’

The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci (508–511); when it was written is doubtful. See also *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 263.

302. This verse is difficult, and I give my translation as tentative only. Childers (Notes, p. 11) does not remove the difficulties, and I have been chiefly guided by the interpretation put on the verse by the Chinese translator; Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 137.

mountains; bad people are not seen, like arrows shot by night.

305. He alone who, without ceasing, practises the duty of sitting alone and sleeping alone, he, subduing himself, will rejoice in the destruction of all desires alone, as if living in a forest.

305. I have translated this verse so as to bring it into something like harmony with the preceding verses. Vanânte, according to a pun pointed out before (v. 283), means both 'in the end of a forest,' and 'in the end of desires.'

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DOWNWARD COURSE.

306. He who says what is not, goes to hell; he also who, having done a thing, says 'I have not done it. After death both are equal, they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

307. Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil-doers by their evil deeds go to hell.

308. Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball, like flaring fire, than that a bad unrestrained fellow should live on the charity of the land.

309. Four things does a reckless man gain who covets his neighbour's wife,—a bad reputation, an uncomfortable bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.

306. I translate *niraya*, 'the exit, the downward course, the evil path,' by 'hell,' because the meaning assigned to that ancient mythological name by Christian writers comes so near to the Buddhist idea of *niraya*, that it is difficult not to believe in some actual contact between these two streams of thought. See also *Mahâbh. XII, 7176*. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 416; *Suttanipâta*, v. 660.

307, 308. These two verses are said to be taken from the *Vinaya-piṭaka I, 4, 1*; D'Alwis, *Nirvâṇa*, p. 29.

308. The charity of the land, i. e. the alms given, from a sense of religious duty, to every mendicant that asks for it.

309, 310. The four things mentioned in verse 309 seem to be repeated in verse 310. Therefore, *apuññalâbha*, 'bad fame,' is the same in both: *gatî pâpikâ* must be *niraya*; *danda* must be *nindâ*, and *ratî thokikâ* explains the *anikâmaseyyam*. *Buddhaghosa*

310. There is bad reputation, and the evil way (to hell), there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the arms of the frightened, and the king imposes heavy punishment ; therefore let no man think of his neighbour's wife.

311. As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm, badly-practised asceticism leads to hell.

312. An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline, all this brings no great reward.

313. If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously ! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.

314. An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterwards ; a good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent.

315. Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defences within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass, suffer pain when they are in hell.

316. They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

317. They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

takes the same view of the meaning of *anikâmasēyya*, i. e. *yathâ ikkhāti evaṃ seyyam alabhitvā, anikkhitam parittakam eva kâlam seyyam labhati*, 'not obtaining the rest as he wishes it, he obtains it, as he does not wish it, for a short time only.'

313. As to *raga* meaning 'dust' and 'passion,' see *Buddha-ghosha's Parables*, pp. 65, 66.

318. They who forbid when there is nothing to be forbidden, and forbid not when there is something to be forbidden, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

319. They who know what is forbidden as forbidden, and what is not forbidden as not forbidden, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ELEPHANT.

320. Silently shall I endure abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow : for the world is ill-natured.

321. They lead a tamed elephant to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant ; the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse.

322. Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks ; but he who tames himself is better still.

323. For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvâna), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal, viz. on his own well-tamed self.

324. The elephant called Dhanapâlaka, his temples running with sap, and difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound ; the elephant longs for the elephant grove.

320. The elephant is with the Buddhists the emblem of endurance and self-restraint. Thus Buddha himself is called Nâga, 'the Elephant' (Lal. Vist. p. 553), or Mahânâga, 'the great Elephant' (Lal. Vist. p. 553), and in one passage (Lal. Vist. p. 554) the reason of this name is given, by stating that Buddha was sudânta, 'well-tamed,' like an elephant. He descended from heaven in the form of an elephant to be born on earth.

Cf. Manu VI, 47, *ativâdâms titiksheta*.

323. I read, as suggested by Dr. Fausböll, *yath' attanâ sudantena danto dantena gakkhati* (cf. verse 160). The India Office MS. reads *na hi etehi ihânehi gakkheya agatam disam, yath' attânam sudantena danto dantena gakkhati*. As to *ihânehi* instead of *yânehi*, see verse 224.

325. If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again.

326. This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant.

327. Be not thoughtless, watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.

328. If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.

329. If a man find no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind,—like an elephant in the forest.

330. It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.

326. *Yoniso*, i.e. *yonisaḥ*, is rendered by Dr. Fausböll 'sapientiâ,' and this is the meaning ascribed to *yoni* by many Buddhist authorities. But the reference to Hemakandra (ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu, p. 281) shows clearly that it meant 'origin,' or 'cause.' *Yoniso* occurs frequently as a mere adverb, meaning 'thoroughly, radically' (Dhammapada, p. 359), and *yoniso manasikâra* (Dhammapada, p. 110) means 'taking to heart' or 'minding thoroughly,' or, what is nearly the same, 'wisely.' In the *Lalita-vistara*, p. 41, the commentator has clearly mistaken *yonisaḥ*, changing it to *ye 'niso*, and explaining it by *yamanisam*, whereas M. Foucaux has rightly translated it by 'depuis l'origine.' Professor Weber suspected in *yonisaḥ* a double entendre, but even grammar would show that our author is innocent of it. In *Lalita-vistara*, p. 544, l. 4, *ayonisa* occurs in the sense of error.

328, 329. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, vv. 44, 45.

331. If an occasion arises, friends are pleasant ; enjoyment is pleasant, whatever be the cause ; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death ; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.

332. Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana, pleasant the state of a Brâhmana.

333. Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted ; pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.

332. The commentator throughout takes these words, like mat-teyyatâ, &c., to signify, not the status of a mother, or maternity, but reverence shown to a mother.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

THIRST.

334. The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper ; he runs from life to life, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest.

1. 335. Whomsoever this fierce thirst overcomes, full of poison, in this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding *Bīraṇa* grass.

336. He who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off from him, like water-drops from a lotus leaf.

2. 337. This salutary word I tell you, 'Do ye, as many as are here assembled, dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet-scented *Uśīra* root must dig up the *Bīraṇa* grass, that *Māra* (the tempter) may not crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds.'

338. As a tree, even though it has been cut down, is firm so long as its root is safe, and grows again, thus, unless the feeders of thirst are destroyed, this pain (of life) will return again and again.

339. He whose thirst running towards pleasure is exceeding strong in the thirty-six channels, the

334. This is explained by a story in the Chinese translation. Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 148.

335. *Bīraṇa* grass is the *Andropogon muricatum*, and the scented root of it is called *Uśīra* (cf. verse 337).

338. On *Anusaya*, i.e. *Anusaya* (Anlage), see Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 240 seq.

339. The thirty-six channels, or passions, which are divided by the commentator into eighteen external and eighteen internal, are

waves will carry away that misguided man, viz. his desires which are set on passion.

340. The channels run everywhere, the creeper³ (of passion) stands sprouting ; if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge.

341. A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious ; sunk in lust and looking for pleasure, men undergo (again and again) birth and decay.

342. Men, driven on by thirst, run about like⁴ a snared hare ; held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again.

343. Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare ; let therefore the mendicant drive out thirst, by striving after passionlessness for himself.

344. He who having got rid of the forest (of lust) (i.e. after having reached Nirvâna) gives himself over to forest-life (i.e. to lust), and who, when removed from the forest (i.e. from lust), runs to the forest (i.e. to lust), look at that man ! though free, he runs into bondage.

explained by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 649), from a gloss of the *Ginālaṅkāra* : 'L'indication précise des affections dont un Buddha acte indépendant, affections qui sont au nombre de dix-huit, nous est fourni par la glose d'un livre appartenant aux Buddhistes de Ceylan,' &c. Subhūti gives the right reading as *manāpassavanā* ; cf. Childers, Notes, p. 12.

Vāhā, which Dr. Fausböll translates by 'equi,' may be *vahā*, 'undae.' Cf. *Suttanipāta*, v. 1034.

344. This verse seems again full of puns, all connected with the twofold meaning of *vana*, 'forest and lust.' By replacing 'forest' by 'lust,' we may translate : 'He who, when free from lust, gives himself up to lust, who, when removed from lust runs into lust, look at that man,' &c. *Nibbana*, though with a short *a*, may be intended to remind the hearer of *Nibbāna*. The right reading is *nibbanatho* ; see Childers, Notes, p. 8.

5. 345. Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp ; far stronger is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and a wife.

346. That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo ; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving desires and pleasures behind.

347. Those who are slaves to passions, run down with the stream (of desires), as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself ; when they have cut this, at last, wise people leave the world, free from cares, leaving all affection behind.

6. 348. Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what is in the middle, when thou goest to the other shore of existence ; if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay.

7. 349. If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will indeed make his fetters strong.

8. 350. If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful

345. Apekshâ, apekshâ, 'care ;' see Manu VI, 41, 49 ; Suttani-pâta, v. 37 ; and Gâtaka, vol. ii. p. 140.

346. Paribbag, i. e. parivrag ; see Manu VI, 41.

347. The commentator explains the simile of the spider as follows : 'As a spider, after having made its thread-web, sits in the middle, and after killing with a violent rush a butterfly or a fly which has fallen in its circle, drinks its juice, returns, and sits again in the same place, in the same manner creatures who are given to passions, depraved by hatred, and maddened by wrath, run along the stream of thirst which they have made themselves, and cannot cross it,' &c.

(the impurity of the body, &c.), he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mâra.

351. He who has reached the consummation, who does not tremble, who is without thirst and without sin, he has broken all the thorns of life : this will be his last body.

352. He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man.

353. 'I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint; I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free; having learnt myself, whom shall I teach?'

354. The gift of the law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the law exceeds all delights; the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.

355. Pleasures destroy the foolish, if they look not for the other shore; the foolish by his thirst for pleasures destroys himself, as if he were his own enemy.

352. As to nirutti, and its technical meaning among the Buddhists, see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 841. Fausböll translates 'niruttis vocabulorum peritus,' which may be right, if we take nirutti in the sense of the language of the Scriptures. See note to verse 363. Could not sannipâta mean samhitâ or sannikarsha? Sannipâta occurs in the *Sākala-prâtisākhya*, but with a different meaning.

353. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, v. 210.

354. The dhammadāna, or 'gift of the law,' is the technical term for instruction in the Buddhist religion. See Buddhaghosha's *Parables*, p. 160, where the story of the Sakkadevarāga is told, and where a free rendering of our verse is given.

356. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion : therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward.

357. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred : therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward.

358. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity : therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward.

359. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust : therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from lust brings great reward.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BHIKSHU (MENDICANT).

360. Restraint in the eye is good, good is restraint in the ear, in the nose restraint is good, good is restraint in the tongue.

361. In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things. A Bhikshu, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain.

362. He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet, he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled, he who delights inwardly, who is collected, who is solitary and content, him they call Bhikshu.

363. The Bhikshu who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the law, his word is sweet.

364. He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, follows the law, that Bhikshu will never fall away from the true law.

365. Let him not despise what he has received,

363. On artha and dharma, see Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadânas*, I, 217, note; 'Les quatre connaissances sont; 1^o la connaissance du sens (artha); 2^o la connaissance de la Loi (dharma); 3^o la connaissance des explications (niroukti); 4^o la connaissance de l'intelligence (prâtibhâna).'

364. The expression dhammârâmo, 'having his garden or delight (Lustgarten) in the law,' is well matched by the Brahmanic expression ekârâma, i. e. nirdvandva (*Mahâbh.* XIII, 1930). Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 326; *Dhammapada*, v. 32.

nor ever envy others: a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.

366. A Bhikshu who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.

367. He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

368. The Bhikshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (*Nirvâna*), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

369. O Bhikshu, empty this boat! if emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to *Nirvâna*.

370. Cut off the five (senses), leave the five, rise above the five. A Bhikshu, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called *Oghatinna*, 'saved from the flood.'

371. Meditate, O Bhikshu, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure, that thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball (in hell), and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, 'This is pain.'

367. *Nâmarûpa* is here used again in its technical sense of mind and body, neither of which, however, is with the Buddhists *âtman*, or 'self.' *Asat*, 'what is not,' may therefore mean the same as *nâmarûpa*, or we may take it in the sense of what is no more, as, for instance, the beauty or youth of the body, the vigour of the mind, &c.

368. See Childers, Notes, p. 11.

371. The swallowing of hot iron balls is considered as a punishment in hell; see verse 308. Professor Weber has perceived the

372. Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge : he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvâna.

373. A Bhikshu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly.

374. As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements (khandha) of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal (Nirvâna).

375. And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikshu : watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law ; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful.

376. Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties ; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering.

377. As the Vassikâ plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred, O ye Bhikshus !

378. The Bhikshu whose body and tongue and mind are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the baits of the world, he is called quiet.

379. Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, thus self-protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, Ò Bhikshu !

380. For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self ; therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good horse.

right meaning of bhavassu, which can only be bhâvayasva, but I doubt whether the rest of his rendering is right, for who would swallow an iron ball by accident ?

372. Cf. Beal, Catena, p. 247.

375. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 337.

381. The Bhikshu, full of delight, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (Nirvâṇa), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

382. He who, even as a young Bhikshu, applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world, like the moon when free from clouds.

381. See verse 368. D'Alwis translates, 'dissolution of the saṅkhâras (elements of existence).'

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BRÂHMANA (ARHAT).

383. Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O Brâhmana! When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.

384. If the Brâhmana has reached the other shore in both laws (in restraint and contemplation), all bonds vanish from him who has obtained knowledge.

385. He for whom there is neither this nor that shore, nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call indeed a Brâhmana.

386. He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

387. The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armour, the Brâhmana is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendour day and night.

388. Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brâhmana; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravragita (Pabbagita, a pilgrim).

385. The exact meaning of the two shores is not quite clear, and the commentator who takes them in the sense of internal and external organs of sense, can hardly be right. See verse 86.

388. These would-be etymologies are again interesting as showing the decline of the etymological life of the spoken language of

389. No one should attack a Brâhmana, but no Brâhmana (if attacked) should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a Brâhmana, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

390. It advantages a Brâhmana not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; when all wish to injure has vanished, pain will cease.

391. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points.

392. After a man has once understood the law as taught by the Well-awakened (Buddha), let him worship it carefully, as the Brâhmana worships the sacrificial fire.

393. A man does not become a Brâhmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brâhmana.

394. What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

395. The man who wears dirty raiments, who is

India at the time when such etymologies became possible. In order to derive Brâhmana from vâh, it must have been pronounced bâhmano; vâh, 'to remove,' occurs frequently in the Buddhistical Sanskrit. Cf. Lal. Vist. p. 551, l. 1; 553, l. 7. See note to verse 265.

390. I am afraid I have taken too much liberty with this verse. Dr. Fausböll translates, 'Non Brâhmanae hoc paulo melius, quando retentio fit mentis a jucundis.'

393. Fausböll proposes to read *gakkâ* (*gâtâyâ*). 'Both' in the first edition of my translation was a misprint for 'birth.'

394. I have not copied the language of the Bible more than I was justified in. The words are *abbhantaran te gahanam, bâhiram parimaggasi*, 'interna est abyssus, externum mundas.' Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 481.

395. The expression *Kisan dhamanisanthatam* is the Sanskrit

emaciated and covered with veins, who lives alone in the forest, and meditates, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

396. I do not call a man a Brâhmana because of his origin or of his mother. He is indeed arrogant, and he is wealthy: but the poor, who is free from all attachments, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

397. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has cut all fetters, who never trembles, is independent and unshackled.

398. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has cut the strap and the thong, the chain with all that pertains to it, who has burst the bar, and is awakened.

399. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army.

400. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without appetite, who is subdued, and has received his last body.

krîsam dhamanîsantatam, the frequent occurrence of which in the Mahâbhârata has been pointed out by Boehtlingk, s. v. dhamani. It looks more like a Brâhmanic than like a Buddhist phrase.

396. From verse 396 to the first half of verse 423, the text of the Dhammapada agrees with the text of the Vasishṭha-Bharadvâga-sûtra. These verses are translated by D'Alwis in his *Nirvâna*, pp. 113-118, and again by Fausböll, *Suttanipâta*, v. 620 seq.

The text contains puns on *kiñkana*, which means 'wealth,' but also 'attachment;' cf. Childers, s. v.

398. D'Alwis points out a double entendre in these words. Nandhi may be either the strap that goes round a drum, or enmity; varatta may be either a thong or attachment; sandâna either chain or scepticism; sahanakkamam either due order or all its concomitants; paligha either bar or ignorance.

399. The exact meaning of *balânîka* is difficult to find. Does it mean, possessed of a strong army, or facing a force, or leading a force?

401. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who does not cling to pleasures, like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard seed on the point of a needle.

402. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, even here, knows the end of his suffering, has put down his burden, and is unshackled.

403. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, and has attained the highest end.

404. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, who frequents no houses, and has but few desires.

405. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who finds no fault with other beings, whether feeble or strong, and does not kill nor cause slaughter.

406. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with fault-finders, and free from passion among the passionate.

407. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle.

408. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, so that he offend no one.

409. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who takes nothing in the world that is not given him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad.

410. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled.

405. On *tasa* and *thâvara*, see Childers, s. v., and D'Alwis, *Nirvâna*, p. 115. On *danda*, 'the rod,' see Hibbert Lectures, p. 355, note.

411. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has no interests, and when he has understood (the truth), does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.

412. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who in this world is above good and evil, above the bondage of both, free from grief, from sin, and from impurity.

413. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is bright like the moon, pure, serene, undisturbed, and in whom all gaiety is extinct.

414. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content.

415. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who in this world, leaving all desires, travels about without a home, and in whom all concupiscence is extinct.

416. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, leaving all longings, travels about without a home, and in whom all covetousness is extinct.

417. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all

411. Akathankathi is explained by Buddhaghosa as meaning, 'free from doubt or hesitation.' He also uses kathankathâ in the sense of 'doubt' (verse 414). In the Kâvyâdarsa, III, 17, the commentator explains akatham by kathârahitam, nirvivâdam, which would mean, 'without a kathâ, a speech, a story without contradiction, unconditionally.' From our passage, however, it seems as if kathankathâ was a noun derived from kathankathayati, 'to say How, how?' so that neither the first nor the second element had anything to do with kath, 'to relate;' and in that case akatham, too, ought to be taken in the sense of 'without a Why.'

412. See versè 39. The distinction between good and evil vanishes when a man has retired from the world, and has ceased to act, longing only for deliverance.

bondage to the gods, and is free from all and every bondage.

418. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, who is cold, and free from all germs (of renewed life), the hero who has conquered all the worlds.

419. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who knows the destruction and the return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, welfaring (Sugata), and awakened (Buddha).

418. Upadhi, if not used in a technical sense, is best translated by 'passions or affections.' Technically there are four upadhis or substrata, viz. the kandhas, kâma, 'desire,' kilesa, 'sin,' and kamma, 'work.' The Brâhmana may be called nirupadhi, as being free from desire, misery, and work and its consequences, but not yet of the kandhas, which end through death only. The commentator explains nirupadhi by nirupakkilesa, 'free from sin.' See Childers, s. v. nibbâna, p. 268 a.

419. Sugata is one of those many words in Buddhist literature which it is almost impossible to translate, because they have been taken in so many acceptations by the Buddhists themselves. Sugata etymologically means 'one who has fared well,' sugati means 'happiness and blessedness.' It is wrong to translate it literally by 'welcome,' for that in Sanskrit is svâgata; and we cannot accept Dr. Eitel's statement (Handbook, p. 138) that sugata stands incorrectly for svâgata. Sugata is one of the not very numerous technical terms in Buddhism for which hitherto we know of no antecedents in earlier Brahmanism. It may have been used in the sense of 'happy and blessed,' but it never became a title, while in Buddhism it has become, not only a title, but almost a proper name of Buddha. The same applies to tathâgata, lit. 'thus come,' but used in Sanskrit very much like tathâvidha, in the sense of talis, while in Buddhism it means a Buddha. There are of course many interpretations of the word, and many reasons are given why Buddhas should be called Tathâgata (Burnouf, Introduction, p. 75, &c.) Boehtlingk s. v. supposed that, because Buddha had so many predicates, he was, for the sake of brevity, called 'such a one as he really is.' I think we may go a step further. Another word, tâdṛśa, meaning

420. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana whose path⁹ the gods do not know, nor spirits (Gandharvas), nor men, whose passions are extinct, and who is an Arhat (venerable).

421. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between, who is poor, and free from the love of the world.

422. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

423. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.

talis, becomes in Pâli, under the form of tâdi, a name of Buddha's disciples, and afterwards of Buddha himself. If applied to Buddha's disciples, it may have meant originally 'such as he,' i. e. his fellows; but when applied to Buddha himself, it can only mean 'such a one,' i. e. 'so great a man.' The Sanskrit mârsha is probably the Pâli mârîso, which stands for mâdiso, Sk. mâdrîsa, 'like me,' used in Pâli when a superior addresses others as his equals, and afterwards changed into a mere title of respect.

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST
SUTTA-NIPĀTA

London

HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

7 PATERNOSTER ROW

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOLUME X

PART II.



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

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THE SUTTA-NIPÂTA

A COLLECTION OF DISCOURSES

BEING ONE OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE
BUDDHISTS

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

BY

V. FAUSBÖLL



Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

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EXPLANATION OF WORDS

the meaning of which is not always given in the translation.

<i>Āgīvika</i> , one belonging to a sect of naked ascetics.	<i>Pabbaggā</i> , leaving the world, embracing ascetic life, taking the robe.
<i>Arahat</i> , a holy man, a saint.	<i>Pabbagita</i> , an ascetic, having taken the robe.
<i>Ariya</i> , noble.	<i>Paribbāga</i> , <i>Paribbāgaka</i> , a wandering mendicant.
<i>Bhagavat</i> , worshipful, blessed, a name of a Buddha.	<i>Sakka</i> = <i>Sakya</i> , belonging to the Sakya tribe.
<i>Bhikkhu</i> , a mendicant.	<i>Sakyamuni</i> , the Sakya sage, a name of Buddha.
<i>Brahman</i> , the supreme god of the Hindus.	<i>Samana</i> , an ascetic.
<i>Brāhmaṇa</i> , a sage.	<i>Samkhārā</i> , all compound things, the material world.
<i>Buddha</i> , enlightened, a name of certain holy men who have freed themselves from existence, particularly of <i>Samana</i> Gotama.	<i>Samsāra</i> , revolution, transmigration.
<i>Dhamma</i> , tenet, doctrine, custom, law, religion, virtue, thing.	<i>Sāvaka</i> , a hearer, a follower, a disciple of Buddha, including both laity and clergy.
<i>Gahattā</i> , <i>Gihin</i> , a householder.	<i>Sekha</i> , a novice, student.
<i>Gotama</i> , a name of the last Buddha.	<i>Sudda</i> , a man of the servile caste.
<i>Gaṭila</i> , an ascetic wearing clotted hair.	<i>Sugata</i> , happy, a name of a Buddha.
<i>Gina</i> , a conqueror, a name of a Buddha.	<i>Thera</i> , an elder, a senior priest.
<i>Isi</i> , a sage.	<i>Titthiya</i> , an ascetic adhering to a certain system of philosophy.
<i>Khattiya</i> , a warrior, a prince.	<i>Upadhi</i> , the elements of the world.
<i>Kandāla</i> , an outcast.	<i>Upāsaka</i> , a follower, a lay devotee.
<i>Māra</i> , a name of the king of death, the devil.	<i>Upasampadā</i> , priest's orders.
<i>Muni</i> , a thinker, a sage.	<i>Vessa</i> , <i>Vessika</i> , a man of the third caste.
<i>Nāga</i> , an eminent man ; sinless ?	<i>Yakkha</i> , a giant, a malignant spirit.
<i>Namuḥi</i> = <i>Māra</i> .	
<i>Nibbāna</i> , extinction, the state of bliss of the Buddhist.	
<i>Niganttha</i> , a naked ascetic.	

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SUTTA-NIPĀTA.

THE Collection of Discourses, Sutta-Nipāta, which I have here translated¹, is very remarkable, as there can be no doubt that it contains some remnants of Primitive Buddhism. I consider the greater part of the Mahāvagga, and nearly the whole of the *Atthakavagga* as very old. I have arrived at this conclusion from two reasons, first from the language, and secondly from the contents.

1. We not only find here what we meet with in other Pāli poetry, the fuller Vedic forms of nouns and verbs in the plural, as *avītatamhāse*, *pandītāse*, *dhammāse*, *sitāse*, *upatthitāse*, *pavādiyāse*, &c., and *karāmase*, *asmase*, *sikkhissāmase*; the shorter Vedic plurals and the instrumental singular of nouns, as *vinikkhayā*, *lakkhanā* for *vinikkhayāni*, *lakkhanāni*, *mantā*, *pariññā*, *vinayā*, *lābhakamyā* for *mantāya*, &c.; Vedic infinitives, as *vippahātave*, *sampayātave*, *unnametave*; contracted (or sometimes old) forms, as *santiyā*, *gakkā*, *duggakkā*, *sammukkā*, *titthyā*, *thiyo*, *parihirati* for *santiyā*, *gātiyā*, *sammutiyā*, *titthiyā*, *itthiyo*, *parihariyati*, by the side of protracted forms, such as *ātumānam*; but also some unusual (sometimes old) forms and words, as *apukkasi*, *sagghasi*²=*sakkhissasi*, *sussam*=*sunissāmi* (Sansk. *śroshyāmi*), *pāva* and *pāvā*=*vadati*, *pavekkhe*=*paveseyya*, *parikissati*=*parikilissati*, *vineyya*, *vikeyya*, *nikkheyya*, *pappuyya*=*vinayitvā*, &c., *dattku*=*disvā* (S. *drishtvā*), *atistitvā*=*atikkamitvā*, *anuvikka*=*anuviditvā*, *paribbasāna*=*vasamāna*, *amhanā* (S. *asmanā*)=*pāsānena*, *vākibhi*, *katubbhi*, *rattamahābhi*, *ise* (vocative), *suvāmi*=*sāmi*, *maga*=*miga*,

¹ Sir M. Coomāra Swāmy's translation of part of the book has been a great help to me. I hope shortly to publish the Pāli text.

² C reads *pagghasi*.

tumo = so, parovara = parāvara, bhûnahu = bhûtihanaka, upaya, âmagandha, dhona, vyappatha, vyappathi, vevikkhâ, visenibhûta, visenikatvâ, pañiseniyanti. Sometimes we meet also with difficult and irregular constructions, and very condensed expressions. All this proves, I think, that these parts of the book are much older than the Suttas in which the language is not only fluent, but of which some verses are even singularly melodious.

2. In the contents of the Suttanipâta we have, I think, an important contribution to the right understanding of Primitive Buddhism, for we see here a picture not of life in monasteries, but of the life of hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematizing of the later Buddhist church, but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness. From the *Attakavagga* especially it is evident where Buddha takes his stand in opposition to Philosophy (*dittthi* = *darsana*).

Indian society at the time of Buddha had two large and distinguished religious sects, *Samanas* and *Brâhmanas*. This is apparent from several passages where they are mentioned together ; for instance, *Vinaya*, ed. Oldenberg, II, p. 295 ; *Grimblot*, *Sept Suttas Pâlis*, p. ix, 8 &c., 118 &c., 158 &c., 306 &c., 309 ; *Dhammapada*, p. 392 ; *Suttanipâta*, vv. 99, 129, 189, 440, 529, 859, 1078 ; *Sabhiyasutta*, at the beginning ; the *Inscriptions of Asoka* ; *Mahâbhâshya*, II, 4, 9 (fol. 398 a) ; *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 309, l. 10, 318, l. 18, 320, l. 20 ; and lastly, *Megasthenes* (*Schwanbeck*, p. 45), δύο γένη φιλοσόφων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ Σαρμᾶνας.

Famous teachers arose and gathered around them flocks of disciples. As such are mentioned *Pûrana-Kassapa*, *Makkhali-Gosâla*, *Agita-Kesakambali*, *Pakudha-Kakkâyana*, *Saṅgaya-Belatthiputta*, and *Nigantha-Nâtaputta*¹ ; see *Suttanipâta*, p. 86 ; *Mahâparinibbânasutta*, ed. Childers, p. 58 ; *Vinaya* II, p. 111 ; *Grimblot*, *Sept Suttas Pâlis*, p. 114, &c. ; *Milindapañha*, ed. *Trenckner*, p. 4. Besides these there is *Bâvari* (*Suttanipâta*, p. 184), and his disciples *Agita*, *Tissametteyya*, *Punnaka*, *Mettaḡu*, *Dhotaka*, *Upasîva*, *Nanda*,

¹ Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 1880, p. 158.

Hemaka, Todeyya, Kappa, Gatukammī, Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posāla, Mogharāgan (Pīngiya, vv. 1006–1008; Sela, p. 98), and Kaṅkin, Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Gānussoni, Vāsetṭha, and Bhāradvāja, p. 109.

We learn that there were four kinds of Samanas, viz. Maggaginas, Maggadesakas (or Maggadesins, Maggaggāyins), Maggagīvins, and Maggadāsins, vv. 83–88. Among these Samanas disputes arose, vv. 828, 883–884; a number of philosophical systems were formed, and at the time of Buddha there were as many as sixty-three of them, v. 538. These systems are generally designated by *ditṭhi*, vv. 54, 151, 786, 837, 851, &c.; or by *ditṭhigata*, vv. 834, 836, 913; or by *ditṭhasuta*, v. 778; or by *ditṭha*, *suta*, and *muta*, vv. 793, 813, 914; or by *ditṭha*, *suta*, *sīlavata*¹, and *muta*, vv. 790, 797–798, 836, 887, 1080. The doctrines themselves are called *ditṭhinivesa*, v. 785; or *nivesana*, vv. 209, 470, 801, 846; or *vinikkhaya*, vv. 838, 866, 887, 894; and he who entertains any of them, is called *nivissavādin*, vv. 910, 913.

What is said of the Samanas seems mostly to hold good about the Brāhmanas also. They too are called disputatious, *vādasīla*, v. 381, &c., p. 109; and three kinds of them are mentioned, viz. *Titthiyas*, *Āgīvikas*, and *Nigānṭhas*, vv. 380, 891–892. In contradistinction to the Samanas the Brāhmanas are designated as *Teviggas*, vv. 594, 1019; they are *Padakas*, *Veyyākaranas*, and perfect in *Gappa*, *Nighandū*, *Ketubha*, *Itihāsa*, &c., v. 595, p. 98. They are called friends of the hymns, v. 139; well versed in the hymns, v. 976; and their principal hymn is *Sāvitti*², vv. 568, 456. They worship and make offerings to the fire, pp. 74, 20. In *Brāhmanadhammikasutta* the ancient and just Brāhmanas are described in opposition to the later

¹ I am not sure whether *sīlavata* is to be understood as one notion or two. It is generally written in one word, but at p. 109 *Vāsetṭha* says, when one is virtuous and endowed with works, he is a Brāhmaṇa, *yato kho bho sīlavā ka hoti va tasampanno ka ettāvata kho brāhmaṇo hoti*. *Sīlavata*, I presume, refers chiefly to the Brāhmanas.

² From v. 456 we see that Buddha has rightly read *vareṇiyam* as the metre requires, but I must not omit to mention that the Commentator understands by *Sāvitti* the Buddhistic formula: *Buddham saraṇam gaṇṇhāmi*, *Dhammam saraṇam gaṇṇhāmi*, *Samgham saraṇam gaṇṇhāmi*, which, like *Sāvitti*, contains twenty-four syllables.

Brāhmaṇas, who slay innocent cows and have acquired wealth through the favour of the kings, vv. 307, 308, 311, 302¹.

All these disputants hold fast to their own prejudiced views, v. 910. They say that purity comes from philosophical views, from tradition, and from virtuous works, and in many other ways, v. 1078, and that there is no bliss excepting by following their opinions, vv. 889, 891, 892.

Buddha himself has, it is true, sprung from the Samanas : he is called Samana Gotama, p. 96 ; he shines like a sun in the midst of the Samanas, v. 550 ; and intercourse with Samanas is said to be the highest blessing, v. 265. But Buddha has overcome all their systems, v. 538 ; there is nothing which has not been seen, heard, or thought by him, and nothing which has not been understood by him, v. 1121. All the disputatious Brāhmaṇas do not overcome him in understanding, v. 380 ; and he asserts that no one is purified and saved by philosophy or by virtuous works, vv. 1079, 839. Sanctification, in fact, does not come from another, vv. 773, 790, 813 ; it can be attained only by going into the yoke with Buddha, v. 834 ; by believing in him and in the Dhamma of the Saints, vv. 183, 185, 370, 1142 ; on the whole, by being what Buddha is.

What then is Buddha ?

First he is a Visionary, in the good sense of the word ; his knowledge is intuitive, ' Seeing misery,' he says, ' in the philosophical views, without adopting any of them, searching for truth, I saw inward peace,' vv. 837, 207. And again, ' He, a conqueror unconquered, saw the Dhamma visibly, without any traditional instruction,' vv. 934, 1052, 1065. He teaches an instantaneous, an immediate religious life, vv. 567, 1136. He is called *kakkhumat*, endowed with an eye, clearly-seeing, vv. 160, 405, 540, 562, 596, 956, 992, 1028, 1115, 1127 ; *samanta-kakkhu*, the all-seeing, vv. 1062, 1068 ; and as such he has become an eye to the world, v. 599. He sees the subtle meaning of things, vv. 376, 175 ; he is, in one word, Sambuddha, the perfectly-enlightened, vv. 177, 555, 596, 992 ; and by knowledge he is delivered, vv. 1106,

¹ Besides the religious Brāhmaṇas some secular Brāhmaṇas are mentioned, p. 11.

727, 733. Existence is *aviggā*, ignorance, v. 729; *viggā*, knowledge, is the extinction of the world, v. 730.

Secondly, he is an Ascetic, a Muni¹, one that forsakes the world and wanders from the house to the houseless state, vv. 273, 375, 1003; because from house-life arises defilement, v. 206. An ascetic has no prejudiced ideas, v. 802; he has shaken off every philosophical view, v. 787; he does not enter into disputes, v. 887; he is not pleased nor displeased with anything, v. 813; he is indifferent to learning, v. 911; he does not cling to good and evil, vv. 520, 547, 790; he has cut off all passion and all desire, vv. 2, 795, 1130, 916; he is free from marks, v. 847; and possessionless, *akiñṇana*, vv. 175, 454, 490, 620, 1058, 1062, 976, 1069, 1114. He is equable, v. 855; under all circumstances the same, v. 952; still as the deep water, v. 920; calm, vv. 459, 861. He has reached peace, vv. 837, 845, 919; he knows that bliss consists in peace, v. 933; he has gone to immortal peace, the unchangeable state of *Nibbāna*, v. 203. And how is this state brought about? By the destruction of consciousness, vv. 734-735. And how does consciousness cease? By the cessation of sensation, vv. 1109-1110; by being without breathing, vv. 1089-1090².

1. What then is sin according to Buddha?

Subjectively sin is desire, in all its various forms, vv. 923, 1103; viz. desire for existence generally, vv. 776, 1059, 1067, and especially for name and form, i. e. individual existence, vv. 354, 1099. As long as man is led by desire he will be whirled about in existence, v. 740; for as long as there is birth, there will be death, v. 742. Existence is called the stream of death, v. 354; the realm of *Māra*, vv. 164, 1145. Those who continually go to *sam-sāra* with birth and death, are the ignorant, v. 729.

¹ Buddha is sometimes styled the great *Isi*, vv. 1060, 1082; sometimes a *Muni*, vv. 164, 700; sometimes a *Brāhmaṇa*, v. 1064; sometimes a *Bhikkhu*, vv. 411, 415; and all these appellations are used synonymously, vv. 283, 284, 1064, 1066, 843, 844, 911, 912, 946, 220. Ascetic life is praised throughout the book, especially in the *Uruga*-, *Muni*-, *Rāhula*-, *Sammāparibbāganiya*-, *Dhammika*-, *Nālaka*-, *Purābheda*-, *Tuvaṭaka*-, *Attadanda*-, and *Sāriputta*-suttas.

² This system ends, it will be seen from this, like other ascetic systems, in mysticism.

But desire originates in the body, vv. 270, 1099; sin lies objectively in embodiment or matter, and consequently the human body is looked upon as a contemptible thing. See *Vigayasutta*, p. 32.

2. And what is bliss?

Subjectively, it is emancipation from desire by means of the peace that Buddha preaches, vv. 1065-1066, 1069, 1084, 1108, 838-839.

Objectively, it is emancipation from body and matter. One must destroy the elements of existence, *upādhi*, vv. 373, 546, 1050, 1056; and leave the body behind, that one may not come to exist again, vv. 1120, 1122, 761. The ignorant only create *upādhi*, v. 1050, and go again and again to *samsāra*, v. 729. The wise do not enter time, *kappa*, vv. 521, 535, 860; they look upon the world as void, v. 1118; hold that there is nothing really existing, v. 1069; and those whose minds are disgusted with a future existence, the wise who have destroyed their seeds (of existence), go out like a lamp, vv. 234, 353-354. As a flame, blown about by the violence of the wind, goes out, and cannot be reckoned (as existing), even so a Muni, delivered from name and body, disappears, and cannot be reckoned (as existing), v. 1073. For him who has disappeared, there is no form; that by which they say he is, exists for him no longer, v. 1075.

‘Exert thyself, then,—O Dhotaka,’ so said Bhagavat,—‘being wise and thoughtful in this world, let one, having listened to my utterance, learn his own extinction,’ v. 1061.

Tena h’ ātappaṃ karohi,—Dhotakā ’ti Bhagavā,—
idh’ eva nipako sato
ito sutvāna nigghosaṃ
sikkhe nibbānaṃ attano.

With this short sketch of the contents of the *Suttanipāta* for a guide, I trust it will be easy to understand even the more obscure parts of the book.

V. FAUSBÖLL.

COPENHAGEN,
Sept. 13, 1880.

I. URAGAVAGGA.

1. URAGASUTTA.

The Bhikkhu who discards all human passions is compared to a snake that casts his skin.—Text and translation in Fr. Spiegel's *Anecdota Pālica*.

1. He who restrains his anger when it has arisen, as (they) by medicines (restrain) the poison of the snake spreading (in the body), that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (1)

2. He who has cut off passion entirely, as (they cut off) the lotus-flower growing in a lake, after diving (into the water), that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (2)

3. He who has cut off desire entirely, the flowing, the quickly running, after drying it up, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (3)

4. He who has destroyed arrogance entirely, as the flood (destroys) a very frail bridge of reeds, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (4)

5. He who has not found any essence in the existences, like one that looks for flowers on fig-trees, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (5)

6. He in whose breast there are no feelings of anger, who has thus overcome reiterated existence, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (6)

7. He whose doubts are scattered, cut off entirely inwardly, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (7)

8. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, who overcame all this (world of) delusion, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (8)

9. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, having seen that all this in the world is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (9)

10. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from covetousness, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (10)

11. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from passion, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (11)

12. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from hatred, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (12)

13. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from folly, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (13)

14. He to whom there are no affections whatsoever, whose sins are extirpated from the root, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (14)

15. He to whom there are no (sins) whatsoever originating in fear, which are the causes of coming back to this shore, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (15)

16. He to whom there are no (sins) whatsoever originating in desire, which are the causes of binding (men) to existence, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (16)

17. He who, having left the five obstacles, is free from suffering, has overcome doubt, and is without pain, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (17)

Uragasutta is ended.

2. DHANIYASUTTA.

A dialogue between the rich herdsman Dhaniya and Buddha, the one rejoicing in his worldly security and the other in his religious belief.—This beautiful dialogue calls to mind the parable in the Gospel of S. Luke xii. 16.

1. 'I have boiled (my) rice, I have milked (my cows),'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Maht (river), (my) house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!' (18)

2. 'I am free from anger, free from stubbornness,'—so said Bhagavat,—'I am abiding for one night near the banks of the Maht (river), my house

is uncovered, the fire (of passions) is extinguished : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (19)

3. 'Gad-flies are not to be found (with me),'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure rain when it comes : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (20)

4. '(By me) is made a well-constructed raft,'—so said Bhagavat,—'I have passed over (to Nibbâna), I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passions); there is no (further) use for a raft : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (21)

5. 'My wife is obedient, not wanton,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'for a long time she has been living together (with me), she is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (22)

6. 'My mind is obedient, delivered (from all worldliness),'—so said Bhagavat,—'it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well-subdued, there is no longer anything wicked in me : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (23)

7. 'I support myself by my own earnings,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'and my children are (all) about me, healthy ; I hear nothing wicked of them : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (24)

8. 'I am no one's servant,'—so said Bhagavat,—'with what I have gained I wander about in all the world, there is no need (for me) to serve : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (25)

9. 'I have cows, I have calves,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'I have cows in calf and heifers, and I have also a bull as lord over the cows : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (26)

10. 'I have no cows, I have no calves,'—so said Bhagavat,—‘I have no cows in calf and no heifers, and I have no bull as a lord over the cows : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!’ (27)

11. 'The stakes are driven in, and cannot be shaken,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—‘the ropes are made of muṅga grass, new and well-made, the cows will not be able to break them : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!’ (28)

12. 'Having, like a bull, rent the bonds ; having, like an elephant, broken through the galuṅkhi creeper, I shall not again enter into a womb : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!’ (29)

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus :

13. 'No small gain indeed (has accrued) to us since we have seen Bhagavat ; we take refuge in thee, O (thou who art) endowed with the eye (of wisdom) ; be thou our master, O great Muni!' (30)

14. 'Both my wife and myself are obedient ; (if) we lead a holy life before Sugata, we shall conquer birth and death, and put an end to pain.' (31)

15. 'He who has sons has delight in sons,'—so said the wicked Mâra,—‘he who has cows has delight likewise in cows ; for upadhi (substance) is the delight of man, but he who has no upadhi has no delight.’ (32)

16. 'He who has sons has care with (his) sons,'—so said Bhagavat,—‘he who has cows has likewise care with (his) cows ; for upadhi (is the cause of) people's cares, but he who has no upadhi has no care.’ (33)

Dhaniyasutta is ended.

3. KHAGGAVISĀNASUTTA.

Family life and intercourse with others should be avoided, for society has all vices in its train; therefore one should leave the corrupted state of society and lead a solitary life.

1. Having laid aside the rod against all beings, and not hurting any of them, let no one wish for a son, much less for a companion, let him wander alone like a rhinoceros¹. (34)

2. In him who has intercourse (with others) affections arise, (and then) the pain which follows affection; considering the misery that originates in affection let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (35)

3. He who has compassion on his friends and confidential (companions) loses (his own) advantage, having a fettered mind; seeing this danger in friendship let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (36)

4. Just as a large bamboo tree (with its branches) entangled (in each other, such is) the care one has with children and wife; (but) like the shoot of a bamboo not clinging (to anything) let one wander alone like a rhinoceros². (37)

5. As a beast unbound in the forest goes feeding at pleasure, so let the wise man, considering (only his) own will, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (38)

6. There is (a constant) calling in the midst of company, both when sitting, standing, walking, and going away; (but) let one, looking (only) for freedom from desire and for following his own will, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (39)

7. There is sport and amusement in the midst of

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 142.

² Comp. Dh. v. 345.

company, and for children there is great affection ; (although) disliking separation from his dear friends, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (40)

8. He who is at home in (all) the four regions and is not hostile (to any one), being content with this or that, overcoming (all) dangers fearlessly, let him wander alone like a rhinoceros. (41)

9. Discontented are some pabbāgitas (ascetics), also some gahattḥas (householders) dwelling in houses ; let one, caring little about other people's children, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (42)

10. Removing the marks of a gihin (a householder) like a Kovilāra tree whose leaves are fallen, let one, after cutting off heroically the ties of a gihin, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (43)

11. If one acquires a clever companion, an associate righteous and wise, let him, overcoming all dangers, wander about with him glad and thoughtful¹. (44)

12. If one does not acquire a clever companion, an associate righteous and wise, then as a king abandoning (his) conquered kingdom, let him wander alone like a rhinoceros². (45)

13. Surely we ought to praise the good luck of having companions, the best (and such as are our) equals ought to be sought for ; not having acquired such friends let one, enjoying (only) allowable things, wander alone like a rhinoceros³. (46)

14. Seeing bright golden (bracelets), well-wrought by the goldsmith, striking (against each other when there are) two on one arm, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (47)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 328.

² Comp. Dh. v. 329.

³ Comp. Dh. v. 61.

15. Thus (if I join myself) with another I shall swear or scold; considering this danger in future, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (48)

16. The sensual pleasures indeed, which are various, sweet, and charming, under their different shapes agitate the mind; seeing the misery (originating) in sensual pleasures, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (49)

17. These (pleasures are) to me calamities, boils, misfortunes, diseases, sharp pains, and dangers; seeing this danger (originating) in sensual pleasures, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (50)

18. Both cold and heat, hunger and thirst, wind and a burning sun, and gad-flies and snakes—having overcome all these things, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros¹. (51)

19. As the elephant, the strong, the spotted, the large, after leaving the herd walks at pleasure in the forest, even so let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (52)

20. For him who delights in intercourse (with others, even) that is inconvenient which tends to temporary deliverance; reflecting on the words of (Buddha) the kinsman of the *Âdikka* family, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (53)

21. The harshness, of the (philosophical) views I have overcome, I have acquired self-command, I have attained to the way (leading to perfection), I am in possession of knowledge, and not to be led by others; so speaking, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (54)

22. Without covetousness, without deceit, without

¹ Comp. *Gâtaka* I, p. 93.

craving, without detraction, having got rid of passions and folly, being free from desire in all the world, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (55)

23. Let one avoid a wicked companion who teaches what is useless and has gone into what is wrong, let him not cultivate (the society of) one who is devoted (to and) lost in sensual pleasures, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (56)

24. Let one cultivate (the society of) a friend who is learned and keeps the Dhamma, who is magnanimous and wise; knowing the meaning (of things and) subduing his doubts, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (57)

25. Not adorning himself, not looking out for sport, amusement, and the delight of pleasure in the world, (on the contrary) being loath of a life of dressing, speaking the truth, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (58)

26. Having left son and wife, father and mother, wealth, and corn, and relatives, the different objects of desire, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (59)

27. 'This is a tie, in this there is little happiness, little enjoyment, but more of pain, this is a fish-hook,' so having understood, let a thoughtful man wander alone like a rhinoceros. (60)

28. Having torn the ties, having broken the net as a fish in the water, being like a fire not returning to the burnt place, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (61)

29. With downcast eyes, and not prying¹, with his senses guarded, with his mind protected free from

¹ Na ka pâdalolo ti ekassa dutiyo dvinnam tatiyo ti evam ganamaggham pavisitukâmatâya kandhuyamânapâdo viya abhavanto dîghakârîka-anavatthakârîkavirato vâ. Commentator.

passion, not burning (with lust), let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (62)

30. Removing the characteristics of a gihin (householder), like a Pârikhatta tree whose leaves are cut off, clothed in a yellow robe after wandering away (from his house), let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (63)

31. Not being greedy of sweet things, not being unsteady, not supporting others, going begging from house to house, having a mind which is not fettered to any household, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (64)

32. Having left the five obstacles of the mind, having dispelled all sin, being independent, having cut off the sin of desire, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (65)

33. Having thrown behind (himself bodily) pleasure and pain, and previously (mental) joy and distress, having acquired equanimity, tranquillity, purity, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (66)

34. Strenuous for obtaining the supreme good (i. e. Nibbâna), with a mind free from attachment, not living in idleness, being firm, endowed with bodily and mental strength, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (67)

35. Not abandoning seclusion and meditation, always wandering in (accordance with) the Dhammas¹, seeing misery in the existences, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros². (68)

36. Wishing for the destruction of desire (i. e. Nibbâna), being careful, no fool, learned, strenuous, considerate, restrained, energetic, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (69)

¹ Dhammesu *nikkam* anudhammakârî.

² Comp. Dh. v. 20.

37. Like a lion not trembling at noises, like the wind not caught in a net, like a lotus not stained by water, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (70)

38. As a lion strong by his teeth, after overcoming (all animals), wanders victorious as the king of the animals, and haunts distant dwelling-places¹, (even so) let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (71)

39. Cultivating in (due) time kindness, equanimity, compassion, deliverance, and rejoicing (with others), unobstructed by the whole world, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (72)

40. Having abandoned both passion and hatred and folly, having rent the ties, not trembling in the loss of life, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros². (73)

41. They cultivate (the society of others) and serve them for the sake of advantage; friends without a motive are now difficult to get, men know their own profit and are impure; (therefore) let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (74)

Khaggavisânasutta is ended.

4. KAṢIBHÂRADVÂGASUTTA.

The Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga reproaches Gotama with idleness, but the latter convinces him that he (Buddha) also works, and so the Brâhmana is converted, and finally becomes a saint. Compare Sp. Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, p. 214; Gospel of S. John v. 17.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt in Magadha at Dakkhinâgiri in the Brâhmana village Ekana/â. And at that time the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga's five hun-

¹ Pantânîti dūrâni senâsanânîti vasati//hânâni. Commentator.

² Comp. Dh. v. 20.

dred ploughs were tied (to the yokes) in the sowing season. Then Bhagavat, in the morning, having put on his raiment and taken his bowl and robes, went to the place where the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga's work (was going on). At that time the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga's distribution of food took place. Then Bhagavat went to the place where the distribution of food took place, and having gone there, he stood apart. The Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga saw Bhagavat standing there to get alms, and having seen him, he said this to Bhagavat :

‘I, O Samana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat ; thou also, O Samana, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat.’

‘I also, O Brâhmana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat,’ so said Bhagavat.

‘Yet we do not see the yoke, or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gotama.’

And then the venerable Gotama spoke in this way :

‘I also, O Brâhmana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat,’ so said Bhagavat.

Then the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga addressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. ‘Thou professest to be a ploughman, and yet we do not see thy ploughing ; asked about (thy) ploughing, tell us (of it), that we may know thy ploughing.’ (75)

2. Bhagavat answered : ‘Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad.’ (76)

3. ‘I am guarded in respect of the body, I am

guarded in respect of speech, temperate in food; I make truth to cut away (weeds), tenderness is my deliverance. (77)

4. 'Exertion is my beast of burden; carrying (me) to Nibbâna he goes without turning back to the place where having gone one does not grieve. (78)

5. 'So this ploughing is ploughed, it bears the fruit of immortality; having ploughed this ploughing one is freed from all pain.' (79)

Then the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga, having poured rice-milk into a golden bowl, offered it to Bhagavat, saying, 'Let the venerable Bhagavat eat of the rice-milk; the venerable is a ploughman, for the venerable Gotama ploughs a ploughing that bears the fruit of immortality.'

6. Bhagavat said: 'What is acquired by reciting stanzas is not to be eaten by me; this is, O Brâhmana, not the Dhamma of those that see rightly; Buddha rejects what is acquired by reciting stanzas, this is the conduct (of Buddhas) as long as the Dhamma exists. (80)

7. 'One who is an accomplished great Isi, whose passions are destroyed and whose misbehaviour has ceased, thou shouldst serve with other food and drink, for this is the field for one who looks for good works¹. (81)

'To whom then, O Gotama, shall I give this rice-milk?' so said Kasibhâradvâga.

'I do not see, O Brâhmana, in the world (of men)

¹ *Aññena ka kevalinam mahesim
Khînâsavam kukkukâvâpasantam
Annena pânenâ upa//hahassu,
Khettaṃ hi taṃ puññaṃ pekkhassa hoti.*

Cf. Sundarikabhâradvâga v. 28.

and gods and Mâras and Brahmans, amongst beings comprising gods and men, and Samanas and Brâhmanas, any by whom this rice-milk when eaten can be properly digested with the exception of Tathâgata, or a disciple of Tathâgata. Therefore, O Brâhmaṇa, thou shalt throw this rice-milk in (a place where there is) little grass, or cast it into water with no worms,' so said Bhagavat.

Then the Brâhmaṇa Kasibhâradvâga threw the rice-milk into some water with no worms. Then the rice-milk thrown into the water splashed, hissed, smoked in volumes; for as a ploughshare that has got hot during the day when thrown into the water splashes, hisses, and smokes in volumes, even so the rice-milk (when) thrown into the water splashed, hissed, and smoked in volumes.

Then the Brâhmaṇa Kasibhâradvâga alarmed and terrified went up to Bhagavat, and after having approached and fallen with his head at Bhagavat's feet, he said this to Bhagavat:

'It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma (has been) illustrated. I take refuge in the venerable Gotama and in the Dhamma and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; I wish to receive the pabbaggâ, I wish to receive the upasampadâ (the robe and the orders) from the venerable Gotama,' so said Kasibhâradvâga.

Then the Brâhmaṇa Kasibhâradvâga received the

pabbaggâ from Bhagavat, and he received also the upasampadâ; and the venerable Bhâradvâga having lately received the upasampadâ, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led, what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Bhâradvâga became one of the arahats (saints).

Kasibhâradvâgasutta is ended.

5. KUNDASUTTA.

Buddha describes the four different kinds of Samanas to Kunda, the smith.

1. 'I ask the Muni of great understanding,'—so said Kunda, the smith,—'Buddha, the lord of the Dhamma, who is free from desire, the best of bipeds, the most excellent of charioteers, how many (kinds of) Samanas are there in the world; pray tell me that?' (82)

2. 'There are four (kinds of) Samanas, (there is) not a fifth,' O Kunda,—so said Bhagavat,—'these I will reveal to thee, being asked in person; (they are) Maggaginas and Maggadesakas, Maggagivins and Maggadûsins.' (83)

3. 'Whom do the Buddhas call a Maggagina?'—so said Kunda, the smith,—'How is a Maggaggahâyin

unequalled? Being asked, describe to me a Maggagîvin, and reveal to me a Maggadûsin.' (84)

4. Bhagavat said: 'He who has overcome doubt, is without pain, delights in Nibbâna, is free from greed, a leader of the world of men and gods, such a one the Buddhas call a maggagîna (that is, victorious by the way). (85)

5. 'He who in this world having known the best (i.e. Nibbâna) as the best, expounds and explains here the Dhamma, him, the doubt-cutting Muni, without desire, the second of the Bhikkhus they call a maggadesin (that is, teaching the way). (86)

6. 'He who lives in the way that has so well been taught in the Dhammapada, and is restrained, attentive, cultivating blameless words, him the third of the Bhikkhus they call a maggagîvin (that is, living in the way¹). (87)

7. 'He who although counterfeiting the virtuous is forward, disgraces families, is impudent, deceitful, unrestrained, a babbler, walking in disguise, such a one is a maggadûsin (that is, defiling the way)². (88)

8. 'He who has penetrated these (four Samanas), who is a householder, possessed of knowledge, a pupil of the venerable ones, wise, having known that they all are such,—having seen so, his faith is not lost; for how could he make the undepraved equal to the depraved and the pure equal to the impure?' (89)

Kundasutta is ended.

¹ Yo Dhammapade sudesite
Magge gîvati saññato satfma
Anavaggapadâni sevamâno
Tatiam bhikkhunam âhu maggagîvin.

² Comp. Gâtaka II, p. 281.

6. PARÂBHAVASUTTA.

A dialogue between a deity and Buddha on the things by which a man loses and those by which he gains in this world.—Text by Grimblot, in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 237; translation by L. Feer, in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 309, and by Gogerly, reprinted in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xx (1872), p. 226.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthi, in Getavana, in the park of Anâthapindika. Then when the night had gone, a certain deity of a beautiful appearance, having illuminated the whole Getavana, went up to Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted him, he stood apart, and standing apart that deity addressed Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. 'We ask (thee), Gotama, about a man that suffers loss ; having come to ask, Bhagavat, (tell us) what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (90)

2. Bhagavat : 'The winner is easily known, easily known (is also) the loser : he who loves Dhamma is the winner, he who hates Dhamma is the loser.' (91)

3. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the first loser ; tell (us) the second, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (92)

4. Bhagavat : 'Wicked men are dear to him, he does not do anything that is dear to the good, he approves of the Dhamma of the wicked,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (93)

5. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the second loser ; tell us the third, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (94)

6. Bhagavat : 'The man who is drowsy, fond of society and without energy, lazy, given to anger,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (95)

7. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the third loser ; tell us the fourth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (96)

8. Bhagavat : 'He who being rich does not support mother or father who are old or past their youth,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (97)

9. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the fourth loser ; tell us the fifth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (98)

10. Bhagavat : 'He who by falsehood deceives either a Brâhmaṇa or a Samana or any other mendicant,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (99)

11. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the fifth loser ; tell us the sixth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (100)

12. Bhagavat : 'The man who is possessed of much property, who has gold and food, (and still) enjoys alone his sweet things,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (101)

13. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the sixth loser ; tell us the seventh, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (102)

14. Bhagavat : 'The man who proud of his birth, of his wealth, and of his family, despises his relatives,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (103)

15. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the seventh loser ; tell us the eighth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (104)

16. Bhagavat : 'The man who given to women, to strong drink, and to dice, wastes whatever he has gained,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (105)

17. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the eighth loser; tell us the ninth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (106)

18. Bhagavat: 'He who, not satisfied with his own wife, is seen with harlots and the wives of others,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (107)

19. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the ninth loser; tell us the tenth, O Bhagavat, what (is) the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (108)

20. Bhagavat: 'The man who, past his youth, brings home a woman with breasts like the timbaru fruit, and for jealousy of her cannot sleep,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (109)

21. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the tenth loser; tell us the eleventh, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (110)

22. Bhagavat: 'He who places in supremacy a woman given to drink and squandering, or a man of the same kind,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (111)

23. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the eleventh loser; tell us the twelfth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (112)

24. Bhagavat: 'He who has little property, (but) great desire, is born in a Khattiya family and wishes for the kingdom in this world,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (113)

25. Having taken into consideration these losses in the world, the wise, venerable man, who is endowed with insight, cultivates the happy world (of the gods).' (114)

Parâbhavasutta is ended.

7. VASALASUTTA.

The Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga is converted by Buddha, after hearing his definition of an outcast, illustrated by the story of Mâtanga, told in the Mâtangagâtaka. Comp. Sp. Hardy, The Legends and Theories of the Buddhists, p. 49.—Text and translation in Alwis's Buddhist Nirvâna, p. 119.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî, in Geta-vana, in the park of Anâthapindîka. Then Bhagavat having put on his raiment in the morning, and having taken his bowl and his robes, entered Sâvatthî for alms.

Now at that time in the house of the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga the fire was blazing, the offering brought forth. Then Bhagavat going for alms from house to house in Sâvatthî went to the house of the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga. The Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga saw Bhagavat coming at a distance, and seeing him he said this : ' Stay there, O Shaveling; (stay) there, O Samanaka (i.e. wretched Samana); (stay) there, O Vasalaka (i.e. outcast)!'

This having been said, Bhagavat replied to the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga : ' Dost thou know, O Brâhmana, an outcast, or the things that make an outcast ?'

' No, O venerable Gotama, I do not know an outcast, or the things that make an outcast; let the venerable Gotama teach me this so well that I may know an outcast, or the things that make an outcast.'

' Listen then, O Brâhmana, attend carefully, I will tell (thee).'

' Even so, O venerable one,' so the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga replied to Bhagavat.

Then Bhagavat said this :

1. 'The man who is angry and bears hatred, who is wicked and hypocritical, who has embraced wrong views, who is deceitful, let one know him as an outcast. (115)

2. 'Whosoever in this world harms living beings, whether once or twice born, and in whom there is no compassion for living beings, let one know him as an outcast. (116)

3. 'Whosoever destroys or lays siege to villages and towns, and is known as an enemy, let one know him as an outcast. (117)

4. 'Be it in the village or in the wood, whosoever appropriates by theft what is the property of others and what has not been given, let one know him as an outcast. (118)

5. 'Whosoever, having really contracted a debt, runs away when called upon (to pay), saying, "There is no debt (that I owe) thee," let one know him as an outcast. (119)

6. 'Whosoever for love of a trifle having killed a man going along the road, takes the trifle, let one know him as an outcast. (120)

7. 'The man who for his own sake or for that of others or for the sake of wealth speaks falsely when asked as a witness, let one know him as an outcast. (121)

8. 'Whosoever is seen with the wives of relatives or of friends either by force or with their consent, let one know him as an outcast. (122)

9. 'Whosoever being rich does not support mother or father when old and past their youth, let one know him as an outcast. (123)

10. 'Whosoever strikes or by words annoys mother

or father, brother, sister, or mother-in-law, let one know him as an outcast. (124)

11. 'Whosoever, being asked about what is good, teaches what is bad and advises (another, while) concealing (something from him), let one know him as an outcast. (125)

12. 'Whosoever, having committed a bad deed, hopes (saying), "Let no one know me" (as having done it, who is) a dissembler, let one know him as an outcast. (126)

13. 'Whosoever, having gone to another's house and partaken of his good food, does not in return honour him when he comes, let one know him as an outcast. (127)

14. 'Whosoever by falsehood deceives either a Brâhmana or a Samana or any other mendicant, let one know him as an outcast. (128)

15. 'Whosoever by words annoys either a Brâhmana or a Samana when meal-time has come and does not give (him anything), let one know him as an outcast. (129)

16. 'Whosoever enveloped in ignorance in this world predicts what is not (to take place), coveting a trifle, let one know him as an outcast. (130)

17. 'Whosoever exalts himself and despises others, being mean by his pride, let one know him as an outcast. (131)

18. 'Whosoever is a provoker and is avaricious, has sinful desires, is envious, wicked, shameless, and fearless of sinning, let one know him as an outcast. (132)

19. 'Whosoever reviles Buddha or his disciple, be he a wandering mendicant (*paribbâga*) or a householder (*gahatttha*), let one know him as an outcast. (133)

20. 'Whosoever without being a saint (arahat) pretends to be a saint, (and is) a thief in all the worlds including that of Brahman, he is indeed the lowest outcast; (all) these who have been described by me to you are indeed called outcasts. (134)

21. 'Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brâhmana; by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brâhmana. (135)

22. 'Know ye this in the way that this example of mine (shows): There was a *Kandâla* of the Sopâka caste, well known as Mâtânga. (136)

23. 'This Mâtânga reached the highest fame, such as was very difficult to obtain, and many Khattiyas and Brâhmanas went to serve him. (137)

24. 'He having mounted the vehicle of the gods, (and entered) the high road (that is) free from dust, having abandoned sensual desires, went to the Brahma world. (138)

25. 'His birth did not prevent him from being re-born in the Brahma world; (on the other hand) there are Brâhmanas, born in the family of preceptors, friends of the hymns (of the Vedas), (139)

26. 'But they are continually caught in sinful deeds, and are to be blamed in this world, while in the coming (world) hell (awaits them); birth does not save them from hell nor from blame. (140)

27. '(Therefore) not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brâhmana, by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brâhmana.' (141)

This having been said, the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga answered Bhagavat as follows:

'Excellent, O venerable Gotama! Excellent, O

venerable Gotama! As one, O venerable Gotama, raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in the venerable Gotama and in the Dhamma and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus. Let the venerable Gotama accept me as an upâsaka (a follower, me) who henceforth for all my life have taken refuge (in him).'

Vasalasutta is ended.

8. METTASUTTA.

A peaceful mind and goodwill towards all beings are praised.—Text by Grimblot in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 250, and by Childers in *Khuddaka Pâṭha*, p. 15; translation (?) by Gogerly in the *Ceylon Friend*, 1839, p. 211, by Childers in *Kh. Pâṭha* and by L. Feer in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 328.

1. Whatever is to be done by one who is skilful in seeking (what is) good, having attained that tranquil state (of Nibbâna):—Let him be able and upright and conscientious and of soft speech, gentle, not proud, (142)

2. And contented and easily supported and having few cares, unburdened and with his senses calmed and wise, not arrogant, without (showing) greediness (when going his round) in families. (143)

3. And let him not do anything mean for which others who are wise might reprove (him); may all beings be happy and secure, may they be happy-minded. (144)

4. Whatever living beings there are, either feeble or strong, all either long or great, middle-sized, short, small or large, (145)

5. Either seen or which are not seen, and which live far (or) near, either born or seeking birth, may all creatures be happy-minded. (146)

6. Let no one deceive another, let him not despise (another) in any place, let him not out of anger or resentment wish harm to another. (147)

7. As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so also let every one cultivate a boundless (friendly) mind towards all beings. (148)

8. And let him cultivate goodwill towards all the world, a boundless (friendly) mind, above and below and across, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity. (149)

9. Standing, walking or sitting or lying, as long as he be awake, let him devote himself to this mind; this (way of) living they say is the best in this world. (150)

10. He who, not having embraced (philosophical) views, is virtuous, endowed with (perfect) vision, after subduing greediness for sensual pleasures, will never again go to a mother's womb. (151)

Mettasutta is ended.

9. HEMAVATASUTTA.

A dialogue between two Yakkhas on the qualities of Buddha. They go to Buddha, and after having their questions answered they, together with ten hundred Yakkhas, become the followers of Buddha.

1. 'To-day is the fifteenth, a fast day; a lovely

night has come,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—‘let us (go and) see the renowned Master Gotama.’ (152)

2. ‘Is the mind of such a one well disposed towards all beings?’—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—‘are his thoughts restrained as to things wished for or not wished for?’ (153)

3. ‘His mind is well disposed towards all beings, (the mind) of such a one,’—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—‘and his thoughts are restrained as to things wished for or not wished for.’ (154)

4. ‘Does he not take what has not been given (to him)?’—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—‘is he self-controlled (in his behaviour) to living beings? is he far from (a state of) carelessness? does he not abandon meditation?’ (155)

5. ‘He does not take what has not been given (to him),’—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—‘and he is self-controlled (in his behaviour) to living beings, and he is far from (a state of) carelessness; Buddha does not abandon meditation.’ (156)

6. ‘Does he not speak falsely?’—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—‘is he not harsh-spoken? does he not utter slander? does he not talk nonsense?’ (157)

7. ‘He does not speak falsely,’—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—‘he is not harsh-spoken, he does not utter slander, with judgment he utters what is good sense.’ (158)

8. ‘Is he not given to sensual pleasures?’—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—‘is his mind undisturbed? has he overcome folly? does he see clearly in (all) things (dhammas)?’ (159)

9. ‘He is not given to sensual pleasures,’—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—‘and his mind is undis-

turbed; he has overcome all folly; Buddha sees clearly in (all) things.' (160)

10. 'Is he endowed with knowledge?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'is his conduct pure? have his passions been destroyed? is there no new birth (for him)?' (161)

11. 'He is endowed with knowledge,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'and his conduct is pure; all his passions have been destroyed; there is no new birth for him.' (162)

12. 'The mind of the Muni is accomplished in deed and word; Gotama, who is accomplished by his knowledge and conduct, let us (go and) see.' (163)

13. 'Come, let us (go and) see Gotama, who has legs like an antelope, who is thin, who is wise, living on little food, not covetous, the Muni who is meditating in the forest.' (164)

14. 'Having gone to him who is a lion amongst those that wander alone and does not look for sensual pleasures, let us ask about the (means of) deliverance from the snares of death.' (165)

15. 'Let us ask Gotama, the preacher, the expounder, who has penetrated all things, Buddha who has overcome hatred and fear.' (166)

16. 'In what has the world originated?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'with what is the world intimate? by what is the world afflicted, after having grasped at what?' (167)

17. 'In six the world has originated, O Hemavata,'—so said Bhagavat,—'with six it is intimate, by six the world is afflicted, after having grasped at six.' (168)

18. Hemavata said: 'What is the grasping by

which the world is afflicted? Asked about salvation, tell (me) how one is released from pain?' (169)

19. Bhagavat said: 'Five pleasures of sense are said to be in the world, with (the pleasure of) the mind as the sixth; having divested oneself of desire for these, one is thus released from pain. (170)

20. 'This salvation of the world has been told to you truly, this I tell you: thus one is released from pain.' (171)

21. Hemavata said: 'Who in this world crosses the stream (of existence)? who in this world crosses the sea? who does not sink into the deep, where there is no footing and no support?' (172)

22. Bhagavat said: 'He who is always endowed with virtue, possessed of understanding, well composed, reflecting within himself, and thoughtful, crosses the stream that is difficult to cross. (173)

23. 'He who is disgusted with sensual pleasures, who has overcome all bonds and destroyed joy, such a one does not sink into the deep.' (174)

24. Hemavata said: 'He who is endowed with a profound understanding, seeing what is subtle, possessing nothing, not clinging to sensual pleasures, behold him who is in every respect liberated, the great Isi, walking in the divine path. (175)

25. 'He who has got a great name, sees what is subtle, imparts understanding, and does not cling to the abode of sensual pleasures, behold him, the all-knowing, the wise, the great Isi, walking in the noble path. (176)

26. 'A good sight indeed (has met) us to-day, a good daybreak, a beautiful rising, (for) we have seen the perfectly enlightened (sambuddham), who has crossed the stream, and is free from passion. (177)

27. 'These ten hundred Yakkhas, possessed of supernatural power and of fame, they all take refuge in thee, thou art our incomparable Master. (178)

28. 'We will wander about from village to village, from mountain to mountain, worshipping the perfectly enlightened and the perfection of the Dhamma¹.' (179)

Hemavatasutta is ended.

10. ÂLAVAKASUTTA.

The Yakkha Âlavaka first threatens Buddha, then puts some questions to him which Buddha answers, whereupon Âlavaka is converted.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Âlavī, in the realm of the Yakkha Âlavaka. Then the Yakkha Âlavaka went to the place where Bhagavat dwelt, and having gone there he said this to Bhagavat :

'Come out, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat came out.

'Enter, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat entered.

A second time the Yakkha Âlavaka said this to Bhagavat : 'Come out, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat came out.

'Enter, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat entered.

A third time the Yakkha Âlavaka said this to Bhagavat : 'Come out, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat came out.

'Enter, O Samana !'

¹ Dhammassa ka sudhammatam.

‘Yes, O friend!’ so saying Bhagavat entered.

A fourth time the Yakkha Âlavaka said this to Bhagavat : ‘Come out, O Samana!’

‘I shall not come out to thee, O friend, do what thou pleasest.’

‘I shall ask thee a question, O Samana, if thou canst not answer it, I will either scatter thy thoughts or cleave thy heart, or take thee by thy feet and throw thee over to the other shore of the Gaṅgâ.’

‘I do not see, O friend, any one in this world nor in the world of gods, Mâras, Brahmans, amongst the beings comprising gods, men, Samanas, and Brâhmanas, who can either scatter my thoughts or cleave my heart, or take me by the feet and throw me over to the other shore of the Gaṅgâ; however, O friend, ask what thou pleasest.’

Then the Yakkha Âlavaka addressed Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. ‘What in this world is the best property for a man? what, being well done, conveys happiness? what is indeed the sweetest of sweet things? how lived do they call life the best?’ (180)

2. Bhagavat said : ‘Faith is in this world the best property for a man; Dhamma, well observed, conveys happiness; truth indeed is the sweetest of things; and that life they call the best which is lived with understanding.’ (181)

3. Âlavaka said : ‘How does one cross the stream (of existence)? how does one cross the sea? how does one conquer pain? how is one purified?’ (182)

4. Bhagavat said : ‘By faith one crosses the stream, by zeal the sea, by exertion one conquers pain, by understanding one is purified.’ (183)

5. Âlavaka said : ' How does one obtain understanding? how does one acquire wealth? how does one obtain fame? how does one bind friends (to himself)? how does one not grieve passing away from this world to the other? ' (184)

6. Bhagavat said : ' He who believes in the Dhamma of the venerable ones as to the acquisition of Nibbâna, will obtain understanding from his desire to hear, being zealous and discerning. ' (185)

7. ' He who does what is proper, who takes the yoke (upon him and) exerts himself, will acquire wealth, by truth he will obtain fame, and being charitable he will bind friends (to himself). ' (186)

8. ' He who is faithful and leads the life of a householder, and possesses the following four Dhammas (virtues), truth, justice (dhamma), firmness, and liberality,—such a one indeed does not grieve when passing away. ' (187)

9. ' Pray, ask also other Samanas and Brâhmanas far and wide, whether there is found in this world anything greater than truth, self-restraint, liberality, and forbearance. ' (188)

10. Âlavaka said : ' Why should I now ask Samanas and Brâhmanas far and wide? I now know what is my future good. ' (189)

11. ' For my good Buddha came to live at Âvâ; now I know where (i. e. on whom bestowed) a gift will bear great fruit. ' (190)

12. ' I will wander about from village to village, from town to town, worshipping the perfectly enlightened (sambuddha) and the perfection of the Dhamma. ' (191)

Âlavakasutta is ended.

11. VIGAYASUTTA.

A reflection on the worthlessness of the human body ; a follower of Buddha only sees the body as it really is, and consequently goes to Nibbāna.—Comp. *Gâtaka* I, p. 146.

1. If either walking or standing, sitting or lying, any one contracts (or) stretches (his body, then) this is the motion of the body. (192)

2. The body which is put together with bones and sinews, plastered with membrane and flesh, and covered with skin, is not seen as it really is. (193)

3. It is filled with the intestines, the stomach, the lump of the liver, the abdomen, the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the spleen. (194)

4. With mucus, saliva, perspiration, lymph, blood, the fluid that lubricates the joints, bile, and fat. (195)

5. Then in nine streams impurity flows always from it ; from the eye the eye-excrement, from the ear the ear-excrement, (196)

6. Mucus from the nose, through the mouth it ejects at one time bile and (at other times) it ejects phlegm, and from (all) the body come sweat and dirt. (197)

7. Then its hollow head is filled with the brain. A fool led by ignorance thinks it a fine thing. (198)

8. And when it lies dead, swollen and livid, discarded in the cemetery, relatives do not care (for it). (199)

9. Dogs eat it and jackals, wolves and worms ; crows and vultures eat it, and what other living creatures there are. (200)

10. The Bhikkhu possessed of understanding in this world, having listened to Buddha's words, he

certainly knows it (i. e. the body) thoroughly, for he sees it as it really is. (201)

11. As this (living body is) so is that (dead one), as this is so that (will be¹); let one put away desire for the body, both as to its interior and as to its exterior. (202)

12. Such a Bhikkhu who has turned away from desire and attachment, and is possessed of understanding in this world, has (already) gone to the immortal peace, the unchangeable state of Nibbāna. (203)

13. This (body) with two feet is cherished (although) impure, ill-smelling, filled with various kinds of stench, and trickling here and there. (204)

14. He who with such a body thinks to exalt himself or despises others—what else (is this) but blindness? (205)

Vigayasutta is ended.

12. MUNISUTTA.

Definition of a Muni.

1. From acquaintanceship arises fear, from house-life arises defilement; the houseless state, freedom from acquaintanceship—this is indeed the view of a Muni. (206)

2. Whosoever, after cutting down the (sin that has) arisen, does not let (it again) take root and does not give way to it while springing up towards him, him

¹ Yathâ idam tathâ etam
Yathâ etam tathâ idam.

the solitarily wandering they call a Muni; such a great Isi has seen the state of peace¹. (207)

3. Having considered the causes (of sin, and) killed the seed, let him not give way to desire for it; such a Muni who sees the end of birth and destruction (i. e. Nibbâna), after leaving reasoning behind, does not enter the number (of living beings)². (208)

4. He who has penetrated all the resting-places³ (of the mind, and) does not wish for any of them,—such a Muni indeed, free from covetousness and free from greediness, does not gather up (resting-places), for he has reached the other shore. (209)

5. The man who has overcome everything, who knows everything, who is possessed of a good understanding, undefiled in all things (dhamma), abandoning everything, liberated in the destruction of desire (i. e. Nibbâna), him the wise style a Muni⁴. (210)

6. The man who has the strength of understanding, is endowed with virtue and (holy) works, is composed, delights in meditation, is thoughtful, free from ties, free from harshness (akhila), and free from passion, him the wise style a Muni. (211)

7. The Muni that wanders solitarily, the zealous,

¹ Yo gâtam ukkhiṅga na ropayeyya
Gâyantam assa nânuppavekkhe
Tam âhu ekam muninam karantam,
Addakkhi so santipadam mahesi.

² Samkhâya vatthûni pamâya bigam
Sineham assa nânuppavekkhe,
Sa ve munî gâtikhayantadassî
Takkam pahâya na upeti samkham.

³ Nivesanâni. Comp. Duttḥaka, v. 6.

⁴ Comp. Dhp. v. 353.

that is not shaken by blame and praise, like a lion not trembling at noises, like the wind not caught in a net, like a lotus not soiled by water, leading others, not led by others, him the wise style a Muni. (212)

8. Whosoever becomes firm as the post in a bathing-place, in whom others acknowledge propriety of speech, who is free from passion, and (endowed) with well-composed senses, such a one the wise style a Muni. (213)

9. Whosoever is firm, like a straight shuttle, and is disgusted with evil actions, reflecting on what is just and unjust, him the wise style a Muni. (214)

10. Whosoever is self-restrained and does not do evil, is a young or middle-aged Muni, self-subdued, one that should not be provoked (as) he does not provoke any, him the wise style a Muni. (215)

11. Whosoever, living upon what is given by others, receives a lump of rice from the top, from the middle or from the rest (of the vessel, and) does not praise (the giver) nor speak harsh words, him the wise style a Muni. (216)

12. The Muni that wanders about abstaining from sexual intercourse, who in his youth is not fettered in any case, is abstaining from the insanity of pride, liberated, him the wise style a Muni. (217)

13. The man who, having penetrated the world, sees the highest truth, such a one, after crossing the stream and sea (of existence), who has cut off all ties, is independent, free from passion, him indeed the wise style a Muni. (218)

14. Two whose mode of life and occupation are quite different, are not equal : a householder maintaining a wife, and an unselfish virtuous man. A householder (is intent) upon the destruction of

other living creatures, being unrestrained; but a Muni always protects living creatures, being restrained. (219)

15. As the crested bird with the blue neck (the peacock) never attains the swiftness of the swan, even so a householder does not equal a Bhikkhu, a secluded Muni meditating in the wood. (220)

Munisutta is ended.

Uragavagga is ended.

II. KÛLAVAGGA.

1. RATANASUTTA.

For all beings salvation is only to be found in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha. — Text and translation in Childers' *Khuddaka Pâṭha*, p. 6.

1. Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all spirits be happy, and then listen attentively to what is said. (221)

2. Therefore, O spirits, do ye all pay attention, show kindness to the human race who both day and night bring their offerings; therefore protect them strenuously. (222)

3. Whatever wealth there be here or in the other world, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, it is certainly not equal to Tathâgata. This excellent jewel (is found) in Buddha, by this truth may there be salvation. (223)

4. The destruction (of passion), the freedom from passion, the excellent immortality which Sakyamuni attained (being) composed,—there is nothing equal to that Dhamma. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Dhamma, by this truth may there be salvation. (224)

5. The purity which the best of Buddhas praised, the meditation which they call uninterrupted, there is no meditation like this. This excellent jewel (is

found) in the Dhamma, by this truth may there be salvation. (225)

6. The eight persons that are praised by the righteous¹, and make these four pairs, they are worthy of offerings, (being) Sugata's disciples; what is given to these will bear great fruit. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly (saṅgha), by this truth may there be salvation. (226)

7. Those who have applied themselves studiously with a firm mind and free from desire to the commandments of Gotama, have obtained the highest gain, having merged into immortality, and enjoying happiness after getting it for nothing. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (227)

8. As a post in the front of a city gate is firm in the earth and cannot be shaken by the four winds, like that I declare the righteous man to be who, having penetrated the noble truths, sees (them clearly). This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (228)

9. Those who understand the noble truths well taught by the profoundly wise (i.e. Buddha), though they be greatly distracted, will not (have to) take the eighth birth. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (229)

10. On his (attaining the) bliss of (the right) view three things (dhammas) are left behind (by him): conceit and doubt and whatever he has got of virtue and (holy) works. He is released also from the four hells, and he is incapable of committing the six

¹ The Commentator: *satam pasatthâ ti sappurisehi buddha-paṭṭhakabuddhasâvakehi aññehi ka devamanussehi pasatthâ.*

deadly sins. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (230)

11. Even if he commit a sinful deed by his body, or in word or in thought, he is incapable of concealing it, (for) to conceal is said to be impossible for one that has seen the state (of Nibbâna). This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (231)

12. As in a clump of trees with their tops in bloom in the first heat of the hot month, so (Buddha) taught the excellent Dhamma leading to Nibbâna to the greatest benefit (for all). This excellent jewel (is found) in Buddha, by this truth may there be salvation. (232)

13. The excellent one who knows what is excellent, who gives what is excellent, and who brings what is excellent, the incomparable one taught the excellent Dhamma. This excellent jewel (is found) in Buddha, by this truth may there be salvation. (233)

14. The old is destroyed, the new has not arisen, those whose minds are disgusted with a future existence, the wise who have destroyed their seeds (of existence, and) whose desires do not increase, go out like this lamp. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (234)

15. Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let us worship the perfect (tathâgata) Buddha, revered by gods and men ; may there be salvation. (235)

16. Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let us worship the perfect (tathâgata) Dhamma, revered by gods and men ; may there be salvation. (236)

17. Whatever spirits have come together here,

either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let us worship the perfect (tathâgata) Saṅgha, revered by gods and men ; may there be salvation. (237)

Ratanasutta is ended.

2. ÂMAGANDHASUTTA.

A bad mind and wicked deeds are what defiles a man ; no outward observances can purify him. Comp. Gospel of S. Matthew xv. 10.

1. Âmagandhabrahmaṇa : 'Those who eat sâ-mâka, kīṅgûlaka, and kīṇaka, pattaphala, mûlaphala, and gaviphala (different sorts of grass, leaves, roots, &c.), justly obtained of the just, do not speak falsehood, (nor are they) desirous of sensual pleasures. (238)

2. 'He who eats what has been well prepared, well dressed, what is pure and excellent, given by others, he who enjoys food made of rice, eats, O Kassapa, Âmagandha (what defiles one). (239)

3. '(The charge of) Âmagandha does not apply to me,' so thou sayest, 'O Brahman (brahmabandhu, although) enjoying food (made) of rice together with the well-prepared flesh of birds. I ask thee, O Kassapa, the meaning of this, of what description (is then) thy Âmagandha?' (240)

4. Kassapabuddha : 'Destroying living beings, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, speaking falsehood, fraud and deception, worthless reading¹, intercourse with another's wife ;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (241)

¹ *Agghenakuggan ti niratthakânatthagana kaganthapariyâpu-nanam.* Commentator.

5. 'Those persons who in this world are unrestrained in (enjoying) sensual pleasures, greedy of sweet things, associated with what is impure, sceptics (*natthikaditt^{hi}*), unjust, difficult to follow;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (242)

6. 'Those who are rough, harsh, backbiting, treacherous, merciless, arrogant, and (who being) illiberal do not give anything to any one;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (243)

7. 'Anger, intoxication, obstinacy, bigotry, deceit, envy, grandiloquence, pride and conceit, intimacy with the unjust;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (244)

8. 'Those who in this world are wicked, and such as do not pay their debts, are slanderers, false in their dealings, counterfeiters, those who in this world being the lowest of men commit sin;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (245)

9. 'Those persons who in this world are unrestrained (in their behaviour) towards living creatures, who are bent upon injuring after taking others' (goods), wicked, cruel, harsh, disrespectful;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (246)

10. 'Those creatures who are greedy of these (living beings, who are) hostile, offending; always bent upon (evil) and therefore, when dead, go to darkness and fall with their heads downwards into hell;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (247)

11. 'Neither the flesh of fish, nor fasting, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough skins, nor the worshipping of the fire, nor the many immortal penances in the world, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifice, nor observance of the

seasons, purify a mortal who has not conquered his doubt¹. (248)

12. 'The wise man wanders about with his organs of sense guarded, and his senses conquered, standing firm in the Dhamma, delighting in what is right and mild; having overcome all ties and left behind all pain, he does not cling to what is seen and heard.' (249)

13. Thus Bhagavat preached this subject again and again, (and the Brāhmaṇa) who was accomplished in the hymns (of the Vedas) understood it; the Muni who is free from defilement, independent, and difficult to follow, made it clear in various stanzas. (250)

14. Having heard Buddha's well-spoken words, which are free from defilement and send away all pain, he worshipped Tathāgata's (feet) in humility, and took orders at once. (251)

Āmagandhasutta is ended.

3. HIRISUTTA.

On true friendship.

1. He who transgresses and despises modesty, who says, 'I am a friend,' but does not undertake any work that can be done, know (about) him: 'he is not my (friend).' (252)

2. Whosoever uses pleasing words to friends without effect², him the wise know as one that (only) talks, but does not do anything. (253)

3. He is not a friend who always eagerly suspects a breach and looks out for faults; but he with whom he dwells as a son at the breast (of his mother),

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 141.

² Ananvayan ti yam attham dassāmi karissāmīti bhāsati tena ananugatam. Commentator.

he is indeed a friend that cannot be severed (from him) by others. (254)

4. He who hopes for fruit, cultivates the energy that produces joy and the pleasure that brings praise, (while) carrying the human yoke¹. (255)

5. Having tasted the sweetness of seclusion and tranquillity one becomes free from fear and free from sin, drinking in the sweetness of the Dhamma². (256)

Hirisutta is ended.

4. MAHÂMAÑGALASUTTA.

Buddha defines the highest blessing to a deity.—Text by Grimblot in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 229, and by Childers in *Kh. Pâṭha*, p. 4; translation by Gogerly in the *Ceylon Friend*, 1839, p. 208; by Childers in *Kh. Pâṭha*, p. 4; and by L. Feer in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 296.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî, in Geta-
vana, in the park of Anâthapindika. Then, when
the night had gone, a deity of beautiful appearance,
having illuminated the whole Getavana, approached
Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted him,
he stood apart, and standing apart that deity ad-
dressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. 'Many gods and men have devised blessings,
longing for happiness, tell thou (me) the highest
blessing.' (257)

2. Buddha said : 'Not cultivating (the society of)

¹ Pāmuggakaranam thânam
Pasamsâvahanam sukham
Phalânisamso* bhâveti
Vahanto porisam dhuram.

² Comp. Dhp. v. 205.

* Phalam pâṭikaṅkhamâno phalânisamso. Commentator.

fools, but cultivating (the society of) wise men, worshipping those that are to be worshipped, this is the highest blessing. (258)

3. 'To live in a suitable country, to have done good deeds in a former (existence), and a thorough study of one's self, this is the highest blessing. (259)

4. 'Great learning and skill, well-learned discipline, and well-spoken words, this is the highest blessing. (260)

5. 'Waiting on mother and father, protecting child and wife, and a quiet calling, this is the highest blessing. (261)

6. 'Giving alms, living religiously, protecting relatives, blameless deeds, this is the highest blessing. (262)

7. 'Ceasing and abstaining from sin, refraining from intoxicating drink, perseverance in the Dhammas, this is the highest blessing. (263)

8. 'Reverence and humility, contentment and gratitude, the hearing of the Dhamma at due seasons, this is the highest blessing. (264)

9. 'Patience and pleasant speech, intercourse with Samanas, religious conversation at due seasons, this is the highest blessing. (265)

10. 'Penance and chastity, discernment of the noble truths, and the realisation of Nibbāna, this is the highest blessing. (266)

11. 'He whose mind is not shaken (when he is) touched by the things of the world (lokadhamma), (but remains) free from sorrow, free from defilement, and secure, this is the highest blessing. (267)

12. 'Those who, having done such (things), are undefeated in every respect, walk in safety everywhere, theirs is the highest blessing.' (268)

Mahāmaṅgala is ended.

5. SŪKĪLOMASUTTA.

The Yakkha SŪkiloma threatens to harm Buddha, if he cannot answer his questions. Buddha answers that all passions proceed from the body.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Gayâ (seated) on a stone seat in the realm of the Yakkha SŪkiloma. And at that time the Yakkha Khara and the Yakkha SŪkiloma passed by, not far from Bhagavat. And then the Yakkha Khara said this to the Yakkha SŪkiloma : ' Is this man a Samana ? '

SŪkiloma answered : ' He is no Samana, he is a Samanaka (a wretched Samana); however I will ascertain whether he is a Samana or a Samanaka.'

Then the Yakkha SŪkiloma went up to Bhagavat, and having gone up to him, he brushed against Bhagavat's body. Then Bhagavat took away his body. Then the Yakkha SŪkiloma said this to Bhagavat : ' O Samana, art thou afraid of me ? '

Bhagavat answered : ' No, friend, I am not afraid of thee, but thy touching me is sinful.'

SŪkiloma said : ' I will ask thee a question, O Samana ; if thou canst not answer it I will either scatter thy thoughts or cleave thy heart, or take thee by the feet and throw thee over to the other shore of the Gaṅgā.'

Bhagavat answered : ' I do not see, O friend, neither in this world together with the world of the Devas, Māras, Brahmans, nor amongst the generation of Samana and Brâhmanas, gods and men, the one who can either scatter my thoughts or cleave my heart, or take me by the feet and throw me over

to the other shore of the Gaṅgâ. However ask, O friend, what thou pleasest.' Then the Yakkha Sûkiloma addressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. 'What origin have passion and hatred, disgust, delight, and horror? wherefrom do they arise? whence arising do doubts vex the mind, as boys vex a crow?' (269)

2. Buddha said: 'Passion and hatred have their origin from this (body), disgust, delight, and horror arise from this body; arising from this (body) doubts vex the mind, as boys vex a crow. (270)

3. 'They originate in desire, they arise in self, like the shoots of the banyan tree; far and wide they are connected with sensual pleasures, like the mâluvâ creeper spread in the wood. (271)

4. 'Those who know whence it (sin) arises, drive it away. Listen, O Yakkha! They cross over this stream that is difficult to cross, and has not been crossed before, with a view to not being born again.' (272)

Sûkilomasutta is ended.

6. DHAMMAKARIYASUTTA OR KAPILA-SUTTA.

The Bhikkhus are admonished to rid themselves of sinful persons, and advised to lead a pure life.

1. A just life, a religious life, this they call the best gem, if any one has gone forth from house-life to a houseless life. (273)

2. But if he be harsh-spoken, and like a beast delighting in injuring (others), then the life of such a one is very wicked, and he increases his own pollution. (274)

3. A Bhikkhu who delights in quarrelling and is shrouded in folly, does not understand the Dhamma that is preached and taught by Buddha. (275)

4. Injuring his own cultivated mind, and led by ignorance, he does not understand that sin is the way leading to hell. (276)

5. Having gone to calamity, from womb to womb, from darkness to darkness, such a Bhikkhu verily, after passing away, goes to pain. (277)

6. As when there is a pit of excrement (that has become) full during a number of years,—he who should be such a one full of sin is difficult to purify. (278)

7. Whom you know to be such a one, O Bhikkhus, (a man) dependent on a house, having sinful desires, sinful thoughts, and being with sinful deeds and objects, (279)

8. Him do avoid, being all in concord; blow him away as sweepings, put him away as rubbish. (280)

9. Then remove as chaff those that are no Samanas, (but only) think themselves, blowing away those that have sinful desires and those with sinful deeds and objects. (281)

10. Be pure and live together with the pure, being thoughtful; then agreeing (and) wise you will put an end to pain. (282)

Dhammakāriyasutta is ended.

7. BRĀHMANADHAMMIKASUTTA.

Wealthy Brāhmanas come to Buddha, asking about the customs of the ancient Brāhmanas. Buddha describes their mode of life and the change wrought in them by seeing the king's riches, and furthermore, how they induced the king to commit the sin of

having living creatures slain at sacrifices. On hearing Buddha's enlightened discourse the wealthy Brāhmanas are converted. Compare Sp. Hardy's Legends, p. 46.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sāvattthī, in Geta-vana, in the park of Anāthapindika. Then many wealthy Brāhmanas of Kosala, decrepit, elderly, old, advanced in age, or arrived at extreme old age, went to Bhagavat, and having gone to him they talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable talk with him, they sat down apart. Sitting down apart these wealthy Brāhmanas said this to Bhagavat : 'O venerable Gotama, are the Brāhmanas now-a-days seen (engaged) in the Brāhmanical customs (dhamma) of the ancient Brāhmanas ?'

Bhagavat answered : 'The Brāhmanas now-a-days, O Brāhmanas, are not seen (engaged) in the Brāhmanical customs of the ancient Brāhmanas.'

The Brāhmanas said : 'Let the venerable Gotama tell us the Brāhmanical customs of the ancient Brāhmanas, if it is not inconvenient to the venerable Gotama.'

Bhagavat answered : 'Then listen, O Brāhmanas, pay great attention, I will speak.'

'Yes,' so saying the wealthy Brāhmanas listened to Bhagavat. Bhagavat said this :

1. The old sages (isayo) were self-restrained, penitent; having abandoned the objects of the five senses, they studied their own welfare. (283)

2. There were no cattle for the Brāhmanas, nor gold, nor corn, (but) the riches and corn of meditation were for them, and they kept watch over the best treasure. (284)

3. What was prepared for them and placed as food at the door, they thought was to be given to those that seek for what has been prepared by faith. (285)

4. With garments variously coloured, with beds and abodes, prosperous people from the provinces and the whole country worshipped those Brāhmanas. (286)

5. Inviolable were the Brāhmanas, invincible, protected by the Dhamma, no one opposed them (while standing) at the doors of the houses anywhere. (287)

6. For forty-eight years they practised juvenile chastity, the Brāhmanas formerly went in search of science and exemplary conduct. (288)

7. The Brāhmanas did not marry (a woman belonging to) another (caste), nor did they buy a wife; they chose living together in mutual love after having come together. (289)

8. Excepting from the time about the cessation of the menstruation else the Brāhmanas did not indulge in sexual intercourse¹. (290)

9. They praised chastity and virtue, rectitude, mildness, penance, tenderness, compassion, and patience. (291)

10. He who was the best of them, a strong Brāhmaṇa, did not (even) in sleep indulge in sexual intercourse. (292)

11. Imitating his practices some wise men in this world praised chastity and patience. (293)

12. Having asked for rice, beds, garments, butter, and oil, and gathered them justly, they made sacri-

¹ *Aññatra tamhā samayā*
Utuveramanim pati
Antarā methunam dhammam
Nāsu gaṇṇhanti brāhmaṇā.

fices out of them, and when the sacrifice came on, they did not kill cows. (294)

13. Like unto a mother, a father, a brother, and other relatives the cows are our best friends, in which medicines are produced. (295)

14. They give food, and they give strength, they likewise give (a good) complexion and happiness; knowing the real state of this, they did not kill cows. (296)

15. They were graceful, large, handsome, renowned, Brāhmaṇas by nature, zealous for their several works; as long as they lived in the world, this race prospered. (297)

16. But there was a change in them: after gradually seeing the king's prosperity and adorned women, (298)

17. Well-made chariots drawn by noble horses, carpets in variegated colours, palaces and houses, divided into compartments and measured out, (299)

18. The great human wealth, attended with a number of cows, and combined with a flock of beautiful women, the Brāhmaṇas became covetous. (300)

19. They then, in this matter, having composed hymns, went to Okkāka, and said: 'Thou hast much wealth and corn, sacrifice thy great property, sacrifice thy great wealth.' (301)

20. And then the king, the lord of chariots, instructed by the Brāhmaṇas, brought about assamedha, purisamedha, sammâpâsa, and vâkâpeyya without any hinderance, and having offered these sacrifices he gave the Brāhmaṇas wealth: (302)

21. Cows, beds, garments, and adorned women, and well-made chariots, drawn by noble horses, carpets in variegated colours, (303)

22. Beautiful palaces, well divided into compartments ; and having filled these with different (sorts of) corn, he gave this wealth to the Brâhmanas. (304)

23. And they having thus received wealth wished for a store, and the desire of those who had given-way to (their) wishes increased still more ; they then, in this matter, having composed hymns, went again to Okkâka, and said : (305)

24. ' As water, earth, gold, wealth, and corn, even so are there cows for men, for this is a requisite for living beings ; sacrifice thy great property, sacrifice thy wealth.' (306)

25. And then the king, the lord of chariots, instructed by the Brâhmanas, caused many hundred thousand cows to be slain in offerings. (307)

26. The cows, that are like goats, do not hurt any one with their feet or with either of their horns, they are tender, and yield vessels (of milk),—seizing them by the horns the king caused them to be slain with a weapon. (308)

27. Then the gods, the forefathers, Inda, the Asuras, and the Rakkhasas cried out : ' This is injustice,' because of the weapon falling on the cows. (309)

28. There were formerly three diseases : desire, hunger, and decay, but from the slaying of cattle there came ninety-eight. (310)

29. This injustice of (using) violence that has come down (to us), was old ; innocent (cows) are slain, the sacrificing (priests) have fallen off from the Dhamma. (311)

30. So this old and mean Dhamma is blamed by the wise ; where people see such a one, they blame the sacrificing priest. (312)

31. So Dhamma being lost, the Suddas and the Vessikas disagreed, the Khattiyas disagreed in manifold ways, the wife despised her husband. (313)

32. The Khattiyas and the Brâhmanas and those others who had been protected by their castes, after doing away with their disputes on descent, fell into the power of sensual pleasures. (314)

This having been said, those wealthy Brâhmanas said to Bhagavat as follows :

‘ It is excellent, O venerable Gotama ! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama ! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated ; we take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus ; may the venerable Gotama receive us as followers (upâsaka), who from this day for life have taken refuge (in him). ’

Brâhmanadhammikasutta is ended.

8. NÂVÂSUTTA.

On choosing a good and learned teacher.

1. A man should worship him from whom he learns the Dhamma, as the gods (worship) Inda ; the learned man being worshipped and pleased with him, makes the (highest) Dhamma manifest. (315)

2. Having heard and considered that (Dhamma), the wise man practising the Dhamma that is in

accordance with the (highest) Dhamma, becomes learned, expert, and skilful, strenuously associating with such a (learned teacher). (316)

3. He who serves a low (teacher), a fool who has not understood the meaning, and who is envious, goes to death, not having overcome doubt, and not having understood the Dhamma. (317)

4. As a man, after descending into a river, a turbid water with a rapid current, is borne along following the current,—how will he be able to put others across? (318)

5. Even so how will a man, not having understood the Dhamma, and not attending to the explanation of the learned and not knowing it himself, not having overcome doubt, be able to make others understand it? (319)

6. As one, having gone on board a strong ship, provided with oars and rudder, carries across in it many others, knowing the way to do it, and being expert and thoughtful, (320)

7. So also he who is accomplished, of a cultivated mind, learned, intrepid, makes others endowed with attention and assiduity understand it, knowing (it himself). (321)

8. Therefore indeed one should cultivate (the society of) a good man, who is intelligent and learned; he who leads a regular life, having understood what is good and penetrated the Dhamma, will obtain happiness. (322)

Nâvâsutta is ended.



9. KIMSĪLASUTTA.

How to obtain the highest good.

1. By what virtue, by what conduct, and performing what works, will a man be perfectly established (in the commandments) and obtain the highest good? (323)

2. Let him honour old people, not be envious, let him know the (right) time for seeing his teachers, let him know the (right) moment for listening to their religious discourses, let him assiduously hearken to their well-spoken (words). (324)

3. Let him in due time go to the presence of his teachers, let him be humble after casting away obstinacy, let him remember and practise what is good, the Dhamma, self-restraint, and chastity. (325)

4. Let his pleasure be the Dhamma, let him delight in the Dhamma, let him stand fast in the Dhamma, let him know how to enquire into the Dhamma, let him not raise any dispute that pollutes the Dhamma, and let him spend his time in (speaking) well-spoken truths¹. (326)

5. Having abandoned ridiculous talk, lamentation, corruption, deceit, hypocrisy, greediness and haughtiness, clamour and harshness, depravity and foolishness, let him live free from infatuation, with a steady mind. (327)

6. The words, the essence of which is understood, are well spoken, and what is heard, if understood, contains the essence of meditation; but the understanding and learning of the man who is hasty and careless, does not increase. (328)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 364.

7. Those who delight in the Dhamma, proclaimed by the venerable ones, are unsurpassed in speech, mind and work, they are established in peace, tenderness and meditation, and have gone to the essence of learning and understanding. (329)

Kimsīlasutta is ended.

10. UTTĀNASUTTA.

Advice not to be lukewarm and slothful.

1. Rise, sit up, what is the use of your sleeping ; to those who are sick, pierced by the arrow (of pain), and suffering, what sleep is there ? (330)

2. Rise, sit up, learn steadfastly for the sake of peace, let not the king of death, knowing you to be indolent (*pamatta*), befool you and lead you into his power. (331)

3. Conquer this desire which gods and men stand wishing for and are dependent upon, let not the (right) moment pass by you ; for those who have let the (right) moment pass, will grieve when they have been consigned to hell. (332)

4. Indolence (*pamāda*) is defilement, continued indolence is defilement ; by earnestness (*appamāda*) and knowledge let one pull out his arrow. (333)

Uttānasutta is ended.

11. RÂHULASUTTA.

Buddha recommends the life of a recluse to Râhula, and admonishes him to turn his mind away from the world and to be moderate.

1. Bhagavat said : ‘Dost thou not despise the wise man, from living with him constantly ? Is he

who holds up a torch to mankind honoured by thee?' (334)

2. Râhula: 'I do not despise the wise man, from living with him constantly; he who holds up a torch to mankind is always honoured by me.' (335)

Vatthugâthâ.

3. Bhagavat: 'Having abandoned the objects of the five senses, the beautiful, the charming, and gone out from thy house with faith, do thou put an end to pain. (336)

4. 'Cultivate (the society of) virtuous friends and a distant dwelling-place, secluded and quiet; be moderate in food'. (337)

5. 'Robes, alms (in bowl), requisites (for the sick), a dwelling-place,—do not thirst after these (things), that thou mayest not go back to the world again. (338)

6. 'Be subdued according to the precepts, and as to the five senses, be attentive as regards thy body, and be full of disgust (with the world). (339)

7. 'Avoid signs, what is pleasant and is accompanied with passion, turn thy mind undisturbed and well composed to what is not pleasant. (340)

8. 'Cherish what is signless, leave the inclinations for pride; then by destroying pride thou shalt wander calm.' (341)

So Bhagavat repeatedly admonished the venerable Râhula with these stanzas.

Râhulasutta is ended.

¹ Mitte bhagassu kalyâne
Pantañ ka sayanâsanam
Vivittam appanigghosam,
Mattaññû hohi bhogane.

12. VAṄĠSASUTTA.

Vaṅḡsa desires to know the fate of Nigrodhakappa, whether he has been completely extinguished, or whether he is still with some elements of existence left behind. He is answered by Buddha.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Āḷavi, in the temple of Aggāḷava. At that time the teacher of the venerable Vaṅḡsa, the Thera, by name Nigrodhakappa, had attained bliss not long before (*aḡira-parinibbuta*). Then this reflection occurred to the venerable Vaṅḡsa, while retired and meditating :

Whether my teacher be blessed (*parinibbuta*) or whether he be not blessed. Then the venerable Vaṅḡsa, at the evening time, coming forth from his retirement went to Bhagavat, and having gone to him he sat down apart after saluting him, and sitting down apart the venerable Vaṅḡsa said this to Bhagavat :

‘ Lord, while retired and meditating, this reflection occurred to me here : Whether my teacher be blessed or whether he be not blessed.’

Then the venerable Vaṅḡsa, rising from his seat, throwing his robe over one shoulder and bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat, addressed him in stanzas :

1. ‘ We ask the Master of excellent understanding : he who in this world had cut off doubt, died at Aggāḷava, a Bhikkhu, well known, famous, and of a calm mind. (342)

2. ‘ The name “ Nigrodhakappa ” was given to that Brāhmaṇa by thee, O Bhagavat ; he wandered

about worshipping thee, having liberation in view, strong, and seeing Nibbâna. (343)

3. 'O Sakka, thou all-seeing, we all wish to learn (something about) this disciple; our ears are ready to hear, thou art our Master, thou art incomparable. (344)

4. 'Cut off our doubt, tell me of him, inform us of the blessed, O thou of great understanding; speak in the midst of us, O thou all-seeing, as the thousand-eyed Sakka (speaks in the midst) of the gods. (345)

5. 'Whatever ties there are in this world (constituting) the way to folly, combined with ignorance, forming the seat of doubt, they do not exist before Tathâgata, for he is the best eye of men. (346)

6. 'If a man does not for ever dispel the sin as the wind (dispels) a mass of clouds, all the world will be enveloped in darkness, not even illustrious men will shine. (347)

7. 'Wise men are light-bringers, therefore, O wise man, I consider thee as such a one; we have come to him who beholds meditation, reveal Kappa to us in the assembly. (348)

8. 'Uplift quickly, O thou beautiful one, thy beautiful voice, like the swans drawing up (their necks), sing softly with a rich and well-modulated voice; we will all listen to thee attentively. (349)

9. 'Having earnestly called upon him who has completely left birth and death behind and shaken off (sin), I will make him proclaim the Dhamma, for ordinary people cannot do what they want, but the Tathâgatas act with a purpose¹. (350)

¹ *Pahînaġâtîmaranam asesam*
Niggayha dhonam vadessâmi dhammam,
Na kâmakâro hi puthugganânânam
Samkheyyakâro ka tathâgatânânam.

10. 'This full explanation by thee, the perfectly wise, is accepted, this last clasping of the hands is well bent, O thou of high wisdom, knowing (Kappa's transmigration), do not delude us¹. (351)

11. 'Having perfectly² comprehended the Dhamma of the venerable ones, do not delude (us), O thou of unsurpassed strength, knowing (everything); as one in the hot season pained by the heat (longs for) water, so I long for thy words; send a shower of learning. (352)

12. 'The rich religious life which Kappâyana led, has not that been in vain (to him), has he been (completely) extinguished, or is he still with some elements of existence (left behind)? How he was liberated, that we want to hear.' (353)

13. Bhagavat: 'He cut off the desire for name and form in this world,'—so said Bhagavat,—'Kanha's (i. e. Mâra's) stream, adhered to for a long time, he crossed completely birth and death,' so said Bhagavat, the best of the five (Brâhmanas, pañka-vaggiyâ). (354)

14. Vaṅḡsa: 'Having heard thy word, O thou the best of the Isis, I am pleased; not in vain have I asked, the Brâhmana did not deceive me. (355)

15. 'As he talked so he acted, he was a (true) disciple of Buddha, he cut asunder the outspread strong net of deceitful death. (356)

16. 'Kappiya (Kappâyana) saw, O Bhagavat, the be-

¹ *Sampannavēyyākāraṇaṃ tava-y-idam*
Samuggupaññassa samuggahītaṃ,
Ayam añjali paḷḷhimo suppanāmito,
Mā mohayi gāṇam anomapañña.

² *Parovaran ti lokuttaralokiyavasena sundarāsundaram dūre*
santikam vā. Commentator.

ginning of attachment, Kappâyana verily crossed the realm of death, which is very difficult to cross.' (357)

Vaṅṭsasutta is ended.

13. SAMMĀPARIBBĀGANIYASUTTA.

The right path for a Bhikkhu.

1. 'We will ask the Muni of great understanding, who has crossed, gone to the other shore, is blessed (parinibbuta), and of a firm mind: How does a Bhikkhu wander rightly in the world, after having gone out from his house and driven away desire?' (358)

2. 'He whose (ideas of) omens, meteors, dreams and signs are destroyed,'—so said Bhagavat,—'such a Bhikkhu who has abandoned the sinful omens, wanders rightly in the world. (359)

3. 'Let the Bhikkhu subdue his passion for human and divine pleasures, then after conquering existence and understanding the Dhamma, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (360)

4. 'Let the Bhikkhu, after casting behind him slander and anger, abandon avarice and be free from compliance and opposition, then such a one will wander rightly in the world. (361)

5. 'He who having left behind both what is agreeable and what is disagreeable, not seizing upon anything, is independent in every respect and liberated from bonds, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (362)

6. 'He does not see any essence in the Upadhis, having subdued his wish and passion for attachments,

he is independent and not to be led by others, such a one will wander rightly in the world¹. (363)

7. 'He who is not opposed (to any one) in word, thought or deed, who, after having understood the Dhamma perfectly, longs for the state of Nibbâna, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (364)

8. 'He who thinking "he salutes me" is not elated, the Bhikkhu who, although abused, does not reflect (upon it, and) having received food from others does not get intoxicated (with pride), such a one will wander rightly in the world. (365)

9. 'The Bhikkhu who, after leaving behind covetousness and existence, is disgusted with cutting and binding (others), he who has overcome doubt, and is without pain, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (366)

10. 'And knowing what becomes him, the Bhikkhu will not harm any one in the world, understanding the Dhamma thoroughly, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (367)

11. 'He to whom there are no affections whatsoever, whose sins are extirpated from the root, he free from desire and not longing (for anything), such a one will wander rightly in the world. (368)

12. 'He whose passions have been destroyed, who is free from pride, who has overcome all the path of passion, is subdued, perfectly happy (parinibbuta), and of a firm mind, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (369)

13. 'The believer, possessed of knowledge, see-

¹ Na so upadhîsu sâram eti
 Âdânesu vineyya khandarâgam
 So anissito anaññaneyyo
 Sammâ so.

ing the way (leading to Nibbâna), who is no partisan amongst the partisans (of the sixty-two philosophical views), wise after subduing covetousness, anger, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (370)

14. 'He who is pure and victorious, who has removed the veil (of the world), who is subdued in the Dhammas, has gone to the other shore, is without desire, and skilled in the knowledge of the cessation of the Samkhâras, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (371)

15. 'He who has overcome time (kappâtta) in the past and in the future, is of an exceedingly pure understanding, liberated from all the dwelling-places (of the mind), such a one will wander rightly in the world. (372)

16. 'Knowing the step (of the four truths), understanding the Dhamma, seeing clearly the abandonment of the passions, destroying all the elements of existence (upadhi), such a one will wander rightly in the world.' (373)

17. 'Certainly, O Bhagavat, it is so : whichever Bhikkhu lives in this way, subdued and having overcome all bonds, such a one will wander rightly in the world.' (374)

Sammâparibbâganiyasutta is ended.

14. DHAMMIKASUTTA.

Buddha shows Dhammika what the life of a Bhikkhu and what the life of a householder ought to be.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthi, in Geta-vana, in the park of Anâthapindika. Then the follower (upâsaka) Dhammika, together with five

hundred followers, went to Bhagavat, and having gone to Bhagavat and saluted him, he sat down apart; sitting down apart the follower Dhammika addressed Bhagavat in stanzas:

1. 'I ask thee, O Gotama of great understanding, How is a Sāvaka (disciple) to act to be a good one? is it the one who goes from his house to the wilderness, or the followers with a house? (375)

2. 'For thou knowest the doings of this world and that of the gods, and the final end; there is nobody like thee seeing the subtle meaning (of things); they call thee the excellent Buddha. (376)

3. 'Knowing all knowledge thou hast revealed the Dhamma, having compassion on creatures; thou hast removed the veil (of the world), thou art all-seeing, thou shinest spotless in all the world. (377)

4. 'The king of elephants, Erāvāṇa by name, hearing that thou wert Gīṇa (the Conqueror), came to thy presence, and having conversed with thee he went away delighted, after listening (to thee, and saying), "Very good!" (378)

5. 'Also king Vessavaṇa Kuvera came to ask thee about the Dhamma; him, too, thou, O wise man, answeredst when asked, and he also after listening was delighted. (379)

6. 'All these disputatious Titthiyas and Āgāvikas and Nigāntḥas do not any of them overcome thee in understanding, as a man standing (does not overcome) the one that is walking quickly. (380)

7. 'All these disputatious Brāhmaṇas, and there are even some old Brāhmaṇas, all are bound by thy opinion, and others also that are considered disputants. (381)

8. 'This subtle and pleasant Dhamma that has

been well proclaimed by thee, O Bhagavat, and which we all long to hear, do thou, O thou best of Buddhas, speak to us when asked. (382)

9. 'Let all these Bhikkhus and also Upāsakas that have sat down to listen, hear the Dhamma learnt (anubuddha) by the stainless (Buddha), as the gods (hear) the well-spoken (words) of Vāsava.' (383)

10. Bhagavat: 'Listen to me, O Bhikkhus, I will teach you the Dhamma that destroys sin, do ye keep it, all of you; let him who looks for what is salutary, the thoughtful, cultivate the mode of life suitable for Pabbagitas. (384)

11. 'Let not the Bhikkhu walk about at a wrong time, let him go to the village for alms at the right time; for ties ensnare the one that goes at a wrong time, therefore Buddhas do not go at a wrong time. (385)

12. 'Form, sound, taste, smell, and touch which intoxicate creatures, having subdued the desire for (all) these things (dhammas), let him in due time go in for his breakfast. (386)

13. 'And let the Bhikkhu, after having obtained his food at the right time and returned, sit down alone and privately; reflecting within himself let him not turn his mind to outward things, (but be) self-collected. (387)

14. 'If he speak with a Sāvaka or with anybody else, or with a Bhikkhu, let him talk about the excellent Dhamma, (but let him) not (utter) slander, nor blaming words against others. (388)

15. 'For some utter language contradicting others¹; those narrow-minded ones we do not praise. Ties

¹ Vādam hi eke paṭiseniyanti=virugghanti yuggḥitukāmā hutvā senāya paṭimukham gaḥḥantā viya honti. Commentator.

from here and there ensnare them, and they send their mind far away in that (dispute). (389)

16. 'Let a Sāvaka of him with the excellent understanding (Buddha), after hearing the Dhamma taught by Sugata, discriminately seek for food, a monastery, a bed and a chair, and water for taking away the dirt of his clothes. (390)

17. 'But without clinging to these things, to food, to bed and chair, to water for taking away the dirt of his clothes, let a Bhikkhu be like a waterdrop on a lotus. (391)

18. 'A householder's work I will also tell you, how a Sāvaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu-dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by (worldly) occupations. (392)

19. 'Let him not kill, nor cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world. (393)

20. 'Then let the Sāvaka abstain from (taking) anything in any place that has not been given (to him), knowing (it to belong to another), let him not cause any one to take, nor approve of those that take, let him avoid all (sort of) theft. (394)

21. 'Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another man's wife. (395)

22. 'Let no one speak falsely to another in the hall of justice or in the hall of the assembly, let him not cause (any one) to speak (falsely), nor approve of those that speak (falsely), let him avoid all (sort of) untruth. (396)

23. 'Let the householder who approves of this Dhamma, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end in madness. (397)

24. 'For through intoxication the stupid commit sins and make other people intoxicated; let him avoid this seat of sin, this madness, this folly, delightful to the stupid. (398)

25. 'Let him not kill any living being, let him not take what has not been given (to him), let him not speak falsely, and let him not drink intoxicating drinks, let him refrain from unchaste sexual intercourse, and let him not at night eat untimely food. (399)

26. 'Let him not wear wreaths nor use perfumes, let him lie on a couch spread on the earth:—this they call the eightfold abstinence (uposatha), proclaimed by Buddha, who has overcome pain. (400)

27. 'Then having with a believing mind kept abstinence (uposatha) on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the eighth days of the half-month, and (having kept) the complete Pāṭihârakapakkha¹ consisting of eight parts, (401)

28. 'And then in the morning, after having kept abstinence, let a wise man with a believing mind, gladdening the assembly of Bhikkhus with food and drink, make distributions according to his ability. (402)

29. 'Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honourable trade; the householder who observes this strenuously goes to the gods by name Sayampabhas.' (403)

Dhammikasutta is ended.

Kūlavagga is ended.

¹ Compare T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 141.

III. MAHÂVAGGA.

1. PABBAGGÂSUTTA.

King Bimbisâra feeling interested in Buddha tries to tempt him with wealth, but is mildly rebuked by Buddha.

1. I will praise an ascetic life such as the clearly-seeing (Buddha) led, such as he thinking (over it) approved of as an ascetic life. (404)

2. 'This house-life is pain, the seat of impurity,' and 'an ascetic life is an open-air life,' so considering he embraced an ascetic life. (405)

3. Leading an ascetic life, he avoided with his body sinful deeds, and having (also) abandoned sin in words, he cleansed his life. (406)

4. Buddha went to Râgagaha, he entered the Giribbaga in Magadha for alms with a profusion of excellent signs. (407)

5. Bimbisâra standing in his palace saw him, and seeing him endowed with these signs, he spoke these words: (408)

6. 'Attend ye to this man, he is handsome, great, clean, he is both endowed with good conduct, and he does not look before him further than a yuga (the distance of a plough). (409)

7. 'With downcast eyes, thoughtful, this one is not like those of low caste; let the king's messengers run off, (and ask): "Where is the Bhikkhu going?"' (410)

8. The king's messengers followed after (him, and

said): 'Where is the Bhikkhu going, where will he reside?' (411)

9. 'Going begging from house to house, watching the door (of the senses), well restrained, he quickly filled his bowl, conscious, thoughtful.' (412)

10. 'Wandering about in search of alms, having gone out of town, the Muni repaired to (the mountain) *Pandava*; it must be there he lives.' (413)

11. Seeing that he had entered his dwelling, the messengers then sat down, and one messenger having returned announced it to the king. (414)

12. 'This Bhikkhu, O great king, is sitting on the east side of *Pandava*, like a tiger, like a bull, like a lion in a mountain cave.' (415)

13. Having heard the messenger's words, the Khattiya in a fine chariot hastening went out to the *Pandava* mountain. (416)

14. Having gone as far as the ground was practicable for a chariot, the Khattiya, after alighting from the chariot, and approaching on foot, having come up (to him), seated himself. (417)

15. Having sat down the king then exchanged the usual ceremonious greetings with him, and after the complimentary talk he spoke these words: (418)

16. 'Thou art both young and delicate, a lad in his first youth, possessed of a fine complexion, like a high-born Khattiya. (419)

17. 'I will ornament the army-house, and at the head of the assembly of chiefs (*nāga*) give (thee) wealth; enjoy it and tell me thy birth, when asked.' (420)

18. Buddha: 'Just beside *Himavanta*, O king, there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of *Kosala*. (421)

19. 'They are Âdikkas by family, Sâkiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures. (422)

20. 'Seeing misery in sensual pleasures, and considering the forsaking of the world as happiness, I will go and exert myself; in this my mind delights.' (423)

Pabbaggâsutta is ended.

2. PADHÂNASUTTA.

Mâra tries to tempt Buddha, but disappointed is obliged to withdraw.
Comp. Gospel of S. Matthew iv.

1. To me, whose mind was intent upon exertion near the river Nerañgarâ, having exerted myself, and given myself to meditation for the sake of acquiring Nibbâna (yogakkhema), (424)

2. Came Namukî speaking words full of compassion: 'Thou art lean, ill-favoured, death is in thy neighbourhood. (425)

3. 'A thousandth part of thee (is the property) of death, (only) one part (belongs to) life; living life, O thou venerable one, is better; living thou wilt be able to do good works¹. (426)

4. 'When thou livest a religious life, and feedest the sacrificial fire, manifold good works are woven to thee; what dost thou want with exertion? (427)

5. 'Difficult is the way of exertion, difficult to pass, difficult to enter upon;' saying these verses Mâra stood near Buddha. (428)

¹ Sahassabhâgo maranassa,
Ekamso tava gîvitam,
Gîvam bho gîvitam seyyo,
Gîvam puññâni kâhasi.

6. To Māra thus speaking Bhagavat said this :
 ' O thou friend of the indolent, thou wicked one, for
 what purpose hast thou come here ? (429)

7. ' Even the least good work is of no use to me ;
 and what good works are required, Māra ought to
 tell. (430)

8. ' I have faith and power, and understanding is
 found in me ; while thus exerting myself, why do you
 ask me to live¹? (431)

9. ' This (burning) wind will dry up even the cur-
 rents of the rivers ; should it not by degrees dry up
 my blood, while I am exerting myself ? (432)

10. ' While the blood is drying up, the bile and
 the phlegm are dried up ; while the flesh is wasting
 away, the mind gets more tranquil, and my atten-
 tion, understanding, and meditation get more stead-
 fast². (433)

11. ' While I am living thus, after having felt the
 extreme sensations, my mind does not look for
 sensual pleasures ; behold a being's purity. (434)

12. ' Lust thy first army is called, discontent thy
 second, thy third is called hunger and thirst, thy
 fourth desire. (435)

13. ' Thy fifth is called sloth and drowsiness, thy
 sixth cowardice, thy seventh doubt, thy eighth
 hypocrisy and stupor, (436)

14. ' Gain, fame, honour, and what celebrity has

¹ *Evam mam pahitattam pi*
Kim gīvam anupakkhasi.

² *Lohite sussamānamhi*
Pittam semhañ ka sussati,
Mamsesu khīyamānesu
Bhiyyo kīttam pasidati
Bhiyyo sati ka paññā ka
Samādhi mama tīrhati.

been falsely obtained; and he who exalts himself and despises others ¹. (437)

15. 'This, O Namukî, is thine, the black one's, fighting army; none but a hero conquers it, and after conquering it obtains joy. (438)

16. 'Woe upon life in this world! death in battle is better for me than that I should live defeated. (439)

17. 'Plunged into this world some Samanas and Brâhmanas are not seen, and they do not know the way in which the virtuous walk. (440)

18. 'Seeing on all sides an army arrayed, and Mâra on his elephant, I am going out to do battle, that he may not drive me away from my place. (441)

19. 'This army of thine, which the world of men and gods cannot conquer, I will crush with understanding as (one crushes) an unbaked earthen pot with a stone ². (442)

20. 'Having made my thought subject to me and my attention firm, I shall wander about from kingdom to kingdom, training disciples extensively. (443)

21. 'They (will be) zealous and energetic, executing my orders, (the orders) of one free from lust, and they will go (to the place) where, having gone, they will not mourn.' (444)

22. Mâra : 'For seven years I followed Bhagavat step by step; I found no fault in the perfectly enlightened, thoughtful (Buddha). (445)

¹ Yo *k'* attânam samukkamse
Pare *ka* avagânatî.

² Yam te tam na-ppasahati
Senam loko sadevako
Tam te paññâya gakkhâmi*
Âmam pattam va amhanâ.

* Instead of gakkhâmi I read bhañgâmi. B^a has vekkhâpi, B^b vegghâmi.

23. 'The crow hovered round the rock that looked like (a lump of) fat: "Do we here find something soft, is it something sweet?" (446)

24. 'Having obtained nothing sweet there, the crow went away from that spot. Thus like the crow approaching the rock, being disgusted, we shall go away from Gotama¹.' (447)

25. While overcome with sorrow the string of his lute slipped down; then that evil-minded Yakkha disappeared there. (448)

Padhânasutta is ended.

3. SUBHÂSITASUTTA.

On well-spoken language.

So it was heard by me:

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî in Geta-vana. Bhagavat said this: 'O Bhikkhus, the speech that is provided with four requisites is well-spoken, not ill-spoken, both faultless and blameless to the wise.'

'Which four?'

'O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu speaks well-spoken (language), not ill-spoken; he speaks what is right (dhamma), not what is unrighteous (adhamma); he speaks what is pleasing, not what is unpleasing; he speaks what is true, not what is false. O Bhikkhus, the speech that is provided with these four requisites, is well-spoken, not ill-spoken, both faultless

¹ Kâko va selam âsagga*

Nibbiggâpema Gotamam †.

* C^b C^k âvagga, B^a assagga, B^l âssagga. † Instead of Gotamam I read Gotamâ.

and blameless to the wise.' This said Bhagavat. When Sugata had said this, then the Master spoke the following :

1. 'Well-spoken language the just call the principal (thing); let one speak what is right (dhamma), not what is unrighteous (adhamma), that is the second; let one speak what is pleasing, not what is unpleasing, that is the third; let one speak what is true, not what is false, that is the fourth.' (449)

Then the venerable Vaṅgtsa, rising from his seat, throwing his robe over one shoulder and bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat, said this: 'It occurs to me, O Sugata!'

'Let it occur to thee, O Vaṅgtsa!' said Bhagavat.

Then the venerable Vaṅgtsa, standing before Bhagavat, praised him with appropriate stanzas :

2. 'Let one say such words by which he does not pain himself, nor hurt others; such words are truly well-spoken. (450)

3. 'Let one speak pleasing words which are received joyfully (by all), and which (saying) he, without committing sins, speaks what is pleasing to others. (451)

4. 'Truth verily is immortal speech, this is a true saying; in what is true, in what is good, and in what is right, the just stand firm, so they say. (452)

5. 'The words which Buddha speaks, which are sure to bring about extinction and put an end to pain, such (words) are truly the best.' (453)

Subhâsitasutta is ended.

4. SUNDARIKABHĀRADVĀGASUTTA.

Buddha shows to Sundarikabhāradvāga on whom to bestow oblations, and the Brāhmaṇa is finally converted.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt in Kosala on the bank of the river Sundarikā. And during that time the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga made offerings to the fire and worshipped the fire. Then the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga, having made offerings to the fire and worshipped the fire, and having risen from his seat, looked about him on all sides towards the four quarters of the globe, saying : ' Who is to enjoy the rest of this oblation ? ' The Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga saw Bhagavat sitting not far off at the root of a tree, wrapped up head and body ; and seeing him he, after taking the rest of the oblation with his left hand and the waterpot with his right hand, went up to Bhagavat. Then Bhagavat, on hearing the footsteps of Sundarikabhāradvāga, the Brāhmaṇa, uncovered his head. Then the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga thought : ' This man is shaved, this man is a shaveling, ' and he wished to return again from there. Then this came to the mind of Sundarikabhāradvāga, the Brāhmaṇa : ' Some Brāhmaṇas also here are shaved, I think I shall go up and ask him about his descent. ' Then the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga went up to Bhagavat, and having gone up he said this : ' Of what family art thou ? '

Then Bhagavat answered Sundarikabhāradvāga, the Brāhmaṇa, in stanzas :

1. ' No Brāhmaṇa am I, nor a king's son, nor any

Vessa; having thoroughly observed the class of common people, I wander about the world reflectingly, possessing nothing. (454)

2. 'Dressed in a sanghâṭī¹ and houseless I wander about, with my hair cut off, calm, not intermixing with people in this world. Thou askest me an unseasonable question about (my) family, O Brâhmana!' (455)

3. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'Sir, Brâhmanas together with Brâhmanas ask truly, Art thou a Brâhmana?'

Bhagavat: 'If thou sayest, I am a Brâhmana, and callest me no Brâhmana, then I ask thee about the Sâvitti that consists of three padas and twenty-four syllables².' (456)

4. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'For what (reason) did the Isis, men, Khattiyas, Brâhmanas make offerings to the gods abundantly in this world?'

Bhagavat: 'He who, perfect and accomplished at the time of offering, obtains the ear of one or the other (god), he will succeed, so I say.' (457)

5. 'Surely his offering will bear fruit,'—so said the Brâhmana,—'because we saw such an accomplished man; for by not seeing such as you, somebody else will enjoy the oblation.' (458)

6. Bhagavat: 'Therefore, O Brâhmana, as you have come here to ask for something, ask; perhaps thou mightest here find one that is calm, without anger, free from pain, free from desire, one with a good understanding.' (459)

¹ See Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 166.

² *Tam Sâvittim pukkâmi*
Tipadam katuvîsatakkharam.

(Rig-veda III, 62, 10.)

7. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'I delight in offering, O Gotama, I desire to make an offering, but I do not understand it; do thou instruct me, tell me in what case the offering succeeds.' (460)

8. Bhagavat: 'Therefore, O Brâhmaṇa, lend me thy ear, I will teach thee the Dhamma. (461)

9. 'Do not ask about descent, but ask about conduct; from wood, it is true, fire is born; (likewise) a firm Muni, although belonging to a low family, may become noble, when restrained (from sinning) by humility. (462)

10. 'He who is subdued by truth, endowed with temperance, accomplished, leading a religious life, on such a one in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (463)

11. 'Those who, after leaving sensual pleasures, wander about houseless, well restrained, being like a straight shuttle, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (464)

12. 'Those whose passions are gone, whose senses are well composed, who are liberated like the moon out of the grasp of Râhu, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (465)

13. 'Those who wander about in the world without clinging (to anything), always thoughtful, having left selfishness, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (466)

14. 'He who, after leaving sensual pleasures, wanders about victorious, he who knows the end of birth and death, who is perfectly happy (parinib-

buta), calm like a deep water, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (467)

15. 'Just with the just and far from the unjust¹, Tathâgata is possessed of infinite understanding; undefiled both in this world and in the other, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (468)

16. 'He in whom there lives no deceit, no arrogance, he who is free from cupidity, free from selfishness, free from desire, who has banished anger, who is calm, the Brâhmaṇa who has removed the taint of grief, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (469)

17. 'He who has banished (every) resting-place of the mind, he for whom there is no grasping, he who covets nothing either in this world or in the other, Tathâgata deserves the oblation². (470)

18. 'He who is composed, who has crossed over the stream (of existence) and knows the Dhamma by (taking) the highest view (of it), he whose passions are destroyed, who is wearing the last body, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (471)

19. 'He whose passion for existence and whose harsh talk are destroyed, are perished, (and therefore) exist not, he the accomplished and in every respect liberated Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (472)

20. 'He who has shaken off all ties, for whom there are no ties, who amongst arrogant beings is free from arrogance, having penetrated pain together with its domain and subject, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (473)

21. 'He who, without giving himself up to desire, sees seclusion (i. e. Nibbâna), who has overcome the view that is to be taught by others, to whom there

¹ Samo samehi visamehi dûre.

² Comp. Dh. v. 20.

are no objects of sense whatever, Tathâgata deserves the oblation¹. (474)

22. 'He to whom all Dhammas of every description, after he has penetrated them, are destroyed, are perished, (and therefore) exist not, he who is calm, liberated in the destruction of attachment (i. e. Nibbâna), Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (475)

23. 'He who sees the destruction of bond and birth, who has totally evaded the path of passion, (who is) pure, faultless, spotless, undepraved, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (476)

24. 'He who does not measure himself by himself, who is composed, upright, firm, without desire, free from harshness (akhila), free from doubt, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (477)

25. 'He to whom there is no cause of folly, who has a supernatural insight in all Dhammas, who wears the last body, and who has acquired perfect enlightenment, the highest, the blessed, (for him) thus a Yakkha's purification (takes place)².' (478)

26. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'May my offering be a true offering, because I met with such a one out of the accomplished; Brahman is my witness, may Bhagavat accept me, may Bhagavat enjoy my oblation.' (479)

27. Bhagavat: 'What is obtained by stanzas is not to be enjoyed by me, this is not the custom of the clearly-seeing, O Brâhmaṇa; Buddhas reject what is obtained by stanzas. While the Dhamma

¹ Âsam anissâya vivekadassî
Paravediyan * diṭṭhim upâtivatto
Ârammanâ yassa na santi keki, &c.

² Comp. Kalahavivâdasutta, v. 14.

* Paravediyan ti parehi nâpetabbam. Commentator.

exists, O Brâhmaṇa, this is the practice (of the Buddhas). (480)

28. 'With other food and drink must thou serve one that is perfect, a great Isi, whose passions are destroyed, and whose misbehaviour has ceased, for this is a field for one who looks for good works¹.' (481)

29. Sundarikabhâradvâga : 'Good, O Bhagavat, then I should like to know, who will enjoy a gift from one like me, and whom I shall seek at the time of sacrifice (as one worthy of offerings) after having accepted thy doctrine.' (482)

30. Bhagavat : 'Whosoever has no quarrels, whose mind is untroubled, and who has freed himself from lusts, whose sloth is driven away, (483)

31. 'Whosoever conquers his sins, knows birth and death, the Muni who is endowed with wisdom², such a one who has resorted to offering, (484)

32. 'Him you should worship and honour with food and drink; so the gifts will prosper.' (485)

33. Sundarikabhâradvâga : 'Thou Buddha deservest the oblation, (thou art) the best field for good works, the object of offering to all the world; what is given to thee will bear great fruit.' (486)

Then the Brâhmaṇa Sundarikabhâradvâga said this to Bhagavat : 'It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in

¹ Comp. Kasibhâradvâgasutta, v. 7.

² Moneyyasampannam = paññâsampannam. Commentator.

the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; I wish to receive the robe and the orders from the venerable Gotama.'

The Brâhmaṇa Sundarikabhâradvâga received the pabbaggâ from Bhagavat, and he received also the upasampadâ; and the venerable Bhâradvâga, having lately received the upasampadâ, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led, what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Bhâradvâga became one of the arahats.

Sundarikabhâradvâgasutta is ended.

5. MĀGHASUTTA.

Buddha on being asked tells Mâgha of those worthy of offerings and the blessing of offering.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Râgagaha, in the mountain (called) the Vulture's Peak (*Gigghakûta*).

Then the young man Mâgha went to Bhagavat, and having gone to him he talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant, remarkable conversation with him he sat down apart; sitting down apart the young man Mâgha spoke this to Bhagavat:

‘O venerable Gotama, I am a liberal giver, bountiful, suitable to beg of; justly I seek for riches, and having sought for riches justly, I give out of the justly obtained and justly acquired riches to one, to two, to three, to four, to five, to six, to seven, to eight, to nine, to ten, to twenty, to thirty, to forty, to fifty, to a hundred, I give still more. (I should like to know), O venerable Gotama, whether I, while so giving, so offering, produce much good.’

‘Certainly, O young man, dost thou in so offering produce much good; he, O young man, who is a liberal giver, bountiful, suitable to beg of, and who justly seeks for riches, and having sought for riches justly, gives out of his justly obtained and justly acquired riches to one, to two, to three, to four, to five, to six, to seven, to eight, to nine, to ten, to twenty, to thirty, to forty, to fifty, to a hundred, and gives still more, produces much good.’

Then the young man Mâgha addressed Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. ‘I ask the venerable Gotama, the bountiful,—so said the young man Mâgha,—‘wearing the yellow robe, wandering about houseless:’ ‘He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor, who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink,—where (i. e. on whom bestowed) will the oblation of such an offerer prosper?’ (487)

2. ‘He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor,’ O Mâgha,—so said Bhagavat,—‘who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink, such a one will prosper with those worthy of offerings.’ (488)

3. 'He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor,'—so said the young man,—'who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink,—tell me (I being such a one), O Bhagavat, of those worthy of offerings.' (489)

4. Bhagavat : 'Those indeed who wander about in the world without clinging to anything and without possessing anything, perfect, self-restrained, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (490)

5. 'Those who have cut through all bonds and fetters, who are subdued, liberated, free from pain, and free from desire, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (491)

6. 'Those who are released from all bonds, who are subdued, liberated, free from pain, and free from desire, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (492)

7. 'Those who, having forsaken both passion and hatred and folly, have destroyed their desires and lead a religious life, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer¹. (493)

8. 'Those in whom there lives no deceit, no arrogance, who are free from cupidity, free from selfishness, free from desire, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (494)

9. 'Those indeed who without being lost in desire,

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 20.

after crossing the stream (of existence), wander about free from selfishness, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (495)

10. 'Those in whom there is no desire for anything in the world, nor for existence after existence here or in the other world, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (496)

11. 'Those who, after leaving sensual pleasures, wander about houseless, well restrained, being like a straight shuttle, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (497)

12. 'Those whose passions are gone, whose senses are well composed, who are liberated like the moon out of the grasp of Rāhu, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (498)

13. 'Those who are calm, whose passions are gone, who are without anger, and for whom there is no transmigration after having left here, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (499)

14. 'Those who, after leaving birth and death altogether, have conquered all doubt, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (500)

15. 'Those who wander about in the world with themselves for a light, not possessed of anything, in every respect liberated, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (501)

16. 'Those who in this world rightly understand

this: "This is the last (birth), there is no re-birth," on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (502)

17. 'He who is accomplished, and delights in meditation, thoughtful, possessed of thorough enlightenment, a refuge for many, on such a one in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer.' (503)

18. 'Certainly my question was not in vain, Bhagavat has told me of those worthy of offerings; for thou truly knowest this in this world, as surely to thee this Dhamma is known. (504)

19. 'He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor,'—so said the young man Mâgha,—'who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink,—tell me (I being such a one), O Bhagavat, of the blessing of offering.' (505)

20. 'Offer, O Mâgha,'—so said Bhagavat,—'and while offering make calm thy mind in all things; the object of the one that offers is the oblation, standing fast in this he leaves hatred behind. (506)

21. 'Such a one whose passion is gone will repress hatred, cultivating an unbounded friendly mind; continually strenuous night and day he will spread infinite goodness through all regions.' (507)

22. Mâgha: 'Who prospers? who is liberated and who is bound? In which way can one by himself go to Brahmaloḥka? Tell this to me who does not know, O Muni, when asked. Bhagavat is indeed my witness that Brahman is seen by me to-day, for thou art to us equal to Brahman, this is the truth; how can one attain Brahmaloḥka, O thou glorious one?' (508)

23. 'He who offers the threefold blessing of oblation,' O Mâgha,—so said Bhagavat,—'such a one will prosper with those worthy of offerings; so, having offered properly, he who is suitable to beg of attains Brahmaloaka, so I say.' (509)

This having been said, Mâgha the young man spoke as follows to Bhagavat: 'Excellent, O venerable Gotama! Excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in the venerable Gotama and in the Dhamma and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus. Let the venerable Gotama accept me as an upâsaka (a follower, me), who henceforth for all my life have taken refuge (in him).'

Mâghasutta is ended.

6. SABHIYASUTTA.

Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, goes to the six famous teachers of his time to have his questions answered, but not having his doubts solved, he repairs to Gotama and asks him how one is to behave to become a Brâhmana, a Samana, a Nahâtaka, a Khettagina, a Kusala, a Pandita, a Muni, a Vedagû, an Anuvidita, a Dhîra, an Âgâniya, a Sottiya, an Ariya, a Karanavat, a Paribbâgaka. Bhagavat answers his questions, and Sabhiya finally receives the robe and the orders from Buddha.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Râgagaha, in Veûvana, in Kalandakanivâpa. And at that time questions were recited to Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka

(wandering mendicant), by an old benevolent deity: 'He who, O Sabhiya, be it a Samana or a Brāhmana, explains these questions to thee when asked, near him thou shouldst live a religious life.'

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka, having learnt the questions from that deity, went to whatever Samanas and Brāhmanas there were that had an assembly (of Bhikkhus), a crowd (of followers), and were well-known teachers, famous leaders, considered excellent by the multitude, as Pûrana-Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosāla, Agita-Kesakambali, Pakudha-Kakkāyana, Saṅgaya-Belatthiputta, and Nigantha-Nātaputta. Those he went to, and after going to them, he asked the questions. They, being asked the questions by Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka, did not succeed (in answering them), and not succeeding they showed wrath and hatred and discontent, and they also in return put questions to Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka.

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka: 'Whatever Samanas and Brāhmanas there are that have an assembly (of Bhikkhus), a crowd (of followers), and are well-known teachers, famous leaders, considered excellent by the multitude, as Pûrana-Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosāla, Agita-Kesakambali, Pakudha-Kakkāyana, Saṅgaya-Belatthiputta, and Nigantha-Nātaputta, they, being asked questions by me, did not succeed (in answering them), and not succeeding they showed wrath and hatred and discontent, and they also in return put questions to me in this matter; surely I think I shall go back to what I have left, and enjoy sensual pleasures.'

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka: 'This Samana Gotama has both an

assembly (of Bhikkhus) and a crowd (of followers), and is a well-known teacher, a famous leader, considered excellent by the multitude, surely I think I shall go to Samana Gotama and ask these questions.' Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'Whatever Samanas and Brâhmanas there are that are decayed, old, aged, advanced in years, having reached old age, experienced elders, long ordained, having assemblies (of Bhikkhus), crowds (of followers), being teachers well known, famous leaders, considered excellent by the multitude, as Pûrana-Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosâla, Agita-Kesakambali, Pakudha-Kakkâyana, Sañgaya-Belatthiputta, and Nigantha-Nâtaputta, they, being asked questions by me, did not succeed (in answering them), and not succeeding they showed wrath and hatred and discontent, and they also in return put questions to me in this matter; (I should like to know) whether Samana Gotama being asked these questions will be able to explain them to me, for Samana Gotama is both young by birth and new in ascetic life.'

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'Samana Gotama is not to be slighted because he is young; even if the Samana is young, yet he is mighty and powerful; surely I think I shall go to Samana Gotama and ask these questions.' Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, went on a journey to Râgagaha, and wandering on his journey in regular order he came to Râgagaha, Veluvana, Kalandakanivâpa, to Bhagavat, and having come to Bhagavat he talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation with him he sat down apart; sitting down apart

Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka, spoke to Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. 'Anxious and doubtful I have come,'—so said Sabhiya,—'longing to ask questions. Do thou put an end to these (doubts when) asked these questions by me, in regular order, and rightly explain them to me.' (510)

2. 'Thou hast come from afar, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'longing to ask questions ; I shall put an end to those (doubts when) asked those questions by thee, in regular order, and rightly I shall explain them to thee. (511)

3. 'Ask me, O Sabhiya, a question ; whatsoever thou wishest in thy mind that question I (will explain, and) put an end to (thy doubt).' (512)

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka : 'It is marvellous, it is wonderful indeed, the reception which I did not get from other Samanas and Brāhmanas has been given me by Gotama,' so saying he glad, rejoicing, delighted, and highly elated asked Bhagavat a question :

4. 'What should a man (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him a Bhikkhu?'—so said Sabhiya,—'how may they call him compassionate, and how subdued? how can he be called enlightened (buddha)? Asked (about this) do thou, Bhagavat, explain it to me.' (513)

5. 'He who by the path he has himself made, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'has attained to perfect happiness, who has conquered doubt, who lives after having left behind both gain and goods, who has destroyed re-birth, he is a Bhikkhu. (514)

6. 'Always resigned and attentive, he will not hurt any one in all the world, the Samana who has

crossed the stream (of existence, and is) untroubled ; for whom there are no desires (ussada), he is compassionate. (515)

7. 'He whose senses are trained internally and externally in all the world, he who after penetrating this and the other world longs for death, being trained, he is subdued. (516)

8. 'Whosoever, after having considered all times (kappa), the revolution (samsâra), both the vanishing and re-appearance (of beings), is free from defilement, free from sin, is pure, and has obtained destruction of birth, him they call enlightened (buddha).' (517)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, asked Bhagavat another question :

9. 'What should a man (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him a Brâhmaṇa?'—so said Sabhiya,—'and how (may they call him) a Samana? and how a Nahâtaka? how can he be called a Nâga? Asked (about this) do thou Bhagavat explain it to me.' (518)

10. 'He who, after removing all sins, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'is immaculate, well composed, firm-minded, perfect after crossing the Samsâra, such an independent one is called a Brâhmaṇa. (519)

11. 'He who is calm, having left behind good and evil, free from defilement, having understood this and the other world, and conquered birth and death, such a one is called a Samana by being so¹.' (520)

12. 'Whosoever, after having washed away all sins internally and externally in all the world, does

¹ Samano tâdi pavukkate tathattâ.

not enter time (kappa) amongst gods and men who are subject to time, him they call a Nahâtaka (cleansed)¹. (521)

13. 'He who does not commit any crime in the world, who, after abandoning all bonds and fetters, clings to nothing, being liberated, such a one is called a Nâga (sinless) by being so ².' (522)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, further asked Bhagavat a question :

14. 'Whom do the Buddhas call a Khettagina?'—so said Sabhiya,—'how (can they call any one) a Kusala? and how a Paṇḍita? how can he be called a Muni? Asked (about this) do thou Bhagavat explain it to me.' (523)

15. 'He who, after examining all regions, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'the divine and the human, and Brahman's region, is delivered from the radical bond of all regions, such a one is called a Khettagina (he who has conquered the regions) by being so. (524)

16. 'He who, after examining all treasures, the divine and the human, and Brahman's treasure, is delivered from the radical bond of all treasures, such a one is called a Kusala (happy) by being so. (525)

17. 'He who, after examining both kinds of senses, internally and externally, is endowed with a

¹ Devamanussesu kappiyesu
Kappan n'eti tam âhu nahâtako.

² Âgum na karoti kiññi loke
Sabbasamyoge visagga bandhanâni
Sabbattha na saggaññi vimutto
Nâgo tâdi pavuḷḷate tathattâ.

But compare Pabbagâsutta 17, Mâgandiyasutta 11, &c.

clear understanding and has conquered evil and good (kanhasukka), such a one is called a *Pandita* (wise) by being so. (526)

18. 'He who, having understood the Dhamma of the just and the unjust, internally and externally, in all the world, is to be worshipped by gods and men, he, after breaking through the net of ties, is called a *Muni* (sage).' (527)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, further asked Bhagavat a question :

19. 'What should one (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him *Vedagū*?—so said Sabhiya,—'and how (may they call him) *Anuvidita*? and how *Viriyavat*? How does one become *Āgāniya*? Asked (about this) do thou, O Bhagavat, explain it to me.' (528)

20. 'He who, having conquered all sensations, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'which are (known) to *Samanas* and to *Brāhmanas*, is free from passion for all sensations, he is *Vedagū* (having passed sensation) after conquering all sensation. (529)

21. 'He who, having seen the delusion of name and form¹, internally and externally, the root of sickness, and is delivered from the radical bond of all sickness, such a one is called *Anuvidita* (well-informed) by being so. (530)

22. 'He who is disgusted in this world with all sins, is strong after conquering the pain of hell, is strong and powerful, such a one is called *Dhīra* (= *viriyavat*, firm) by being so. (531)

¹ *Anuvikkā papañkanāmarūpam.*

23. 'He whose bonds are cut off internally and externally, the root of ties¹, who is delivered from the radical bond of all ties, such a one is called *Âgâniya* (high-bred) by being so.' (532)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, further asked Bhagavat a question :

24. 'What should a man (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him a Sottiya?'—so said Sabhiya,—'how (may they call him) an Ariya? and how a *Karanavat*? how may he become a Paribbâgaka? Asked (about this) do thou, O Bhagavat, explain it to me.' (533)

25. 'Whosoever, after having heard and understood every Dhamma in the world, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat, —'whatsoever is wrong and whatsoever is blameless, is victorious, free from doubt, liberated, free from pain in every respect, him they call a Sottiya (learned in the revelation). (534)

26. 'Whosoever, after having cut off passions and desires, is wise and does not (again) enter the womb, having driven away the threefold sign, the mud (of lust), and who does not (again) enter time (kappa), him they call an Ariya (noble). (535)

27. 'He who in this world, after having attained the (highest) gain in the *Karanas*, is skilful, has always understood the Dhamma, clings to nothing, is liberated, and for whom there are no passions, he is a *Karanavat* (endowed with the observances). (536)

28. 'Whosoever abstains from the action that has a painful result, above and below and across and in

¹ Yass' assu lutâni bandhanâni
Agghattam bahiddhâ ka saṅgamūlam.

the middle, who wanders with understanding, who has put an end to deceit, arrogance, cupidity and anger, name and form, him they call a Paribbāḡaka (a wandering mendicant) who has attained the (highest) gain.' (537)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbāḡaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, having risen from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder, bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat, praised Bhagavat face to face in appropriate stanzas :

29. 'Having conquered the three and sixty (philosophical) views referring to the disputations of the Samanas, thou hast crossed over the darkness of the stream¹. (?) (538)

30. 'Thou hast passed to the end of and beyond pain, thou art a saint, perfectly enlightened, I consider thee one that has destroyed his passions, thou art glorious, thoughtful, of great understanding, O thou who puts an end to pain, thou hast carried me across. (539)

31. 'Because thou sawest my longing, and carriedst me across my doubt, adoration be to thee, O Muni, who hast attained the (highest) gain in the ways of wisdom ; O thou who art a true kinsman of the Ādikkas, thou art compassionate. (540)

32. 'The doubt I had before thou hast cleared away for me, O thou clearly-seeing ; surely thou art a Muni, perfectly enlightened, there is no obstacle for thee. (541)

¹ Yāni ka tīni yāni ka saṭṭhi
Samanappavādasitāni bhūripaṇṇā
Saṇṇakkhara saṇṇanissitāni (?)
Osaraṇāni vineyya oghatam' agā.

33. 'And all thy troubles are scattered and cut off, thou art calm, subdued, firm, truthful. (542)

34. 'All gods and both Nârada and Pabbata rejoice at thee, the chief of the sinless (nâganâga), the great hero, when thou art speaking. (543)

35. 'Adoration be to thee, O noble man, adoration be to thee, O thou best of men; in the world of men and gods there is no man equal to thee. (544)

36. 'Thou art Buddha, thou art the Master, thou art the Muni that conquers Mâra; after having cut off desire thou hast crossed over and hast carried across this generation. (545)

37. 'The elements of existence (upadhi) are overcome by thee, the passions are destroyed by thee, thou art a lion, free from desire, thou hast left behind fear and terror. (546)

38. 'As a beautiful lotus does not adhere to the water, so thou dost not cling to good and evil, to either; stretch forth thy feet, O hero, Sabhiya worships the Master's (feet).' (547)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, stooping with his head to Bhagavat's feet, said this to Bhagavat :

'It is excellent, O venerable! It is excellent, O venerable! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; I wish to receive the robe and the orders from the venerable Bhagavat.

'He who, O Sabhiya, formerly belonging to

another creed (*aññatitthiyapubba*), wishes to be adopted into this religion (*dhammavinaya*), and wishes to receive the robe and the orders, he serves for four months; after the lapse of four months Bhikkhus who have appeased their thoughts will give him the robe and the orders to become a Bhikkhu, (for) I also in this matter acknowledge a difference of persons.'

'If, O venerable, those that formerly belonged to another creed and wish to be adopted into this religion and to receive the robe and the orders, serve for four months, and after the lapse of four months Bhikkhus who have appeased their thoughts give them the robe and the orders that they may become Bhikkhus, I will (also) serve for four months, and after the lapse of four months Bhikkhus who have appeased their thoughts shall give (me) the robe and the orders that I may become a Bhikkhu.'

Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka, received the robe and the orders from Bhagavat, and the venerable Sabhiya, having lately received the upasampadā, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led, what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Sabhiya became one of the saints.

Sabhiyasutta is ended.

7. SELASUTTA.

Keniya, the *Gaṣṭa*, invites Buddha with his assembly to take his meals with him on the morrow. *Sela*, the Brâhmaṇa, arrived at that place with his three hundred young men; seeing the preparations he asks what is going on, and is answered that Buddha is expected the next day. On hearing the word 'Buddha,' *Sela* asks where Buddha lives, goes to him, converses with him, and is converted; so are his followers.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat wandering about in *Āṅguttarāpa*, with a large assembly of Bhikkhus, with 1250 Bhikkhus, went to *Āpana*, a town in *Āṅguttarāpa*.

And *Keniya*, the ascetic, with matted hair (*gaṭṭhila*) heard the following : ' The *Samana*, the venerable Gotama, the Sakya son, gone out from the family of the Sakyas, wandering about in *Āṅguttarāpa* with a large assembly of Bhikkhus, with 1250 Bhikkhus, has reached *Āpana*, and the following good praising words met the venerable Gotama : " And so he is Bhagavat, the venerable, the perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and works (*viggâkarana*), the happy, knowing the world, the incomparable, the charioteer of men that are to be subdued, the master, the enlightened of gods and men, the glorious; he teaches this world and the world of gods, of Mâras, of Brahmans, and beings comprising *Samanas* and Brâhmaṇas, gods and men, having himself known and seen them face to face; he teaches the Dhamma (which is) good in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, is full of meaning and rich in words, quite complete; he teaches a religious life, and good is the sight of such saints." '

Then *Keniya*, the *Gaṭṭhila*, went (to the place) where

Bhagavat was, and having gone there he talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation (with him) he sat down apart; and while *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, was sitting down apart, Bhagavat, by religious talk, taught, advised, roused, and delighted him. Then *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, having been taught, advised, roused, and delighted by Bhagavat through religious talk, said this to Bhagavat :

‘Let the venerable Gotama accept my food to-morrow, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus.’

This having been said, Bhagavat answered *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla* : ‘Large, O *Keniya*, is the assembly of Bhikkhus, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and thou art intimate with the Brāhmanas.’

A second time *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, said this to Bhagavat : ‘Although, O venerable Gotama, the assembly of Bhikkhus is large, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and I am intimate with the Brāhmanas, let the venerable Gotama accept my food to-morrow, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus.’

A second time Bhagavat said this to *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla* : ‘Large, O *Keniya*, is the assembly of Bhikkhus, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and thou art intimate with the Brāhmanas.’

A third time *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, said this to Bhagavat : ‘Although, O venerable Gotama, the assembly of Bhikkhus is large, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and I am intimate with the Brāhmanas, yet let the venerable Gotama accept my food to-morrow, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus.’ Bhagavat assented by being silent.

Then *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, having learnt the assent of *Bhagavat*, after rising from his seat went to his hermitage, and having gone there he addressed his friends and servants, his relatives and kinsmen (as follows): 'Let my venerable friends and servants, relatives and kinsmen hear me;—the *Samana Gotama* has been invited by me to (take his) food (with me) to-morrow, together with the assembly of *Bhikkhus*; wherefore you must render me bodily service.'

'Surely, O venerable one,' so saying the friends and servants, relatives and kinsmen of *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, complying with his request, some of them dug fireplaces, some chopped firewood, some washed the vessels, some placed waterpots, some prepared seats. *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, on the other hand, himself provided a circular pavilion.

At that time the *Brâhmana Sela* lived at *Âpana*, perfect in the three Vedas, vocabulary, *Ketubha*, etymology, *Itihâsa* as the fifth (*Veda*), versed in metre, a grammarian, one not deficient in popular controversy and the signs of a great man, he taught three hundred young men the hymns¹. At that time *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, was intimate with the *Brâhmana Sela*. Then the *Brâhmana Sela* surrounded by three hundred young men, walking on foot, arrived at the place where the hermitage of *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, was. And the *Brâhmana Sela* saw the *Gaṭilas* in *Keniya's* hermitage, some of them digging fireplaces, some chopping firewood, some washing the vessels, some placing waterpots, some

¹ Tena kho pana samayena Selo brâhmano Âpane paṭivasati tinnaṃ vedānaṃ pârāgū sanighanduketubhānaṃ sâkkharappabhedānaṃ itihâsapaññānaṃ padako veyyākaraṇo lokāyatamahāpurisalakkaheṣu anavayo tīzi mānavakasatāni mante vāṇeti.

preparing seats, and *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, on the other hand, himself providing a circular pavilion; seeing *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, he said this: 'Is the venerable *Keniya* to celebrate the marriage of a son or the marriage of a daughter, or is there a great sacrifice at hand, or has *Bimbisâra*, the king of *Magadha*, who has a large body of troops, been invited for to-morrow, together with his army?'

'I am not to celebrate the marriage of a son or the marriage of a daughter, nor has *Bimbisâra*, the king of *Magadha*, who has a large body of troops, been invited for to-morrow, together with his army, yet a great sacrifice of mine is at hand. The *Samaṇa* *Gotama*, the *Sakya* son, gone out from the *Sakya* family, wandering about in *Aṅguttarâpa* with a large assembly of *Bhikkhus*, one thousand two hundred and fifty *Bhikkhus*, has reached *Âpâna*, and the following good praising words met the venerable *Gotama*: "And so he is *Bhāgavat*, the venerable, the perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and works (*viggāharana*), the happy, knowing the world, the incomparable, the charioteer of men that are to be subdued, the master, the enlightened of gods and men, the glorious, he has been invited by me for to-morrow, together with the assembly of *Bhikkhus*.'"

'Didst thou say that he is a *Buddha*, O venerable *Keniya* ?'

'Yes, I say, O venerable *Sela*, that he is a *Buddha*.'

'Didst thou say that he is a *Buddha*, O venerable *Keniya* ?'

'Yes, I say, O venerable *Sela*, that he is a *Buddha*.'

Then this occurred to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Sela*: 'This sound "Buddha" is (indeed) rare, but in our hymns

are to be found the thirty-two signs of a great man, and for a great man endowed with these there are two conditions and no more : if he lives in a house he is a king, a universal (king), a just religious king, a lord of the four-cornered (earth), a conqueror, one who has obtained the security of his people (and) is possessed of the seven gems. These are his seven gems, namely, the wheel gem, the elephant gem, the horse gem, the pearl gem, the woman gem, the householder gem, and the chief gem as the seventh. He has more than a thousand sons, heroes, possessing great bodily strength and crushing foreign armies ; he having conquered this ocean-girt earth without a rod and without a weapon, but by justice, lives (in a house). But if, on the other hand, he goes out from (his) house to the houseless state, he becomes a saint, a perfectly enlightened, one who has removed the veil in the world. And where, O venerable *Keniya*, dwells now that venerable *Gotama*, the saint and the perfectly enlightened ?'

This having been said, *Keniya*, the *Gatīla*, stretching out his right arm, spoke as follows to the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* : ' There, where yon blue forest line is, O venerable *Sela*.'

Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* together with (his) three hundred young men went to the place where *Bhagavat* was. Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* addressed those young men : ' Come ye, venerable ones, with but little noise, walking step by step, for *Bhagavats* are difficult of access, walking alone like lions, and when I speak to the venerable *Samana Gotama*, do ye not utter interrupting words, but wait ye venerable ones, for the end of my speech.'

Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* went to the place where

Bhagavat was, and having gone there he talked pleasantly with Bhagavat, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation with him he sat down apart, and while sitting down apart Sela, the Brâhmana, looked for the thirty-two signs of a great man on the body of Bhagavat. And the Brâhmana Sela saw the thirty-two signs of a great man on the body of Bhagavat with the exception of two; in respect to two of the signs of a great man he had doubts, he hesitated, he was not satisfied, he was not assured as to the member being enclosed in a membrane and as to his having a large tongue.

Then this occurred to Bhagavat: 'This Brâhmana Sela sees in me the thirty-two signs of a great man with the exception of two, in respect to two of the signs of a great man he has doubts, he hesitates, he is not satisfied, he is not assured as to the member being enclosed in a membrane, and as to my having a large tongue.' Then Bhagavat created such a miraculous creature that the Brâhmana Sela might see Bhagavat's member enclosed in a membrane. Then Bhagavat having put out his tongue touched and stroked both his ears, touched and stroked both nostrils, and the whole circumference of his forehead he covered with his tongue.

Then this occurred to the Brâhmana Sela: 'The Samana Gotama is endowed with the thirty-two signs of a great man, with them all, not with (only) some of them, and yet I do not know whether he is a Buddha or not; I have heard old and aged Brâhmanas, teachers and their previous teachers, say that those who are saints and perfectly enlightened manifest themselves when their praise is uttered. I think I shall praise the Samana Gotama face to

face in suitable stanzas.' Then the Brāhmaṇa Sela praised Bhagavat face to face in suitable stanzas :

1. 'Thou hast a perfect body, thou art resplendent, well-born, of beautiful aspect, thou hast a golden colour, O Bhagavat, thou hast very white teeth, thou art strong. (548)

2. 'All the signs that are for a well-born man, they are on thy body, the signs of a great man. (549)

3. 'Thou hast a bright eye, a handsome countenance, thou art great, straight, majestic, thou shinest like a sun in the midst of the assembly of the Samanas. (550)

4. 'Thou art a Bhikkhu of a lovely appearance, thou hast a skin like gold ; what is the use of being a Samana to thee who art possessed of the highest beauty? (551)

5. 'Thou deservest to be a king, a king of universal kings, a ruler of the four-cornered (earth), a conqueror, a lord of the jambu grove (i. e. India). (552)

6. 'Khattiyas and wealthy kings are devoted to thee ; rule, O Gotama, as a king of kings, a leader of men.' (553)

7. 'I am a king, O Sela,'—so said Bhagavat,— 'an incomparable, religious king (dhammarājan), with justice (dhammena) I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible¹. (554)

8. 'Thou acknowledgest thyself (to be) perfectly enlightened (sambuddha),'—so said Sela, the Brāhmaṇa,— 'an incomparable, religious king ; "with justice I turn the wheel," so thou sayest, O Gotama. (555)

¹ Compare Gospel of S. John xviii. 37.

9. 'Who is thy general, (who is thy) disciple, (who is) the successor of the master, who is to turn after thee the wheel of religion turned (by thee)?' (556)

10. 'The wheel turned by me, O Sela,'—so said Bhagavat,—'the incomparable wheel of religion, Sâriputta is to turn after (me), he taking after Tathâgata. (557)

11. 'What is to be known is known (by me), what is to be cultivated is cultivated (by me), what is to be left is left by me, therefore I am a Buddha, O Brâhmana. (558)

12. 'Subdue thy doubt about me, have faith (in me), O Brâhmana, difficult (to obtain) is the sight of Buddhas repeatedly. (559)

13. 'Of those whose manifestation is difficult for you (to obtain) in the world repeatedly, I am, O Brâhmana, a perfectly enlightened, an incomparable physician, (560)

14. 'Most eminent, matchless, a crusher of Mâra's army; having subjected all enemies I rejoice secure on every side.' (561)

15. Sela: 'O venerable ones, pay attention to this: as the clearly-seeing (Buddha) says, (so it is): he is a physician, a great hero, and roars like a lion in the forest. (562)

16. 'Who, having seen him, the most eminent, the matchless, the crusher of Mâra's army, is not appeased, even if he be of black origin (*kamhâbhigâtika*). (563)

17. 'He who likes me, let him follow after (me), he who does not like me, let him go away; I shall at once take the orders in the presence of him of excellent understanding (i. e. Buddha).' (564)

18. The followers of Sela: 'If this doctrine of the perfectly enlightened pleases thee, we also shall take the orders in the presence of him of excellent understanding.' (565)

19. These three hundred Brâhmanas asked with clasped hands (to be admitted into the order): 'We want to cultivate a religious life, O Bhagavat, in thy presence.' (566)

20. 'A religious life is well taught (by me),—O Sela,' so said Bhagavat,—'an instantaneous, an immediate (life), in which it is not in vain to become an ascetic to one who learns in earnest¹.' (567)

Then the Brâhmana Sela together with his assembly took the robe and the orders in the presence of Bhagavat.

Then Keniya, the *Gaṭṭhā*, by the expiration of that night, having provided in his hermitage nice hard food and soft food, let Bhagavat know the time (of the meal): 'It is time, O venerable Gotama, the meal is prepared.' Then Bhagavat in the morning, having put on his raiment and taken his bowl and robes, went to the *Gaṭṭhā* Keniya's hermitage, and having gone there he sat down on the prepared seat, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus. Then Keniya, the *Gaṭṭhā*, satisfied and served with his own hands the assembly of Bhikkhus, with Buddha at their head, with nice hard food and soft food. Then Keniya, the *Gaṭṭhā*, having gone up to Bhagavat who had finished eating and had taken his hand out of the bowl, took a low seat and sat down apart, and

¹ Svâkkhâtam brahmacariyam
 Sandittikam akâlikam
 Yattha amoghâ pabbaggâ
 Appamattassa sikkhato.

while *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, was sitting down apart, Bhagavat delighted him with these stanzas :

21. 'The principal thing in sacrifice is the sacred fire, the principal thing amongst the hymns is the *Sāvitti*¹, the king is the principal amongst men, and the sea the principal amongst waters (*nadīnam* ²). (568)

22. 'Amongst the stars the moon is the principal thing, the sun is the principal thing amongst the burning ³ (objects), amongst those that wish for good works and make offerings the assembly (*samgha*) indeed is the principal.' (569)

Then Bhagavat, having delighted *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, with these stanzas, rose from (his) seat and went away.

Then the venerable *Sela* together with his assembly leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state ; 'birth (had been) destroyed, a religious life (had been) led, what was to be done (had been) done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable *Sela* together with his assembly became one of the saints.

Then the venerable *Sela* together with his assembly went to Bhagavat, and having gone (to him) he put his upper robe on one shoulder, and bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat he addressed him in stanzas :

¹ *Sāvitti* *khandaso mukham*. ² Comp. *Nālakasutta* v. 42.

³ *Ādikko tapatam mukham*.

23. 'Because we took refuge in thee on the eighth day previous to this, O thou clearly-seeing, in seven nights, O Bhagavat, we have been trained in thy doctrine. (570)

24. 'Thou art Buddha, thou art the Master, thou art the Muni that conquered Mâra, thou hast, after cutting off the affections, crossed over (the stream of existence) and taken over these beings. (571)

25. 'The elements of existence (upadhi) have been overcome by thee, the passions have been destroyed by thee, thou art a lion not seizing on anything, thou hast left behind fear and danger. (572)

26. 'These three hundred Bhikkhus stand here with clasped hands; stretch out thy feet, O hero, let the Nâgas worship the Master's feet.' (573)

Selasutta is ended.

8. SALLASUTTA.

Life is short, all mortals are subject to death, but knowing the terms of the world the wise do not grieve, and those who have left sorrow will be blessed.—Text in the *Dasaratha-Gâtaka*, p. 34.

1. Without a cause and unknown is the life of mortals in this world, troubled and brief, and combined with pain. (574)

2. For there is not any means by which those that have been born can avoid dying; after reaching old age there is death, of such a nature are living beings. (575)

3. As ripe fruits are early in danger of falling, so mortals when born are always in danger of death. (576)

4. As all earthen vessels made by the potter end in being broken, so is the life of mortals. (577)

5. Both young and grown-up men, both those who are fools and those who are wise men, all fall into the power of death, all are subject to death. (578)

6. Of those who, overcome by death, go to the other world, a father does not save his son, nor relatives their relations. (579)

7. Mark! while relatives are looking on and lamenting greatly, one by one of the mortals is carried off, like an ox that is going to be killed. (580)

8. So the world is afflicted with death and decay, therefore the wise do not grieve, knowing the terms of the world. (581)

9. For him, whose way thou dost not know, either when he is coming or when he is going, not seeing both ends, thou grieveest in vain. (582)

10. If he who grieves gains anything, (although he is only) a fool hurting himself, let the wise man do the same. (583)

11. Not from weeping nor from grieving will any one obtain peace of mind; (on the contrary), the greater his pain will be, and his body will suffer. (584)

12. He will be lean and pale, hurting himself by himself, (and yet) the dead are not saved, lamentation (therefore) is of no avail. (585)

13. He who does not leave grief behind, goes (only) deeper into pain; bewailing the dead he falls into the power of grief. (586)

14. Look at others passing away, men that go (to what they deserve) according to their deeds, beings trembling already here, after falling into the power of death. (587)

15. In whatever manner people think (it will come to pass), different from that it becomes, so great is

the disappointment¹ (in this world); see, (such are) the terms of the world. (588)

16. Even if a man lives a hundred years or even more, he is at last separated from the company of his relatives, and leaves life in this world. (589)

17. Therefore let one, hearing (the words of) the saint, subdue his lamentation; seeing the one that has passed away and is dead, (let him say): 'He will not be found by me (any more).' (590)

18. As a house on fire is extinguished by water, so also the wise, sensible, learned, clever man rapidly drives away sorrow that has arisen, as the wind a tuft of cotton. (591)

19. He who seeks his own happiness should draw out his arrow (which is) his lamentation, and complaint, and grief. (592)

20. He who has drawn out the arrow and is not dependent (on anything) will obtain peace of mind; he who has overcome all sorrow will become free from sorrow, and blessed (nibbuta). (593)

Sallasutta is ended.

9. VÂSETTHASUTTA.

A dispute arose between two young men, Bhâradvâga and Vâsettha, the former contending man to be a Brâhmana by birth, the latter by deeds. They agreed to go and ask Samana Gotama, and he answered that man is a Brâhmana by his work only. The two young men are converted.—Text (from *Magghimanikâya*) and translation in Alwis's *Buddhist Nirvâna*, p. 103.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at *Ikkhânamkala*, in the *Ikkhânamkala* forest. At that time many dis-

¹ Etâdiso vinâbhâvo.

tinguished, wealthy Brâhmanas lived at *Ikkhânamkala*, as the Brâhmana *Kamkin*, the Brâhmana *Târukkha*, the Brâhmana *Pokkharasâti*, the Brâhmana *Gânussoni*, the Brâhmana *Todeyya*, and other distinguished, wealthy Brâhmanas.

Then this dialogue arose between the young men *Vâsettha* and *Bhâradvâga* while walking about :

‘How does one become a Brâhmana?’

The young man *Bhâradvâga* said : ‘When one is noble by birth on both sides, on the mother’s and on the father’s side, of pure conception up to the seventh generation of ancestors, not discarded and not reproached in point of birth, in this way one is a Brâhmana.’

The young man *Vâsettha* said : ‘When one is virtuous and endowed with (holy) works, in this way he is a Brâhmana.’

Neither could the young man *Bhâradvâga* convince the young man *Vâsettha*, nor could the young man *Vâsettha* convince the young man *Bhâradvâga*. Then the young man *Vâsettha* addressed the young man *Bhâradvâga* : ‘O *Bhâradvâga*, this *Samana Gotama*, the *Sakya* son, gone out from the *Sakya* family, dwells at *Ikkhânamkala*, in the forest of *Ikkhânamkala*, and the following good praising words met the venerable *Gotama* : “And so he is *Bhagavat*, the venerable, the enlightened, the glorious, let us go, O venerable *Bhâradvâga*, let us go (to the place) where the *Samana Gotama* is, and having gone there let us ask the *Samana Gotama* about this matter, and as the *Samana Gotama* replies so will we understand it.”’

‘Very well, O venerable one ;’ so the young man *Bhâradvâga* answered the young man *Vâsettha*.

Then the young men *Vâsettha* and *Bhâradvâga* went (to the place) where *Bhagavat* was, and having gone, they talked pleasantly with *Bhagavat*, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation (with him) they sat down apart. Sitting down apart the young man *Vâsettha* addressed *Bhagavat* in stanzas:

1. 'We are accepted and acknowledged masters of the three Vedas¹, I am (a pupil) of *Pokkharasâti*, and this young man is (the pupil) of *Târukkha*. (594)

2. 'We are accomplished in all the knowledge propounded by those who are acquainted with the three Vedas, we are *padakas* (versed in the metre), *veyyâkaranas* (grammarians?), and equal to our teachers in recitation (*gappa*)². (595)

3. 'We have a controversy regarding (the distinctions of) birth, O *Gotama*! *Bhâradvâga* says, one is a *Brâhmaṇa* by birth, and I say, by deeds; know this, O thou clearly-seeing! (596)

4. 'We are both unable to convince each other, (therefore) we have come to ask thee (who art) celebrated as perfectly enlightened. (597)

5. 'As people adoring the full moon worship (her) with uplifted clasped hands, so (they worship) *Gotama* in the world. (598)

6. 'We ask *Gotama* who has come as an eye to the world: Is a man a *Brâhmaṇa* by birth, or is he so

¹ *Anuññâtapatiññâtâ*

Teviggâ mayam asm' ubho.

² *Teviggânam* * *yad akkhâtam*

Tatra kevalino 'smase,

Padak' asmâ veyyâkarana

Gappe + âkariyasâdisâ.

* *Teviggânam* = *tivedânam*. Commentator; but compare v. 63.

† *Gappe* = *vede*. Commentator.

by deeds? Tell us who do not know, that we may know a Brâhmaṇa.' (599)

7. 'I will explain to you,—O Vâsettha,' so said Bhagavat,—'in due order the exact distinction of living beings according to species, for their species are manifold. (600)

8. 'Know ye the grass and the trees, although they do not exhibit (it), the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (601)

9. 'Then (know ye) the worms, and the moths, and the different sorts of ants, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (602)

10. 'Know ye also the four-footed (animals), small and great, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (603)

11. 'Know ye also the serpents, the long-backed snakes, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (604)

12. 'Then know ye also the fish which range in the water, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (605)

13. 'Then know ye also the birds that are borne along on wings and move through the air, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (606)

14. 'As in these species the marks that constitute species are abundant, so in men the marks that constitute species are not abundant. (607)

15. 'Not as regards their hair, head, ears, eyes, mouth, nose, lips, or brows, (608)

16. 'Nor as regards their neck, shoulders, belly, back, hip, breast, female organ, sexual intercourse, (609)

17. 'Nor as regards their hands, feet, palms, nails, calves, thighs, colour, or voice are there marks that constitute species as in other species. (610)

18. 'Difference there is in beings endowed with bodies, but amongst men this is not the case, the difference amongst men is nominal (only)¹. (611)

19. 'For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a husbandman, not a *Brâhmana*. (612)

20. 'And whoever amongst men lives by different mechanical arts,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is an artisan, not a *Brâhmana*. (613)

21. 'And whoever amongst men lives by trade,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a merchant, not a *Brâhmana*. (614)

22. And whoever amongst men lives by serving others,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a servant, not a *Brâhmana*. (615)

23. 'And whoever amongst men lives by theft,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a thief, not a *Brâhmana*. (616)

24. 'And whoever amongst men lives by archery,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a soldier, not a *Brâhmana*. (617)

25. 'And whoever amongst men lives by performing household ceremonials,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a sacrificer, not a *Brâhmana*. (618)

26. 'And whoever amongst men possesses villages and countries,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a king, not a *Brâhmana*. (619)

¹ *Pakkattam* sasarîresu,
Manussesv-etam na viggati,
Vokârañ ka manussesu
Samaññâya pavukkati.

27. 'And I do not call one a Brāhmaṇa on account of his birth or of his origin from (a particular) mother; he may be called bhovādi, and he may be wealthy, (but) the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brāhmaṇa¹. (620)

28. 'Whosoever, after cutting all bonds, does not tremble, has shaken off (all) ties and is liberated, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (621)

29. 'The man who, after cutting the strap (i. e. enmity), the thong (i. e. attachment), and the rope (i. e. scepticism) with all that pertains to it, has destroyed (all) obstacles (i. e. ignorance), the enlightened (buddha), him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (622)

30. 'Whosoever, being innocent, endures reproach, blows, and bonds, the man who is strong in (his) endurance and has for his army this strength, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (623)

31. 'The man who is free from anger, endowed with (holy) works, virtuous, without desire, subdued, and wearing the last body, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (624)

32. 'The man who, like water on a lotus leaf, or a mustard seed on the point of a needle, does not cling to sensual pleasures, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (625)

33. 'The man who knows in this world the destruction of his pain, who has laid aside (his) burden, and is liberated, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (626)

34. 'The man who has a profound understanding, who is wise, who knows the true way and the wrong way, who has attained the highest good, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (627)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 396, &c.

35. 'The man who does not mix with householders nor with the houseless, who wanders about without a house, and who has few wants, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (628)

36. 'Whosoever, after refraining from hurting (living) creatures, (both) those that tremble and those that are strong, does not kill or cause to be killed, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (629)

37. 'The man who is not hostile amongst the hostile, who is peaceful amongst the violent, not seizing (upon anything) amongst those that seize (upon everything), him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (630)

38. 'The man whose passion and hatred, arrogance and hypocrisy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (631)

39. 'The man that utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, by which he does not offend any one, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (632)

40. 'Whosoever in the world does not take what has not been given (to him), be it long or short, small or large, good or bad, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (633)

41. 'The man who has no desire for this world or the next, who is desireless and liberated, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (634)

42. 'The man who has no desire, who knowingly is free from doubt, and has attained the depth of immortality, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (635)

43. 'Whosoever in this world has overcome good and evil, both ties, who is free from grief and defilement, and is pure, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (636)

44. 'The man that is stainless like the moon, pure, serene, and undisturbed, who has destroyed joy, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (637)

45. 'Whosoever has passed over this quagmire difficult to pass, (who has passed over) revolution (*samsâra*) and folly, who has crossed over, who has reached the other shore, who is meditative, free from desire and doubt, calm without seizing (upon anything), him I call a Brâhmana. (638)

46. 'Whosoever in this world, after abandoning sensual pleasures, wanders about houseless, and has destroyed the existence of sensual pleasures (*kâmabhava*), him I call a Brâhmana. (639)

47. 'Whosoever in this world, after abandoning desire, wanders about houseless, and has destroyed the existence of desire (*tanhâbhava*), him I call a Brâhmana. (640)

48. 'Whosoever, after leaving human attachment (*yoga*), has overcome divine attachment, and is liberated from all attachment, him I call a Brâhmana. (641)

49. 'The man that, after leaving pleasure and disgust, is calm and free from the elements of existence (*nirupadhi*), who is a hero, and has conquered all the world, him I call a Brâhmana. (642)

50. 'Whosoever knows wholly the vanishing and reappearance of beings, does not cling to (anything), is happy (*sugata*), and enlightened, him I call a Brâhmana. (643)

51. 'The man whose way neither gods nor Gandhabbas nor men know, and whose passions are destroyed, who is a saint, him I call a Brâhmana. (644)

52. 'The man for whom there is nothing, neither before nor after nor in the middle, who possesses nothing, and does not seize (upon anything), him I call a Brâhmana. (645)

53. 'The (man that is undaunted like a) bull, who

is eminent, a hero, a great sage (mahesi), victorious, free from desire, purified, enlightened, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (646)

54. 'The man who knows his former dwellings, who sees both heaven and hell, and has reached the destruction of births, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (647)

55. 'For what has been designated as "name" and "family" in the world is only a term, what has been designated here and there is understood by common consent¹. (648)

56. 'Adhered to for a long time are the views of the ignorant, the ignorant tell us, one is a Brāhmaṇa by birth. (649)

57. 'Not by birth is one a Brāhmaṇa, nor is one by birth no Brāhmaṇa; by work (kammanā) one is a Brāhmaṇa, by work one is no Brāhmaṇa. (650)

58. 'By work one is a husbandman, by work one is an artisan, by work one is a merchant, by work one is a servant. (651)

59. 'By work one is a thief, by work one is a soldier, by work one is a sacrificer, by work one is a king. (652)

60. 'So the wise, who see the cause of things and understand the result of work, know this work as it really is². (653)

61. 'By work the world exists, by work mankind

¹ Samaññā h' esā lokasmim
Nāmagottam pakappitam
Sammukkhā samudāgataṃ
Tattha tattha pakappitam.

² Evam etam yathābhūtaṃ
Kammam passanti paṇḍitā
Paṭikkasamuppādasā
Kammavipākakovidā.

exists, beings are bound by work as the linch-pin of the rolling cart (keeps the wheel on)¹. (654)

62. 'By penance, by a religious life, by self-restraint, and by temperance, by this one is a Brâhmana, such a one (they call) the best Brâhmana. (655)

63. 'He who is endowed with the threefold knowledge², is calm, and has destroyed regeneration,—know this, O Vâsettha,—he is to the wise Brahman and Sakka.' (656)

This having been said, the young men Vâsettha and Bhâradvâga spoke to Bhagavat as follows:

'It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; we take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; may the venerable Gotama receive us as followers (upâsaka), who from this day for life have taken refuge (in him).'

Vâsetthasutta is ended.

¹ Kammanâ vattatî loko,
Kammanâ vattatî pagâ,
Kammanibandhanâ sattâ
Rathassâmîva yâyato.

² Tîhi viggâhi sampanno.

10. KOKĀLIYASUTTA.

Kokāliya abuses Sâriputta and Moggallāna to Buddha; therefore as soon as he has left Buddha, he is struck with boils, dies and goes to the Paduma hell, whereupon Buddha describes to the Bhikkhus the punishment of backbiters in hell.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sāvattthī, in Getavana, in the park of Anāthapindika. Then the Bhikkhu Kokāliya approached Bhagavat, and after having approached and saluted Bhagavat he sat down apart; sitting down apart the Bhikkhu Kokāliya said this to Bhagavat : 'O thou venerable one, Sâriputta and Moggallāna have evil desires, they have fallen into the power of evil desires.'

When this had been said, Bhagavat spoke to the Bhikkhu Kokāliya as follows : '(Do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; (do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; appease, O Kokāliya, (thy) mind in regard to Sâriputta and Moggallāna : Sâriputta and Moggallāna are amiable¹.'

A second time the Bhikkhu Kokāliya said this to Bhagavat : 'Although thou, O venerable Bhagavat, (appearest) to me (to be) faithful and trustworthy, yet Sâriputta and Moggallāna have evil desires, they have fallen into the power of evil desires.'

A second time Bhagavat said this to the Bhikkhu Kokāliya : '(Do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; (do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; appease, O Kokāliya, (thy) mind in regard to Sâriputta and Moggallāna : Sâriputta and Moggallāna are amiable.'

A third time the Bhikkhu Kokāliya said this to Bhagavat : 'Although thou, O venerable Bhagavat, (appearest) to me (to be) faithful and trustworthy,

¹ Pesalā ti piyasilā. Commentator.

yet Sâriputta and Moggallâna have evil desires, Sâriputta and Moggallâna have fallen into the power of evil desires.'

A third time Bhagavat said this to the Bhikkhu Kokâliya: '(Do) not (say) so, Kokâliya; ~~(do) not~~ (say) so, Kokâliya; appease, O Kokâliya, (thy) mind in regard to Sâriputta and Moggallâna: Sâriputta and Moggallâna are amiable.'

Then the Bhikkhu Kokâliya, after having risen from his seat and saluted Bhagavat and walked round him towards the right, went away; and when he had been gone a short time, all his body was struck with boils as large as mustard seeds; after being only as large as mustard seeds, they became as large as kidney beans; after being only as large as kidney beans, they became as large as chick peas; after being only as large as chick peas, they became as large as a Kolatthi egg (?); after being only as large as a Kolatthi egg, they became as large as the jujube fruit; after being only as large as the jujube fruit, they became as large as the fruit of the emblic myrobalan; after being only as large as the fruit of the emblic myrobalan, they became as large as the unripe beluva fruit; after being only as large as the unripe beluva fruit, they became as large as a billi fruit (?); after being as large as a billi fruit, they broke, and matter and blood flowed out. Then the Bhikkhu Kokâliya died of that disease, and when he had died the Bhikkhu Kokâliya went to the Paduma hell, having shown a hostile mind against Sâriputta and Moggallâna. Then when the night had passed Brahman Sahampati of a beautiful appearance, having lit up all Getavana, approached Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted Bha-

gavat, he stood apart, and standing apart Brahman Sahampati said this to Bhagavat: 'O thou venerable one, Kokâliya, the Bhikkhu, is dead; and after death, O thou venerable one, the Bhikkhu Kokâliya is gone to the Paduma hell, having shown a hostile mind against Sâriputta and Moggallâna.'

This said Brahman Sahampati, and after saying this and saluting Bhagavat, and walking round him towards the right, he disappeared there.

Then Bhagavat, after the expiration of that night, addressed the Bhikkhus thus: 'Last night, O Bhikkhus, when the night had (nearly) passed, Brahman Sahampati of a beautiful appearance, having lit up all Getavana, approached Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted Bhagavat, he stood apart, and standing apart Brahman Sahampati said this to Bhagavat: "O thou venerable one, Kokâliya, the Bhikkhu, is dead; and after death, O thou venerable one, the Bhikkhu Kokâliya is gone to the Paduma hell, having shown a hostile mind against Sâriputta and Moggallâna." This said Brahman Sahampati, O Bhikkhus, and having said this and saluted me, and walked round me towards the right, he disappeared there.'

When this had been said, a Bhikkhu asked Bhagavat: 'How long is the rate of life, O venerable one, in the Paduma hell?'

'Long, O Bhikkhu, is the rate of life in the Paduma hell, it is not easy to calculate either (by saying) so many years or so many hundreds of years or so many thousands of years or so many hundred thousands of years.'

'But it is possible, I suppose, to make a comparison, O thou venerable one?'

‘It is possible, O Bhikkhu;’ so saying, Bhagavat spoke (as follows): ‘Even as, O Bhikkhu, (if there were) a Kosala load of sesamum seed containing twenty khâris, and a man after the lapse of every hundred years were to take from it one sesamum seed at a time, then that Kosala load of sesamum seed, containing twenty khâris, would, O Bhikkhu, sooner by this means dwindle away and be used up than one Abbuda hell; and even as are twenty Abbuda hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Nirabbuda hell; and even as are twenty Nirabbuda hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Ababa hell; and even as are twenty Ababa hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Ahaha hell; and even as are twenty Ahaha hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one *Atata* hell; and even as are twenty *Atata* hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Kumuda hell; and even as are twenty Kumuda hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Sogandhika hell; and even as are twenty Sogandhika hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Uppalaka hell; and even as are twenty Uppalaka hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Pundarika hell; and even as are twenty Pundarika hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Paduma hell; and to the Paduma hell, O Bhikkhu, the Bhikkhu Kokâliya is gone, having shown a hostile mind against Sâriputta and Moggallâna.’ This said Bhagavat, and having said this Sugata, the Master, furthermore spoke as follows:

1. ‘To (every) man that is born, an axe is born in his mouth, by which the fool cuts himself, when speaking bad language. (657)

2. ‘He who praises him who is to be blamed, or blames him who is to be praised, gathers up sin in his mouth, and through that (sin) he will not find any joy. (658)

3. 'Trifling is the sin that (consists in) losing riches by dice; this is a greater sin that corrupts the mind against Sugatas. (659)

4. 'Out of the one hundred thousand Nirabbudas (he goes) to thirty-six, and to five Abbudas; because he blames an Ariya he goes to hell, having employed his speech and mind badly. (660)

5. 'He who speaks falsely goes to hell, or he who having done something says, "I have not done it;" both these after death become equal, in another world (they are both) men guilty of a mean deed¹. (661)

6. 'He who offends an offenceless man, a pure man, free from sin, such a fool the evil (deed) reverts against, like fine dust thrown against the wind². (662)

7. 'He who is given to the quality of covetousness, such a one censures others in his speech, (being himself) unbelieving, stingy, wanting in affability, niggardly, given to backbiting. (663)

8. 'O thou foul-mouthed, false, ignoble, blasting, wicked, evil-doing, low, sinful, base-born man, do not be garrulous in this world, (else) thou wilt be an inhabitant of hell³. (664)

9. 'Thou spreadest pollution to the misfortune (of others), thou revilest the just, committing sin (yourself), and having done many evil deeds thou wilt go to the pool (of hell) for a long time. (665)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 306.

² Comp. Dh. v. 125.

³ Mukhadugga vibhūta-m-anariya
Bhūnahu * pāpaka dukkatakāri
Purisanta kalī avagāta
Mā bahubhāzi dha nerayiko si.

* Bhūnahu bhūtihanaka vuddhināsaka. Commentator.

10. 'For one's deeds are not lost, they will surely come (back to you), (their) master will meet with them, the fool who commits sin will feel the pain in himself in the other world¹. (666)

11. 'To the place where one is struck with iron rods, to the iron stake with sharp edges he goes; then there is (for him) food as appropriate, resembling a red-hot ball of iron. (667)

12. 'For those who have anything to say (there) do not say fine things, they do not approach (with pleasing faces); they do not find refuge (from their sufferings), they lie on spread embers, they enter a blazing pyre. (668)

13. 'Covering (them) with a net they kill (them) there with iron hammers; they go to dense darkness², for that is spread out like the body of the earth. (669)

14. 'Then (they enter) an iron pot, they enter a blazing pyre, for they are boiled in those (iron pots) for a long time, jumping up and down in the pyre. (670)

15. 'Then he who commits sin is surely boiled in a mixture of matter and blood; whatever quarter he inhabits, he becomes rotten there from coming in contact (with matter and blood). (671)

16. 'He who commits sin will surely be boiled in the water, the dwelling-place of worms; there it is not (possible) to get to the shore, for the jars (are) exactly alike³. (?) (672)

¹ Comp. Revelation xiv. 13.

² *Andham* va *Timisam* âyanti.

³ *Puḷavâvasathe salilasmim*

Tattha kim paḷḷati kibbisakârî,

Gantum na hi tîram p' atthi

Sabbasamâ hi samantakapallâ.

17. 'Again they enter the sharp Asipattavana with mangled limbs; having seized the tongue with a hook, the different watchmen (of hell) kill (them). (673)

18. 'Then they enter Vetarant, that is difficult to cross and has got streams of razors with sharp edges; there the fools fall in, the evil-doers after having done evil. (674)

19. 'There black, mottled flocks of ravens eat them who are weeping, and dogs, jackals, great vultures, falcons, crows tear (them). (675)

20. 'Miserable indeed is the life here (in hell) which the man sees that commits sin. Therefore should a man in this world for the rest of his life be strenuous, and not indolent. (676)

21. 'Those loads of sesamum seed which are carried in Paduma hell have been counted by the wise, they are (several) nahutas and five koṭis, and twelve hundred koṭis besides¹. (677)

22. 'As long as hells are called painful in this world, so long people will have to live there for a long time; therefore amongst those who have pure, amiable, and good qualities one should always guard speech and mind.' (678)

Kokāliyasutta is ended.

11. NĀLAKASUTTA.

The Isi Asita, also called Kaṇhasiri, on seeing the gods rejoicing, asks the cause of it, and having heard that Buddha has been born, he descends from Tusita heaven. When the Sakyas showed the child to him, he received it joyfully and prophesied

¹ Nahutāni hi koṣiyo pañṇā bhavanti
Dvādasa koṣisatāni pun' aññā.

about it. Buddha explains to Nālaka, the sister's son of Asita, the highest state of wisdom.—Compare Lalita-vistara, Adhyāya VII; Asita and Buddha, or the Indian Simeon, by J. Muir, in the Indian Antiquary, Sept. 1878.

Vatthugāthā.

1. The Isi Asita saw in (their) resting-places during the day the joyful, delighted flocks of the Tidasa gods, and the gods in bright clothes, always highly praising Inda, after taking their clothes and waving them. (679)

2. Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted, and showing his respect, he said this on that occasion: 'Why is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them?' (680)

3. 'When there was an encounter with the Asuras, a victory for the gods, and the Asuras were defeated, then there was not such a rejoicing. What wonderful (thing) have the gods seen that they are so delighted?' (681)

4. 'They shout and sing and make music, they throw (about their) arms and dance; I ask you, the inhabitants of the tops of (mount) Meru, remove my doubt quickly, O venerable ones!' (682)

5. 'The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbini. Therefore we are glad and exceedingly pleased. (683)

6. 'He, the most excellent of all beings, the pre-eminent man, the bull of men, the most excellent of all creatures will turn the wheel (of the Dhamma) in the forest called after the Isis, (he who is) like the roaring lion, the strong lord of beasts.' (684)

7. Having heard that noise he descended from (the heaven of) Tusita. Then he went to Suddhodana's palace, and having sat down there he said this to the Sakyas: 'Where is the prince? I wish to see (him).'

(685)

8. Then the Sakyas showed to (the Isi), called Asita, the child, the prince who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful (smith) in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and having a beautiful appearance.

(686)

9. Seeing the prince shining like fire, bright like the bull of stars wandering in the sky, like the burning sun in autumn, free from clouds, he joyfully obtained great delight.

(687)

10. The gods held in the sky a parasol with a thousand circles and numerous branches, yaks' tails with golden sticks were fanned, but those who held the yaks' tails and the parasol were not seen.

(688)

11. The Isi with the matted hair, by name Kanhasiri, on seeing the yellow blankets (shining) like a golden coin, and the white parasol held over his head, received him delighted and happy.

(689)

12. And having received the bull of the Sakyas, he who was wishing to receive him and knew the signs and the hymns, with pleased thoughts raised his voice, saying: 'Without superior is this, the most excellent of men.'

(690)

13. Then remembering his own migration he was displeased and shed tears; seeing this the Sakyas asked the weeping Isi, whether there would be any obstacle in the prince's path.

(691)

14. Seeing the Sakyas displeased the Isi said: 'I do not remember anything (that will be) unlucky for the prince, there will be no obstacles at

all for him, for this is no inferior (person). Be without anxiety. (692)

15. 'This prince will reach the summit of perfect enlightenment, he will turn the wheel of the Dhamma, he who sees what is exceedingly pure (i. e. Nibbâna), this (prince) feels for the welfare of the multitude, and his religion¹ will be widely spread. (693)

16. 'My life here will shortly be at an end, in the middle (of his life) there will be death for me; I shall not hear the Dhamma of the incomparable one; therefore I am afflicted, unfortunate, and suffering.' (694)

17. Having afforded the Sakyas great joy he went out from the interior of the town to lead a religious life; but taking pity on his sister's son, he induced him to embrace the Dhamma of the incomparable one. (695)

18. 'When thou hearest from others the sound "Buddha," (or) "he who has acquired perfect enlightenment walks the way of the Dhamma," then going there and enquiring about the particulars, lead a religious life with that Bhagavat.' (696)

19. Instructed by him, the friendly-minded, by one who saw in the future what is exceedingly pure (i. e. Nibbâna), he, Nālaka, with a heap of gathered-up good works, and with guarded senses dwelt (with him), looking forward to Gina (i. e. Buddha). (697)

20. Hearing the noise, while the excellent Gina turned the wheel (of the Dhamma), and going and seeing the bull of the Isis, he, after being converted,

¹ *Brahmakariyam* = *sâsanam*. Commentator.

asked the eminent Muni about the best wisdom, when the time of Asita's order had come. (698)

The Vatthugāthās are ended.

21. 'These words of Asita are acknowledged true (by me), therefore we ask thee, O Gotama, who art perfect in all things (dhamma). (699)

22. 'O Muni, to me who am houseless, and who wish to embrace a Bhikkhu's life, explain when asked the highest state, the state of wisdom (moneyya).' (700)

23. 'I will declare to thee the state of wisdom,'—so said Bhagavat,—'difficult to carry out, and difficult to obtain; come, I will explain it to thee, stand fast, be firm. (701)

24. 'Let a man cultivate equanimity: which is (both) reviled and praised in the village, let him take care not to corrupt his mind, let him live calm, and without pride. (702)

25. 'Various (objects) disappear, like a flame of fire in the wood¹; women tempt the Muni, let them not tempt him. (703)

26. 'Let him be disgusted with sexual-intercourse, having left behind sensual pleasures of all kinds, being inoffensive and dispassionate towards living creatures, towards anything that is feeble or strong. (704)

27. 'As I am so are these, as these are so am I, identifying himself with others, let him not kill nor cause (any one) to kill². (705)

¹ *Ukkāvaṭṭā nikkharanti*
Dāye aggisikhūpamā.

² *Yathā ahaṃ tathā ete*
Yathā ete tathā ahaṃ

28. 'Having abandoned desire and covetousness let him act as one that sees clearly where a common man sticks, let him cross over this hell. (706)

29. 'Let him be with an empty stomach, taking little food, let him have few wants and not be covetous; not being consumed by desire he will without desire be happy. (707)

30. 'Let the Muni, after going about for alms, repair to the outskirts of the wood, let him go and sit down near the root of a tree. (708)

31. 'Applying himself to meditation, and being wise, let him find his pleasure in the outskirts of the wood, let him meditate at the root of a tree enjoying himself. (709)

32. 'Then when night is passing away let him repair to the outskirts of the village, let him not delight in being invited nor in what is brought away from the village. (710)

33. 'Let not the Muni, after going to the village, walk about to the houses in haste; cutting off (all) talk while seeking food, let him not utter any coherent speech¹. (711)

34. "'What I have obtained that is good," "I did not get (anything that is) good," so thinking in both cases he returns to the tree unchanged². (712)

35. 'Wandering about with his alms-bowl in his

Attānam upamam katvā

Na haneyya na ghātaye.

Comp. Dh. v. 129.

¹ Na vāṭam payutam bhane.

² Alattham yad idam sādhu

Nālattham kusalam iti,

Ubhayen' eva so tādi *

Rukkham va upanivattati.

* Tādi = nibbikāro. Commentator.

hand, considered dumb without being dumb, let him not blush at a little gift, let him not despise the giver. (713)

36. 'Various are the practices illustrated by the Samana, they do not go twice to the other shore, this (is) not once thought¹. (?) (714)

37. 'For whom there is no desire, for the Bhikkhu who has cut off the stream (of existence) and abandoned all kinds of work, there is no pain. (715)

38. 'I will declare to thee the state of wisdom,'—so said Bhagavat,—'let one be like the edge of a razor, having struck his palate with his tongue, let him be restrained in (regard to his) stomach. (716)

39. 'Let his mind be free from attachment, let him not think much² (about worldly affairs), let him be without defilement, independent, and devoted to a religious life. (717)

40. 'For the sake of a solitary life and for the sake of the service that is to be carried out by Samanas, let him learn, solitariness is called wisdom³; alone indeed he will find pleasure. (718)

41. 'Then he will shine through the ten regions, having heard the voice of the wise, of the meditating, of those that have abandoned sensual pleasures, let my adherent then still more devote himself to modesty and belief. (719)

42. 'Understand this from the waters in chasms

¹ *Ukkāvakā hi paṭipadā
Samanena pakāsitā,
Na pāram digunam yanti,
Na idam ekagunam mutam.*

² *Na kāpi bahu kintaye.*

³ *Ekattam monam akkhātam.*

and cracks : noisy go the small waters, silent goes the vast ocean ¹. (720)

43. 'What is deficient that makes a noise, what is full that is calm; the fool is like a half-(filled) water-pot, the wise is like a full pool. (721)

44. 'When the Samana speaks much that is possessed of good sense, he teaches the Dhamma while knowing it, while knowing it he speaks much ². (722)

45. 'But he who while knowing it is self-restrained, and while knowing it does not speak much, such a Muni deserves wisdom (mona), such a Muni has attained to wisdom (mona) ³.' (723)

Nâlakasutta is ended.

12. DVAYATÂNUPASSANÂSUTTA.

All pain in the world arises from upadhi, aviggâ, samkhârâ, viññâna, phassa, vedanâ, tanhâ, upâdâna, ârambha, âhâra, iñgita, nissaya, rūpa, mosadhamma, sukha.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî in Pub-bârâma, Migâramâtar's mansion. At that time Bhagavat on the Uposatha day ⁴, on the fifteenth,

¹ Tan nadîhi vigânâtha

Sobbhesu padaresu ka :

Sanantâ yanti kussobbhâ

Tanhî yâti mahodadhi.

² Yam samano bahu bhâsati

Upetam atthasamhitam

Gânam so dhammam deseti

Gânam so bahu bhâsati.

³ Yo ka gânam samyatatto

Gânam na bahu bhâsati

Sa munî monam arahati

Sa munî monam agghagâ.

⁴ See Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 140.

it being full moon, in the evening was sitting in the open air, surrounded by the assembly of Bhikkhus. Then Bhagavat surveying the silent assembly of Bhikkhus addressed them (as follows):

‘Whichever Dhammas there are, O Bhikkhus, good, noble, liberating, leading to perfect enlightenment,—what is the use to you of listening to these good, noble, liberating Dhammas, leading to perfect enlightenment? If, O Bhikkhus, there should be people that ask so, they shall be answered thus: Yes, for the right understanding of the two Dhammas.’ ‘Which two do you mean?’ ‘(I mean), “this is pain, this is the origin of pain,” this is one consideration, “this is the destruction of pain, this is the way leading to the destruction of pain,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly¹, is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

1. ‘Those who do not understand pain and the origin of pain, and where pain wholly and totally is stopped, and do not know the way that leads to the cessation of pain, (724)

2. ‘They, deprived of the emancipation of thought

¹ . . . *kâ upanisâ savanâyâ* ’ti iti *ke bhikkhave pukkhitâro assu te evam assu vaṇanîyâ*: *yâvad eva dvayatânam dhammânam yathâbhûtam ñânâyâ* ’ti, *kiññā dvayatam vadetha?* ‘*idam dukkham, ayam dukkhasamudayo*’ ti *ayam ekânupassanâ*, ‘*ayam dukkhanirodho, ayam dukkhanirodhagâminî paṭipadâ*’ ti *ayam dutiyânupassanâ*; *evam sammâdvayatânupassino* . . .

and the emancipation of knowledge, are unable to put an end (to *samsâra*), they will verily continue to undergo birth and decay. (725)

3. 'And those who understand pain and the origin of pain, and where pain wholly and totally is stopped, and who know the way that leads to the cessation of pain, (726)

4. 'They, endowed with the emancipation of thought and the emancipation of knowledge, are able to put an end (to *samsâra*), they will not undergo birth and decay. (727)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the upadhis (elements of existence)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the upadhis, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

5. 'Whatever pains there are in the world, of many kinds, they arise having their cause in the upadhis; he who being ignorant creates upadhi, that fool again undergoes pain; therefore being wise do not create upadhi, considering what is the birth and origin of pain. (728)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the

Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *aviggâ* (ignorance)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of *aviggâ*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

6. 'Those who again and again go to *samsâra* with birth and death, to existence in this way or in that way,—that is the state of *aviggâ*. (729)

7. 'For this *aviggâ* is the great folly by which this (existence) has been traversed long, but those beings who resort to knowledge do not go to re-birth. (730)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *samkhâras* (matter)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the *samkhâras*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state

of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

8. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *samkhâras*, by the destruction of the *samkhâras* there will be no origin of pain. (731)

9. ‘Looking upon this pain that springs from the *samkhâras* as misery, from the cessation of all the *samkhâras*, and from the destruction of consciousness will arise the destruction of pain, having understood this exactly, (732)

10. ‘The wise who have true views and are accomplished, having understood (all things) completely, and having conquered all association with Mâra, do not go to re-birth. (733)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *viññâna* (consciousness),” this is one consideration, “but from the complete destruction of *viññâna*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

11. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *viññâna*, by the destruction of *viññâna* there is no origin of pain. (734)

12. 'Looking upon this pain that springs from *viññâna* as misery, from the cessation of *viññâna* a Bhikkhu free from desire (will be) perfectly happy (*parinibbata*). (735)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *phassa* (touch)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of *phassa*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

13. 'For those who are ruined by *phassa*, who follow the stream of existence, who have entered a bad way, the destruction of bonds is far off. (736)

14. 'But those who, having fully understood *phassa*, knowingly have taken delight in cessation, they verily from the comprehension of *phassa*, and being free from desire, are perfectly happy. (737)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *vedanâs* (sensations)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the *vedanâs*, through absence of passion, there is

no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

15. 'Pleasure or pain, together with want of pleasure and want of pain, whatever is perceived internally and externally, (738)

16. 'Looking upon this as pain, having touched what is perishable and fragile, seeing the decay (of everything), the Bhikkhu is disgusted, having from the perishing of the vedanâs become free from desire, and perfectly happy. (739)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of tañhâ (desire)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of tañhâ, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

17. 'A man accompanied by tañhâ, for a long time transmigrating into existence in this way or

that way, does not overcome transmigration (*sam-sâra*). (740)

18. 'Looking upon this as misery, this origin of the pain of *taṇhâ*, let the Bhikkhu free from *taṇhâ*, not seizing (upon anything), thoughtful, wander about. (741)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *upâdânas* (the seizures)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the *upâdânas*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

19. 'The existence is in consequence of the *upâdânas*; he who has come into existence goes to pain, he who has been born is to die, this is the origin of pain. (742)

20. 'Therefore from the destruction of the *upâdânas* the wise with perfect knowledge, having seen (what causes) the destruction of birth, do not go to re-birth. (743)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in

consequence of the ârambhas (exertions)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the ârambhas, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

21. 'Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the ârambhas, by the destruction of the ârambhas there is no origin of pain. (744)

22, 23. 'Looking upon this pain that springs from the ârambhas as misery, having abandoned all the ârambhas, birth and transmigration have been crossed over by the Bhikkhu who is liberated in non-exertion, who has cut off the desire for existence, and whose mind is calm; there is for him no re-birth. (745, 746)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the âhâras (food?)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the âhâras, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still

remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

24. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the âhâras, by the destruction of the âhâras there is no origin of pain. (747)

25. ‘Looking upon this pain that springs from the âhâras as misery, having seen the result of all âhâras, not resorting to all âhâras, (748)

26. ‘Having seen that health is from the destruction of desire, he that serves discriminatingly and stands fast in the Dhamma cannot be reckoned as existing, being accomplished¹. (749)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *iñgitas* (commotions),” this is one consideration, “but from the complete destruction of the *iñgitas*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

27. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *iñgitas*, by the destruction of the *iñgitas* there is no origin of pain. (750)

28. ‘Looking upon this pain that springs from

¹ *Samkham* nôpeti vedagû.

the *iñgitas* as misery, and therefore having abandoned the *iñgitas* and having stopped the *samkhâras*, let the Bhikkhu free from desire and not seizing (upon anything), thoughtful, wander about. (751)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “For the *nissita* (dependent) there is vacillation,” this is one consideration, “the independent (man) does not vacillate,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

29. ‘The independent (man) does not vacillate, and the dependent (man) seizing upon existence in one way or in another, does not overcome *sam-sâra*. (752)

30. ‘Looking upon this as misery (and seeing) great danger in things you depend upon, let a Bhikkhu wander about independent, not seizing (upon anything), thoughtful. (753)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “The formless (beings), O Bhikkhus, are calmer than the *rûpas* (for *ruppa*, i.e. form-possessing),” this is one consideration, “cessation is calmer than the formless,” this is another consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that con-

siders the Dyad dully, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected : in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

31. ‘Those beings who are possessed of form, and those who dwell in the formless (world), not knowing cessation, have to go to re-birth. (754)

32. ‘But those who, having fully comprehended the forms, stand fast in the formless (worlds), those who are liberated in the cessation, such beings leave death behind. (755)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is : “What has been considered true by the world of men, together with the gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmaṇas, gods, and men, that has by the noble through their perfect knowledge been well seen to be really false,” this is one consideration ; “what, O Bhikkhus, has been considered false by the world of men, together with the gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmaṇas, gods, and men, that has by the noble through their perfect knowledge been well seen to be really true,” this is another consideration. Thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad dully, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected : in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat,

(and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

33. 'Seeing the real in the unreal, the world of men and gods dwelling in name and form¹, he thinks : "This is true." (756)

34. 'Whichever way they think (it), it becomes otherwise, for it is false to him, and what is false is perishable². (?) (757)

35. 'What is not false, the Nibbâna, that the noble conceive as true, they verily from the comprehension of truth are free from desire (and) perfectly happy³. (758)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is : "What, O Bhikkhus, has been considered pleasure by the world of men, gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmanas, gods, and men, that has by the noble by (their) perfect knowledge been well seen to be really pain," this is one consideration ; "what, O Bhikkhus, has been considered pain by the world of men, gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmanas, gods, and men, that has by the noble by their perfect knowledge been well seen to be really pleasure," this is the second consideration. Thus, O

¹ Nâmarûpasmim, 'individuality.'

² Yena yena hi maññanti
Tato tam hoti aññathâ,
Tam hi tassa musâ hoti,
Mosadhammam hi ittaram.

³ Amosadhammam nibbânam
Tad ariyâ sak্কato vidû,
Te ve sak্কâbhisamayâ
Nikkhâtâ parinibbutâ.

Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu who considers the Dyad duly, who is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected : in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one who does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said so, the Master further spoke :

36. ‘ Form, sound, taste, smell, and touch are all wished for, pleasing and charming (things) as long as they last, so it is said. (759)

37. ‘ By you, by the world of men and gods these (things) are deemed a pleasure, but when they cease it is deemed pain by them. (760)

38. ‘ By the noble the cessation of the existing body is regarded as pleasure ; this is the opposite of (what) the wise in all the world (hold)¹. (761)

39. ‘ What fools say is pleasure that the noble say is pain, what fools say is pain that the noble know as pleasure :—see here is a thing difficult to understand, here the ignorant are confounded. (762)

40. ‘ For those that are enveloped there is gloom, for those that do not see there is darkness, and for the good it is manifest, for those that see there is light ; (even being) near, those that are ignorant of the way and the Dhamma, do not discern (anything)². (763)

¹ Sukhan ti di~~tti~~ham ariyehi
Sakkâyass’ uparodhanam,
Pa~~k~~kanîkam idam hoti
Sabbalokena passatam.

² Nivutânam tamo hoti
Andhakâro apassatam,
Satañ ña viva~~ta~~m hoti
Âloko passatâm iva,
Santike na vigânanti
Maggadhammass’ akovidâ.

41. 'By those that are overcome by the passions of existence, by those that follow the stream of existence, by those that have entered the realm of Mâra, this Dhamma is not perfectly understood. (764)

42. 'Who except the noble deserve the well understood state (of Nibbâna)? Having perfectly conceived this state, those free from passion are completely extinguished¹. (765)

This spoke Bhagavat. Glad those Bhikkhus rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat. While this explanation was being given, the minds of sixty Bhikkhus, not seizing (upon anything), were liberated.

Dvayatânupassanâsutta is ended.

Mahâvagga, the third.

¹ Ko nu aññatra-m-ariyehi
Padam sambuddham arahati
Yam padam samma-d-aññâya
Parinibbanti anâsavâ.

IV. *ATTAKAVAGGA*.

1. KÂMASUTTA.

Sensual pleasures are to be avoided.

1. If he who desires sensual pleasures is successful, he certainly becomes glad-minded, having obtained what a mortal wishes for. (766)

2. But if those sensual pleasures fail the person who desires and wishes (for them), he will suffer, pierced by the arrow (of pain). (767)

3. He who avoids sensual pleasures as (he would avoid treading upon) the head of a snake with his foot, such a one, being thoughtful (sato), will conquer this desire. (768)

4. He who covets extensively (such) pleasures (as these), fields, goods, or gold, cows and horses, servants, women, relations, (769)

5. Sins will overpower him, dangers will crush him, and pain will follow him as water (pours into) a broken ship. (770)

6. Therefore let one always be thoughtful, and avoid pleasures; having abandoned them, let him cross the stream, after baling out the ship, and go to the other shore. (771)

Kâmasutta is ended.

2. GUHATTHAKASUTTA.

Let no one cling to existence and sensual pleasures.

1. A man that lives adhering to the cave (i.e. the body), who is covered with much (sin), and sunk into delusion, such a one is far from seclusion, for the sensual pleasures in the world are not easy to abandon. (772)

2. Those whose wishes are their motives, those who are linked to the pleasures of the world, they are difficult to liberate, for they cannot be liberated by others, looking for what is after or what is before, coveting these and former sensual pleasures. (773)

3. Those who are greedy of, given to, and infatuated by sensual pleasures, those who are niggardly, they, having entered upon what is wicked, wail when they are subjected to pain, saying: 'What will become of us, when we die away from here?' (774)

4. Therefore let a man here¹ learn, whatever he knows as wicked in the world, let him not for the sake of that (?) practise (what is) wicked²; for short is this life, say the wise. (775)

5. I see in the world this trembling race given to desire for existences; they are wretched men who lament in the mouth of death, not being free from the desire for reiterated existences. (776)

6. Look upon those men trembling in selfishness, like fish in a stream nearly dried up, with little water; seeing this, let one wander about unselfish, without forming any attachment to existences. (777)

¹ Idheva=imasmiṃ yeva sāsane. Commentator.

² Na tassa hetu visamam kareyya.

7. Having subdued his wish for both ends¹, having fully understood touch without being greedy, not doing what he has himself blamed, the wise (man) does not cling to what is seen and heard². (778)

8. Having understood name³, let the Muni cross over the stream, not defiled by any grasping; having pulled out the arrow (of passion), wandering about strenuous, he does not wish for this world or the other. (779)

Guhatt~~h~~akasutta is ended.

3. DUTTHATT~~h~~AKASUTTA.

The Muni undergoes no censure, for he has shaken off all systems of philosophy, and is therefore independent.

1. Verily, some wicked-minded people censure, and also just-minded people censure, but the Muni does not undergo the censure that has arisen; therefore there is not a discontented (khila) Muni anywhere. (780)

2. How can he who is led by his wishes and possessed by his inclinations overcome his own (false) view? Doing his own doings let him talk according to his understanding⁴. (781)

3. The person who, without being asked, praises

¹ Comp. Sallasutta, v. 9.

² Ubhosu antesu vineyya *khandam*
Phassam pariññāya anānugiddho
Yad atta garahī tad akubbamāno
Na lippatī di~~tt~~hasutesu dhīro.

³ Saññam = nāmarūpam. Commentator.

⁴ Sakam hi di~~tt~~him katham akkayeyya
Khandānunnīto rūkhiyā nivit~~tho~~,
Sayam samattāni pakubbamāno
Yathā hi gāneyya tathā vadeyya.

his own virtue and (holy) works to others, him the good call ignoble, one who praises himself¹. (782)

4. But the Bhikkhu who is calm and of a happy mind, thus not praising himself for his virtues, him the good call noble, one for whom there are no desires anywhere in the world². (783)

5. He whose Dhammas are (arbitrarily) formed and fabricated, placed in front, and confused, because he sees in himself a good result, is therefore given to (the view which is called) *kuppa-paṭikkāsanti*³. (?) (784)

6. For the dogmas of philosophy are not easy to overcome, amongst the Dhammas (now this and now that) is adopted after consideration; therefore a man rejects and adopts (now this and now that) Dhamma amongst the dogmas⁴. (785)

7. For him who has shaken off (sin) there is nowhere in the world any prejudiced view of the different existences; he who has shaken off (sin), after leaving deceit and arrogance behind, which (way) should he go, he (is) independent⁵. (786)

¹ Yo ātumānam sayam eva pāvā=yo evaṃ attānam sayam eva vadati. Commentator.

² Yass' ussādā n' atthi kuhiṇṇi loke.

³ Pakappitā samkhatā yassa dhammā
Purakkhatā santi avivādātā
Yad attanī passati ānisamsam
Tam nissito kuppa-paṭikkāsantim.

⁴ Diṭṭhīnivesā na hi svātivattā,
Dhammesu nikāheyya samuggahītam,
Tasmā naro tesu nivesanesu
Nirassatī ādiyati-kā dhammam.

Comp. Paramatthakasutta, v. 6.

⁵ Dhonassa hī n' atthi kuhiṇṇi loke
Pakappitā diṭṭhi bhavābhavesu,
Māyaṇ ka mānaṇ ka pahāya dhono
Sa kena gakkheyya, anūpayo so.

8. But he who is dependent undergoes censure amongst the Dhammas; with what (name) and how should one name him who is independent? For by him there is nothing grasped or rejected, he has in this world shaken off every (philosophical) view¹. (787)

Dutthattthakasutta is ended.

4. SUDDHATTHAKASUTTA.

No one is purified by philosophy, those devoted to philosophy run from one teacher to another, but the wise are not led by passion, and do not embrace anything in the world as the highest.

1. I see a pure, most excellent, sound man, by his views a man's purification takes place, holding this opinion, and having seen this view to be the highest, he goes back to knowledge, thinking to see what is pure². (788)

2. If a man's purification takes place by (his philosophical) views, or he by knowledge leaves pain behind, then he is purified by another (way than the ariyamagga, i. e. the noble way), together with his upadhis, on account of his views he tells him to say so³. (789)

¹ Upayo * hi dhammesu upeti vâdam
Anûpayam kena katham vadeyya
Attam nirattam na hi tassa atthi
Adhosi so di//him idh' eva sabbam.

² Passâmi suddham paramam arogam,
Di//hena samsuddhi narassa hoti,
Et' âbhigânam paraman ti ñatvâ
Suddhânupassîti pakketi ñânam.

³ Di//hihi nam pâva tathâ vadânam.

Comp. Garâsutta, v. 10; Pasûrasutta, v. 7.

* Upayo ti tanhâdi//hinissito. Commentator.

3. But the Brâhmaṇa who does not cling to what has been seen, or heard, to virtue and (holy) works, or to what has been thought, to what is good and to what is evil, and who leaves behind what has been grasped, without doing anything in this world, he does not acknowledge that purification comes from another¹. (790)

4. Having left (their) former (teacher) they go to another, following their desires they do not break asunder their ties; they grasp, they let go like a monkey letting go the branch (just) after having caught (hold of it). (791)

5. Having himself undertaken some (holy) works he goes to various (things) led by his senses, but a man of great understanding, a wise man who by his wisdom has understood the Dhamma, does not go to various (occupations). (792)

6. He being secluded amongst all the Dhammas, whatever has been seen, heard, or thought—how should any one in this world be able to alter him, the seeing one, who wanders openly²? (793)

7. They do not form (any view), they do not prefer (anything), they do not say, 'I am infinitely pure;' having cut the tied knot of attachment, they do not long for (anything) anywhere in the world. (794)

¹ Na brâhmaṇo aññato suddhim âha
 Diṭṭhe sute sīlavate mute vā
 Puññe ka pāpe ka anūpalitto
 Attaññāho na idha pakubbamāno.

² Sa sabbadhammesu visenibhūto *
 Yam kiñci diṭṭham va sutam mutam vā
 Tam eva dassim vivaṭam karantam
 Ken' idha lokasmim vikappayeyya?

* Mārasenam vināsetvā śhitabhāvena visenibhūto. Commentator.

8. He is a Brâhmana that has conquered (sin)¹; by him there is nothing embraced after knowing and seeing it; he is not affected by any kind of passion; there is nothing grasped by him as the highest in this world. (795)

Suddhatthakasutta is ended.

5. PARAMATTHAKASUTTA.

One should not give oneself to philosophical disputations; a Brâhmana who does not adopt any system of philosophy, is unchangeable, has reached Nibbâna.

1. What one person, abiding by the (philosophical) views, saying, 'This is the most excellent,' considers the highest in the world, everything different from that he says is wretched, therefore he has not overcome dispute². (796)

2. Because he sees in himself a good result, with regard to what has been seen (or) heard, virtue and (holy) works, or what has been thought, therefore, having embraced that, he looks upon everything else as bad³. (797)

3. The expert call just that a tie dependent

¹ *Katunnam kilesasîmânânam atîtattâ*
Sîmâtigo bâhitapâpattâ ka brâhmano.

² *Paraman ti di//hîsu paribbasâno*
Yad uttarim kurute gantu loke
Hînâ ti aññe tato sabbam âha,
Tasmâ vivâdâni avîtivatto.

Properly, 'others (are) wretched.'

³ *Yad attanî passati ânisamsam*
Di//he sute sîlavate mute vâ
Tad eva so tattha samuggahâya
Nihînato passati sabbam aññam.

upon which one looks upon anything else as bad. Therefore let a Bhikkhu not depend upon what is seen, heard, or thought, or upon virtue and (holy) works¹. (798)

4. Let him not form any (philosophical) view in this world, either by knowledge or by virtue and (holy) works, let him not represent himself equal (to others), nor think himself either low or distinguished. (799)

5. Having left what has been grasped, not seizing upon anything he does not depend even on knowledge. He does not associate with those that are taken up by different things, he does not return to any (philosophical) view². (800)

6. For whom there is here no desire for both ends, for reiterated existence either here or in another world, for him there are no resting-places (of the mind) embraced after investigation amongst the doctrines (dhammesu)³. (801)

7. In him there is not the least prejudiced idea with regard to what has been seen, heard, or thought; how could any one in this world alter such a Brâhmana who does not adopt any view? (802)

¹ *Tam vâpi gantham kusalâ vadanti
Yam nissito passati hīnam aññam,
Tasmâ hi diṭṭham va sutam mutam vâ
Sīlabbatam bhikkhu na nissayeyya.*

² *Attam pahāya anupâdiyāno
Ñāne pi so nissayam no karoti,
Sa ve viyattesu na vaggasārī,
Diṭṭhim pi so na paṭṭheti kiñci.*

³ *Yass' ūbhayante paṇidhīdha n' atthi
Bhavâbhavāya idha vâ huraṃ vâ
Nivesanā tassa na santi keci
Dhammesu niṭṭheyya samuggahītā.*

8. They do not form (any view), they do not prefer (anything), the Dhammas are not chosen by them, a Brâhmaṇa is not dependent upon virtue and (holy) works; having gone to the other shore, such a one does not return. (803)

Paramatthakasutta is ended.

6. GARÂSUTTA.

From selfishness come grief and avarice. The Bhikkhu who has turned away from the world and wanders about houseless, is independent, and does not wish for purification through another.

1. Short indeed is this life, within a hundred years one dies, and if any one lives longer, then he dies of old age. (804)

2. People grieve from selfishness, perpetual cares kill them, this (world) is full of disappointment; seeing this, let one not live in a house. (805)

3. That even of which a man thinks 'this is mine' is left behind by death: knowing this, let not the wise (man) turn himself to worldliness (while being my) follower¹. (806)

4. As a man awakened does not see what he has met with in his sleep, so also he does not see the beloved person that has passed away and is dead. (807)

5. Both seen and heard are the persons whose particular name is mentioned, but only the name

¹ Maranena pi tam pahîyati
Yam puriso mama-y-idan ti maññati,
Evam pi veditvâ pandîto
Na pamattâya nametha mâmakko.

remains undecayed of the person that has passed away ¹. (808)

6. The greedy in their selfishness do not leave sorrow, lamentation, and avarice; therefore the Munis leaving greediness wandered about seeing security (i. e. Nibbāna). (809)

7. For a Bhikkhu, who wanders about unattached and cultivates the mind of a recluse, they say it is proper that he does not show himself (again) in existence ². (810)

8. Under all circumstances the independent Muni does not please nor displease (any one); sorrow and avarice do not stick to him (as little) as water to a leaf. (811)

9. As a drop of water does not stick to a lotus, as water does not stick to a lotus, so a Muni does not cling to anything, namely, to what is seen or heard or thought ³. (812)

10. He who has shaken off (sin) does not therefore think (much of anything) because it has been seen or heard or thought; he does not wish for

¹ *Di//hāpi sutāpi te ganā*
Yesam nāmam idam pavukkati
Nāmam evāvasissati
Akkheyyam petassa gantuno.

² *Patilīnakarassa bhikkhuno*
*Bhagamānassa vittaṃnāsam**
Sāmaggiyam āhu tassa tam
Yo attānam bhavane na dassaye.

³ *Udabindu yathāpi pokkhare*
Padume vāri yathā na lippati
Evam muni nōpalippati
Yad idam di//hasutam mutesu vā.

* B¹ has *vivitta-*.

purification through another, for he is not pleased nor displeased (with anything)¹. (813)

Garâsutta is ended.

7. TISSAMETTEYYASUTTA.

Sexual intercourse should be avoided.

1. 'Tell me, O venerable one,'—so said the venerable Tissa Metteyya,—'the defeat of him who is given to sexual intercourse; hearing thy precepts we will learn in seclusion.' (814)

2. 'The precepts of him who is given to sexual intercourse, O Metteyya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'are lost, and he employs himself wrongly, this is what is ignoble in him.' (815)

3. 'He who, having formerly wandered alone, gives himself up to sexual intercourse, him they call in the world a low, common fellow, like a rolling chariot.' (816)

4. 'What honour and renown he had before, that is lost for him; having seen this let him learn to give up sexual intercourse.' (817)

5. 'He who overcome by his thoughts meditates like a miser, such a one, having heard the (blaming) voice of others, becomes discontented.' (818)

6. 'Then he makes weapons (i. e. commits evil

¹ Dhono na hi tena maññati
Yad idam di/hasutam mutesu vâ,
Nâññena visuddhim ikkhati,
Na hi so raggati no viraggati.

Comp. *Suddhatthakasutta*, v. 2.

deeds) urged by the doctrines of others, he is very greedy, and sinks into falsehood ¹. (819)

7. 'Designated "wise" he has entered upon a solitary life, then having given himself up to sexual intercourse, he (being) a fool suffers pain. (820)

8. 'Looking upon this as misery let the Muni from first to last in the world firmly keep to his solitary life, let him not give himself up to sexual intercourse. (821)

9. 'Let him learn seclusion, this is the highest for noble men, but let him not therefore think himself the best, although he is verily near Nibbâna. (822)

10. 'The Muni who wanders void (of desire), not coveting sensual pleasures, and who has crossed the stream, him the creatures that are tied in sensual pleasures envy.' (823)

Tissametteyyasutta is ended.

8. PASŪRASUTTA.

Disputants brand each other as fools, they wish for praise, but being repulsed they become discontented ; one is not purified by dispute, but by keeping to Buddha, who has shaken off all sin.

1. Here they maintain 'purity,' in other doctrines (dhamma) they do not allow purity; what they have devoted themselves to, that they call good, and they enter extensively upon the single truths ². (824)

¹ Atha satthâni kurute
Paravâdehi kodito,
Esa khv-assa mahâgedho,
Mosavaḡgam pagâhati.

² Idh' eva suddhim iti vâdiyanti
Nâññesu dhammesu visuddhim âhu
Yam nissitâ tattha subham vadânâ
Pakkakasakkesu puthû nivittâ.

2. Those wishing for dispute, having plunged into the assembly, brand each other as fools mutually, they go to others and pick a quarrel, wishing for praise and calling themselves (the only) expert. (825)

3. Engaged in dispute in the middle of the assembly, wishing for praise he lays about on all sides; but when his dispute has been repulsed he becomes discontented, at the blame he gets angry he who sought for the faults (of others). (826)

4. Because those who have tested his questions say that his dispute is lost and repulsed, he laments and grieves having lost his disputes; 'he has conquered me,' so saying he wails. (827)

5. These disputes have arisen amongst the Samanas, in these (disputes) there is (dealt) blow (and) stroke; having seen this, let him leave off disputing, for there is no other advantage in trying to get praise. (828)

6. Or he is praised there, having cleared up the dispute in the middle of the assembly; therefore he will laugh and be elated, having won that case as he had a mind to. (829)

7. That which is his exaltation will also be the field of his defeat, still he talks proudly and arrogantly; seeing this, let no one dispute, for the expert do not say that purification (takes place) by that¹. (830)

8. As a hero nourished by kingly food goes about roaring, wishing for an adversary—where he (i.e. the philosopher, Ditt~~h~~igatika) is, go thou there, O

¹ Yâ unmatî sâssa vighâtabhûmi,
Mânâtimânam vadate pan' eso,
Etam pi disvâ na vivâdayetha
Na hi tena suddhim kusalâ vadanti.

Comp. Suddhatthakasutta, v. 2.

hero ; formerly there was nothing like this to fight against¹. (831)

9. Those who, having embraced a (certain philosophical) view, dispute and maintain 'this only (is) true,' to them say thou when a dispute has arisen, 'Here is no opponent² for thee.' (832)

10. Those who wander about after having secluded themselves, without opposing view to view—what (opposition) wilt thou meet with amongst those, O Pasûra, by whom nothing in this world is grasped as the best ? (833)

11. Then thou wentest to reflection thinking in thy mind over the (different philosophical) views ; thou hast gone into the yoke with him who has shaken off (all sin), but thou wilt not be able to proceed together (with him)³. (834)

Pasûrasutta is ended.

9. MÂGANDIYASUTTA.

A dialogue between Mâgandiya and Buddha. The former offers Buddha his daughter for a wife, but Buddha refuses her. Mâgandiya says that purity comes from philosophy, Buddha from 'inward peace.' The Muni is a confessor of peace, he does not dispute, he is free from marks.

1. Buddha : 'Even seeing Tanhâ, Arati, and Ragâ (the daughters of Mâra), there was not the least wish

¹ Sûro yathâ râgakhâdâya putt^ho
Abhigaggam eti pa^{ti}sûram ik^kham—
Yen' eva so tena palehi sûra,
Pubbe va n' atthi yad idam yudhâya.

² Pa^{ti}senikattâ ti pa^{ti}lomakârako. Commentator.

³ Atha tvam pavitakkam âgamâ
Manasâ dⁱtt^higatâni kintayanto,
Dhonena yugam samâgamâ,
Na hi tvam pagghasi sampayâtave.

(in me) for sexual intercourse. What is this (thy daughter's body but a thing) full of water and excrement? I do not even want to touch it with my foot.' (835)

2. Mâgandiya: 'If thou dost not want such a pearl, a woman desired by many kings, what view, virtue, and (holy) works, (mode of) life, re-birth dost thou profess?' (836)

3. "This I say," so (I do now declare), after investigation there is nothing amongst the doctrines which such a one (as I would) embrace,'—O Mâgandiya, so said Bhagavat,—'and seeing (misery) in the (philosophical) views, without adopting (any of them), searching (for truth) I saw "inward peace¹."' (837)

4. 'All the (philosophical) resolutions² that have been formed,'—so said Mâgandiya,—'those indeed thou explainest without adopting (any of them); the notion "inward peace" which (thou mentionest), how is this explained by the wise?' (838)

5. 'Not by (any philosophical) opinion, not by tradition, not by knowledge,'—O Mâgandiya, so said Bhagavat,—'not by virtue and (holy) works can any one say that purity exists; nor by absence of (philosophical) opinion, by absence of tradition, by absence of knowledge, by absence of virtue and (holy) works either; having abandoned these without adopting (anything else), let him, calm and independent, not desire existence³.' (839)

¹ *Idam vadâmîti na tassa hoti—Mâgandiyâ ti Bhagavâ—
Dhammesu nikkheyya samuggahîtam
Passaṇ ka diṭṭhîsu anuggahâya
Agghattasantim pakinam adassam.*

² *Vinikkhaya, placita?*

³ *Na diṭṭhiyâ na sutiyâ na ñâna—Mâgandiyâ ti Bhagavâ—
Sîlabbatenâpi na suddhim âha*

6. 'If one cannot say by (any philosophical) opinion, or by tradition, or by knowledge,—so said Māgandiya,—'or by virtue and (holy) works that purity exists, nor by absence of (philosophical) opinion, by absence of tradition, by absence of knowledge, by absence of virtue and (holy) works, then I consider the doctrine foolish, for by (philosophical) opinions some return to purity.' (840)

7. 'And asking on account of (thy philosophical) opinion,' O Māgandiya,—so said Bhagavat,—'thou hast gone to infatuation in what thou hast embraced, and of this (inward peace) thou hast not the least idea, therefore thou holdest it foolish ¹.' (841)

8. 'He who thinks himself equal (to others), or distinguished, or low, he for that very reason disputes; but he who is unmoved under those three conditions, for him (the notions) "equal" and "distinguished" do not exist. (842)

9. 'The Brāhmaṇa for whom (the notions) "equal" and "unequal" do not exist, would he say, "This is true?" Or with whom should he dispute, saying, "This is false?" With whom should he enter into dispute ²?' (843)

10. 'Having left his house, wandering about

Adi//hiyā assutiyā aññā
Asīlatā abbatā no pi tena,
Ete ka nissagga anuggahāya
Santo anissāya bhavam na gappe.

¹ Di//hiñ ka nissāya anupukkhamāno
Samuggahītesu pamoham āgā
Ito ka nāddakki anum pi saññam
Tasmā tuvaṃ momuhato dahāsi.

² Sakkaṇ ti so brāhmaṇo kim vadeyya
Musā ti vā so vivadetha kena
Yasmim samam visamañ kāpi n' atthi
Sa kena vādam paṭisamyugeyya.

houseless, not making acquaintances in the village, free from lust, not desiring (any future existence), let the Muni not get into quarrelsome talk with people. (844)

11. 'Let not an eminent man (nâga) dispute after having embraced those (views) separated from which he (formerly) wandered in the world; as the thorny lotus elambuḡa is undefiled by water and mud, so the Muni, the confessor of peace, free from greed, does not cling to sensual pleasures and the world. (845)

12. 'An accomplished man does not by (a philosophical) view, or by thinking become arrogant, for he is not of that sort; not by (holy) works, nor by tradition is he to be led, he is not led into any of the resting-places (of the mind). (846)

13. 'For him who is free from marks there are no ties, to him who is delivered by understanding there are no follies; (but those) who grasped after marks and (philosophical) views, they wander about in the world annoying (people)¹. (847)

Māgandiyasutta is ended.

10. PURÂBHEDASUTTA.

Definition of a calm Muni.

1. 'With what view and with what virtue is one called calm, tell me that, O Gotama, (when) asked about the best man?' (848)

2. 'He whose desire is departed before the dissolution (of his body),'—so said Bhagavat,—'who

¹ *Saññâvirattassa na santi ganthâ,
Paññâvimuttassa na santi mohâ,
Saññāñ ka diṭṭhiñ ka ye aggaheṣum
Te ghaṭṭayantâ viṭaranti loke.*

does not depend upon beginning and end, nor reckons upon the middle, by him there is nothing preferred¹. (849)

3. 'He who is free from anger, free from trembling, free from boasting, free from misbehaviour, he who speaks wisely, he who is not elated, he is indeed a Muni who has restrained his speech. (850)

4. 'Without desire for the future he does not grieve for the past, he sees seclusion in the phasas (touch), and he is not led by (any philosophical) views. (851)

5. 'He is unattached, not deceitful, not covetous, not envious, not impudent, not contemptuous, and not given to slander. (852)

6. 'Without desire for pleasant things and not given to conceit, and being gentle, intelligent, not credulous, he is not displeased (with anything). (853)

7. 'Not from love of gain does he learn, and he does not get angry on account of loss, and untroubled by desire he has no greed for sweet things². (854)

8. 'Equable (upekhaka), always thoughtful, he does not think himself equal (to others)³ in the world, nor distinguished, nor low: for him there are no desires (ussada). (855)

¹ Vîtatamho purâ bhedâ
Pubbam antam anissito
Vemagghe n' ûpasamkheyyo
Tassa n' atthi purekkhatam.

² Rasesu nânugigghati

³ Na loke maññate samam

Na visesî na nîkeyyo.

Compare Tuva/akasutta, v. 4; Attadandasutta, v. 20.

9. 'The man for whom there is nothing upon which he depends, who is independent, having understood the Dhamma, for whom there is no desire for coming into existence or leaving existence, (856)

10. 'Him I call calm, not looking for sensual pleasures; for him there are no ties, he has overcome desire. (857)

11. 'For him there are no sons, cattle, fields, wealth, nothing grasped or rejected is to be found in him. (858)

12. 'That fault of which common people and Samanas and Brâhmanas say that he is possessed, is not possessed by him, therefore he is not moved by their talk. (859)

13. 'Free from covetousness, without avarice, the Muni does not reckon himself amongst the distinguished, nor amongst the plain, nor amongst the low, he does not enter time, being delivered from time¹. (860)

14. 'He for whom there is nothing in the world (which he may call) his own, who does not grieve over what is no more, and does not walk amongst the Dhammas (after his wish), he is called calm².' (861)

Purâbhedasutta is ended.

11. KALAHAVIVÂDASUTTA.

The origin of contentions, disputes, &c. &c.

1. 'Whence (do spring up) contentions and disputes, lamentation and sorrow together with envy;

¹ Vîtagedho amakkharî
Na ussesu vadate muni
Na samesu na omesu,
Kappam n' eti akappiyo.

² Comp. infra, Attadandasutta, v. 16, and Dh. v. 367.

and arrogance and conceit together with slander, whence do these spring up? pray, tell me this.' (862)

2. 'From dear (objects) spring up contentions and disputes, lamentation and sorrow together with envy; arrogance and conceit together with slander; contentions and disputes are joined with envy, and there is slander in the disputes arisen.' (863)

3. 'The dear (objects) in the world whence do they originate, and (whence) the covetousness that prevails in the world, and desire and fulfilment whence do they originate, which are (of consequence) for the future state of a man¹?' (864)

4. 'From wish² originate the dear (objects) in the world, and the covetousness that prevails in the world, and desire and fulfilment originate from it, which are (of consequence) for the future state of a man.' (865)

5. 'From what has wish in the world its origin, and resolutions³ whence do they spring, anger and falsehood and doubt, and the Dhammas which are made known by the Samana (Gotama)?' (866)

6. 'What they call pleasure and displeasure in the world, by that wish springs up; having seen decay and origin in (all) bodies⁴, a person forms (his) resolutions in the world.' (867)

7. 'Anger and falsehood and doubt, these Dhammas are a couple⁵; let the doubtful learn in the way of knowledge, knowingly the Dhammas have been proclaimed by the Samana.' (868)

8. 'Pleasure and displeasure, whence have they

¹ Ye samparâyâya narassa honti.

² *Khanda*.

³ Vinikkhaya.

⁴ Rûpesu disvâ vibhavam bhavañ ka.

⁵ Te pi kodhâdayo dhammâ sâtâsâtadvaye sante eva pahonti uppagganti. Commentator.

their origin, for want of what do these not arise? This notion which (thou mentionest), viz. "decay and origin," tell me from what does this arise.' (869)

9. 'Pleasure and displeasure have their origin from phassa (touch), when there is no touch they do not arise. This notion which (thou mentionest), viz. "decay and origin," this I tell thee has its origin from this.' (870)

10. 'From what has phassa its origin in the world, and from what does grasping spring up? For want of what is there no egotism, by the cessation of what do the touches not touch?' (871)

11. 'On account of name and form the touches (exist), grasping has its origin in wish; by the cessation of wishes there is no egotism, by the cessation of form the touches do not touch.' (872)

12. 'How is one to be constituted that (his) form may cease to exist, and how do joy and pain cease to exist? Tell me this, how it ceases, that we should like to know, such was my mind¹?' (873)

13. 'Let one not be with a natural consciousness, nor with a mad consciousness, nor without consciousness, nor with (his) consciousness gone; for him who is thus constituted form ceases to exist, for what is called delusion has its origin in consciousness².' (?) (874)

14. 'What we have asked thee thou hast explained

¹ *Katham sametassa vibhoti rūpam,
Sukham dukham vāpi katham vibhoti,
Etam me pabrūhi, yathā vibhoti
Tam gāṇiyāma, iti me mano ahū.*

² *Na sannasaññi na visannasaññi
No pi asaññi na vibhūtasaññi
Evam sametassa vibhoti rūpam
Saññānidānā hi papañkasamkhā.*

unto us; we will ask thee another question, answer us that: Do not some (who are considered) wise in this world tell us that the principal (thing) is the purification of the yakkha, or do they say something different from this¹?' (875)

15. 'Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the yakkha; but some of them say samaya (annihilation), the expert say (that the highest purity lies) in anupâdisesa (none of the five attributes remaining)². (876)

16. 'And having known these to be dependent, the investigating Muni, having known the things we depend upon, and after knowing them being liberated, does not enter into dispute, the wise (man) does not go to reiterated existence³.' (877)

Kalahavivâdasutta is ended.

12. KŪLAVIYŪHASUTTA.

A description of disputing philosophers. The different schools of philosophy contradict each other, they proclaim different truths, but the truth is only one. As long as the disputations are going on, so long will there be strife in the world.

1. Abiding by their own views, some (people), having got into contest, assert themselves to be

¹ Comp. Sundarikabhâradvâgasutta, v. 25.

² Ettâvat' aggam pi vadanti h' eke
Yakkhassa suddhim idha paññitâse,
Tesam pun' eke samaya^m* vadanti .
Anupâdisese kusalâ vadânâ.

³ Ete ka ñatvâ upanissitâ ti
Ñatvâ munî nissaye so vimamsî
Ñatvâ vimutto na vivâdam eti
Bhavâbhavâya na sameti dhîro.

* Ukkhedam. Commentator.

the (only) expert (saying), '(He) who understands this, he knows the Dhamma ; he who reviles this, he is not perfect¹.' (878)

2. So having got into contest they dispute : ' The opponent (is) a fool, an ignorant (person), ' so they say. Which one of these, pray, is the true doctrine (vâda)? for all these assert themselves (to be the only) expert. (879)

3. He who does not acknowledge an opponent's doctrine (dhamma), he is a fool, a beast, one of poor understanding, all are fools with a very poor understanding ; all these abide by their (own) views. (880)

4. They are surely purified by their own view, they are of a pure understanding, expert, thoughtful, amongst them there is no one of poor understanding, their view is quite perfect ! (881)

5. I do not say, ' This is the reality, ' which fools say mutually to each other ; they made their own views the truth, therefore they hold others to be fools. (882)

6. What some say is the truth, the reality, that others say is void, false, so having disagreed they dispute. Why do not the Samanas say one (and the same thing) ? (883)

7. For the truth is one, there is not a second, about which one intelligent man might dispute with another intelligent man ; (but) they themselves praise different truths, therefore the Samanas do not say one (and the same thing)². (884)

¹ *Sakam sakam ditti paribbasânâ
Viggayha nânâ kusalâ vadanti
Yo evam gâhâti sa vedi dhammam
Idam pañikkosam akevali so.*

² *Ekam hi sakkaṃ na duttiyam atthi
Yasmim pagāno vivade pagānam,*

8. Why do the disputants that assert themselves (to be the only) expert, proclaim different truths? Have many different truths been heard of, or do they (only) follow (their own) reasoning? (885)

9. There are not many different truths in the world, no eternal ones except consciousness; but having reasoned on the (philosophical) views they proclaim a double Dhamma, truth and falsehood¹. (886)

10. In regard to what has been seen, or heard, virtue and (holy) works, or what has been thought, and on account of these (views) looking (upon others) with contempt, standing in (their) resolutions joyful, they say that the opponent is a fool and an ignorant person². (?) (887)

11. Because he holds another (to be) a fool, therefore he calls himself expert, in his own opinion he is one that tells what is propitious, others he blames, so he said³. (?) (888)

12. He is full of his overbearing (philosophical) view, mad with pride, thinking himself perfect, he is in his own opinion anointed with the spirit (of genius), for his (philosophical) view is quite complete. (889)

Nânâ te saṅkâni sayam thunanti,
Tasmâ na ekam samanâ vadanti.

¹ Na h' eva saṅkâni bahûni nânâ
Aññatra saññâya nikkâni loke,
Takkañ ãa diṭṭhisu pakappayitvâ
Sakkaṃ musâ ti dvayadhammam âhu.

² Diṭṭhe sute silavate mute vâ
Ete ãa nissâya vimânadassî
Vinikkhaye ãhatvâ pahassamânâ
Bâlo paro akusalo ti ãâhu.

³ Yen' eva bâlo ti param dahâti
Tenâtumânâṃ kusalo ti ãâha,
Sayam attanâ so kusalâ vadâno
Aññam vimâneti, tath' eva pâvâ.

13. If he according to another's report is low, then (he says) the other is also of a low understanding, and if he himself is accomplished and wise, there is not any fool amongst the Samanas¹. (890)

14. 'Those who preach a doctrine (dhamma) different from this, fall short of purity and are imperfect,' so the Titthiyas say repeatedly, for they are inflamed by passion for their own (philosophical) views. (891)

15. Here they maintain purity, in other doctrines (dhamma) they do not allow purity; so the Titthiyas, entering extensively (upon details), say that in their own way there is something firm. (892)

16. And saying that there is something firm in his own way he holds his opponent to be a fool; thus he himself brings on strife, calling his opponent a fool and impure (asuddhadhamma). (893)

17. Standing in (his) resolution, having himself measured (teachers, &c.), he still more enters into dispute in the world; but having left all resolutions nobody will excite strife in the world². (894)

Kûlaviyûhasutta is ended.

¹ Parassa *ke* hi vaṭasā nihīno
Tumo* sahā hoti nihīnapañño,
Atha *ke* sayam vedagu hoti dhīro
Na koṭi bālo samanesū atthi.

² Vinikkhaye *thatvā* sayam pamāya
Uddham so lokasmim vivādam eti,
Hitvāna sabbāni vinikkhayāni
Na medhakam kurute gantu loke.

* So pi ten' eva. Commentator. Ved. tva (?).

13. MAHĀVIYŪHASUTTA.

Philosophers cannot lead to purity, they only praise themselves and stigmatise others. But a Brāhmaṇa has overcome all dispute, he is indifferent to learning, he is appeased.

1. Those who abiding in the (philosophical) views dispute, saying, 'This is the truth,' they all incur blame, and they also obtain praise in this matter. (895)

2. This is little, not enough to (bring about) tranquillity, I say there are two fruits of dispute; having seen this let no one dispute, understanding Khema (i. e. Nibbāna) to be the place where there is no dispute. (896)

3. The opinions that have arisen amongst people, all these the wise man does not embrace; he is independent. Should he who is not pleased with what has been seen and heard resort to dependency¹ (?) (897)

4. Those who consider virtue the highest of all, say that purity is associated with restraint; having taken upon themselves a (holy) work they serve. Let us learn in this (view), then, his (the Master's) purity; wishing for existence they assert themselves to be the only expert². (898)

5. If he falls off from virtue and (holy) works, he trembles, having missed (his) work; he laments, he

¹ Yā kâḷ' imā sammutiyo puthuggā
Sabbā va etā na upeti vidvā,
Anūpayo so, upayam kim eyya
Ditthe sute khantim * akubbamāno?

² Sīluttamā saññāmenāhu suddhim,
Vatam samādāya upaṭṭhitāse,
Idh' eva sikkhema ath' assa suddhim,
Bhavūpanītā kusalā vadānā.

* So all the MSS.

prays for purity in this world, as one who has lost his caravan or wandered away from his house. (899)

6. Having left virtue and (holy) works altogether, and both wrong and blameless work, not praying for purity or impurity, he wanders abstaining (from both purity and impurity), without having embraced peace. (900)

7. By means of penance, or anything disliked, or what has been seen, or heard, or thought, going upwards they wail for what is pure, without being free from desire for reiterated existence. (901)

8. For him who wishes (for something there always are) desires¹, and trembling in (the midst of his) plans; he for whom there is no death and no re-birth, how can he tremble or desire anything? (902)

9. What some call the highest Dhamma, that others again call wretched; which one of these, pray, is the true doctrine (vâda)? for all these assert themselves (to be the only) expert. (903)

10. Their own Dhamma they say is perfect, another's Dhamma again they say is wretched; so having disagreed they dispute, they each say their own opinions (are) the truth. (904)

11. If one (becomes) low by another's censure, then there will be no one distinguished amongst the Dhammas; for they all say another's Dhamma (is) low, in their own they say there is something firm². (905)

¹ Gappitâni.

² Parassa *ke* vamhayitena hîno

Na ko^{hi} dhammesu visesi assa,

Puthû hi aññassa vadanti dhammam

Nihînato samhi da^{ham} vadânâ.

12. The worshipping of their own Dhamma is as great as their praise of their own ways; all schools would be in the same case, for their purity is individual¹. (906)

13. There is nothing about a Brāhmaṇa dependent upon others, nothing amongst the Dhammas which he would embrace after investigation; therefore he has overcome the disputes, for he does not regard any other Dhamma as the best. (907)

14. 'I understand, I see likewise this,' so saying, some by (their philosophical) views return to purity. If he saw purity, what then (has been effected) by another's view? Having conquered they say that purity exists by another². (?) (908)

15. A seeing man will see name and form, and having seen he will understand those (things); let him at pleasure see much or little, for the expert do not say that purity exists by that. (909)

16. A dogmatist is no leader to purity, being guided by prejudiced views, saying that good consists in what he is given to, and saying that purity is there, he saw the thing so³. (910)

17. A Brāhmaṇa does not enter time, (or) the

¹ Sadhammapôgā ka panā tath' eva
Yathā pasamsanti sakāyanāni,
Sabbe pavādā tath' ivā bhaveyyum
Suddhī hi nesam pakattam eva.

² Gānāmi passāmi tath' eva etam
ditthiyā eke pakcenti suddhim
Addakkhi ke kim hi tumassa tena
Atisitvā aññena vadanti suddhim.

³ Nivissavādī na hi suddhināyo
Pakappitā ditthi purekkharāno
Yam nissito tattha subham vadāno
Suddhim vado tattha, tath' addasā so.

number (of living beings), (he is) no follower of (philosophical) views, nor a friend of knowledge; and having penetrated the opinions that have arisen amongst people, he is indifferent to learning, while others acquire it. (911)

18. The Muni, having done away with ties here in the world, is no partisan in the disputes that have arisen; appeased amongst the unappeased he is indifferent, not embracing learning, while others acquire it. (912)

19. Having abandoned his former passions, not contracting new ones, not wandering according to his wishes, being no dogmatist, he is delivered from the (philosophical) views, being wise, and he does not cling to the world, neither does he blame himself. (913)

20. Being secluded amongst all the doctrines (dhamma), whatever has been seen, heard, or thought, he is a Muni who has laid down his burden and is liberated, not belonging to time (na kappiyo), not dead, not wishing for anything. So said Bhagavat. (914)

Mahâviyûhasutta is ended.

14. TUVATKASUTTA.

How a Bhikkhu attains bliss, what his duties are, and what he is to avoid.

1. 'I ask thee, who art a kinsman of the Âdikkas and a great Isi, about seclusion (viveka) and the state of peace. How is a Bhikkhu, after having seen it, extinguished, not grasping at anything in the world?' (915)

2. 'Let him completely cut off the root of what is called *papañka*¹ (delusion), thinking "I am wisdom;"—so said Bhagavat,—'all the desires that arise inwardly, let him learn to subdue them, always being thoughtful. (916)

3. 'Let him learn every Dhamma inwardly or outwardly; let him not therefore be proud, for that is not called bliss by the good. (917)

4. 'Let him not therefore think himself better (than others or) low or equal (to others); questioned by different people, let him not adorn himself². (918)

5. 'Let the Bhikkhu be appeased inwardly, let him not seek peace from any other (quarter); for him who is inwardly appeased there is nothing grasped or rejected. (919)

6. 'As in the middle (i. e. depth) of the sea no wave is born, (but as it) remains still³, so let the Bhikkhu be still³, without desire, let him not desire anything whatever.' (920)

7. He with open eyes expounded clearly the Dhamma that removes (all) dangers; tell (now) the religious practices; the precepts or contemplation⁴. (921)

8. Bhagavat: 'Let him not be greedy with his eyes, let him keep his ears from the talk of the town, let him not be greedy after sweet things, and let him not desire anything in the world. (922)

9. 'When he is touched by the touch (of illness),

¹ *Aviggādayo kilesā*. Commentator.

² *Nātumānam vikappayan ti* *the*.

³ *Thito*.

⁴ *Akittayī vivaṭṭakkhu sakkhi*
Dhammam parissayavinayam,
Paṭipadam vadehi, bhaddan te,
Pātimokkham athavāpi samādhim.

let the Bhikkhu not lament, and let him not wish for existence anywhere, and let him not tremble at dangers. (923)

10. 'Having obtained boiled rice and drink, solid food and clothes, let him not store up (these things), and let him not be anxious, if he does not get them. (924)

11. 'Let him be meditative, not prying, let him abstain from misbehaviour¹, let him not be indolent, let the Bhikkhu live in his quiet dwelling. (925)

12. 'Let him not sleep too much, let him apply himself ardently to watching, let him abandon sloth, deceit, laughter, sport, sexual intercourse, and adornment. (926)

13. 'Let him not apply himself to practising (the hymns of) the *Āthabbana* (-veda), to (the interpretation of) sleep and signs, nor to astrology; let not (my) follower (*māmaka*) devote himself to (interpreting) the cry of birds, to causing impregnation, nor to (the art of) medicine. (927)

14. 'Let the Bhikkhu not tremble at blame, nor puff himself up when praised; let him drive off covetousness together with avarice, anger, and slander. (928)

15. 'Let the Bhikkhu not be engaged in purchase and sale, let him not blame others in anything, let him not scold in the village, let him not from love of gain speak to people. (929)

16. 'Let not the Bhikkhu be a boaster, and let him not speak coherent² language; let him not learn pride, let him not speak quarrelsome language. (930)

¹ Virame kukkuḍḍam.

² Payuta; comp. *Nālakasutta*, v. 33.

17. 'Let him not be led into falsehood, let him not consciously do wicked things; and with respect to livelihood, understanding, virtue, and (holy) works let him not despise others. (931)

18. 'Having heard much talk from much-talking Samanas let him not irritated answer them with harsh language; for the good do not thwart¹ others. (932)

19. 'Having understood this Dhamma, let the investigating and always thoughtful Bhikkhu learn; having conceived bliss to consist in peace, let him not be indolent in Gotama's commandments. (933)

20. 'For he a conqueror unconquered saw the Dhamma visibly, without any traditional instruction²; therefore let him learn, heedful in his, Bhagavat's, commandments, and always worshipping.' (934)

Tuvaṭakasutta is ended.

15. ATTADANDASUTTA.

Description of an accomplished Muni.

1. From him who has seized a stick fear arises. Look at people killing (each other); I will tell of grief as it is known to me. (935)

2. Seeing people struggling like fish in (a pond with) little water, seeing them obstructed by each other, a fear came over me. (936)

3. The world is completely unsubstantial, all quarters are shaken; wishing for a house for myself I did not see (one) uninhabited. (937)

4. But having seen (all beings) in the end obstructed, discontent arose in me; then I saw in

¹ Paṭisenikaronti.

² Sakkhi dhammam anātiham adassī.

this world an arrow, difficult to see, stuck in the heart. (938)

5. He who has been pierced by this arrow runs through all quarters ; but having drawn out that arrow, he will not run, he will sit down (quietly). (939)

6. There (many) studies are gone through ; what is tied in the world let him not apply himself to (untie) it ; having wholly transfixed desire, let him learn his own extinction (*nibbâna*). (940)

7. Let the Muni be truthful, without arrogance, undeceitful, free from slander, not angry, let him overcome avarice. (941)

8. Let the man who has turned his mind to *Nibbâna* conquer sleepiness, drowsiness, and sloth ; let him not live together with indolence, let him not indulge in conceit. (942)

9. Let him not be led into falsehood, let him not turn his affection to form ; let him penetrate arrogance, let him wander abstaining from violence. (943)

10. Let him not delight in what is old, let him not bear with what is new, let him not grieve for what is lost, let him not give himself up to desire¹. (944)

11. (This desire) I call greed, the great stream, I call (it) precipitation, craving, a trouble, a bog of lust difficult to cross². (945)

12. The Muni who without deviating from truth

¹ *Âkâsam* na sito siyâ ti *tanham* nissito na bhaveyya.
Commentator.

² *Gedham* brâmi mahogho ti
Âgavam brâmi *gappanam*
Ârammanam pakappanam
Kâmapamko *durakkayo*.

stands fast on the firm ground (of Nibbâna, being) a Brâhmaṇa, he, having forsaken everything, is indeed called calm. (946)

13. He indeed is wise, he is accomplished, having understood the Dhamma independent (of everything); wandering rightly in the world he does not envy any one here. (947)

14. Whosoever has here overcome lust, a tie difficult to do away with in the world, he does not grieve, he does not covet¹, having cut off the stream, and being without bonds. (948)

15. What is before (thee), lay that aside; let there be nothing behind thee; if thou wilt not grasp after what is in the middle, thou wilt wander calm². (949)

16. The man who has no desire at all for name and form (individuality) and who does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed does not decay in the world³. (950)

17. He who does not think, 'this is mine' and 'for others there is also something,' he, not having egoism, does not grieve at having nothing⁴. (951)

18. Not being harsh, not greedy, being without desire, and being the same under all circumstances (samo⁵),—that I call a good result, when asked about an undaunted man. (952)

19. For him who is free from desire, for the

¹ Nāggheti = nābhigghati (read nābhigghāyati). Commentator.

² Comp. *infra*, Gatukammin's question, v. 4, and Dhammapada, p. 308.

³ Comp. *infra*, Gatukammin's question, v. 5.

⁴ Yassa n'atthi 'idam me' ti

'Paresam vāpi kiññanam'

Mamattam so asamvindam

'N'atthi me' ti na soḷati.

⁵ =upekhako. Commentator.

discerning (man) there is no *Samkhâra* ; abstaining from every sort of effort he sees happiness everywhere¹. (953)

20. The Muni does not reckon himself amongst the plain, nor amongst the low, nor amongst the distinguished ; being calm and free from avarice, he does not grasp after nor reject anything². (954)

Attadandasutta is ended.

16. SÂRIPUTTASUTTA.

On Sâriputta asking what a Bhikkhu is to devote himself to, Buddha shows what life he is to lead.

1. 'Neither has before been seen by me,'—so said the venerable Sâriputta,—'nor has any one heard of such a beautifully-speaking master, a teacher arrived from the Tusita heaven. (955)

2. 'As he, the clearly-seeing, appears to the world of men and gods, after having dispelled all darkness, so he wanders alone in the midst (of people). (956)

3. 'To this Buddha, who is independent, unchanged, a guileless teacher, who has arrived (in the world), I have come supplicatingly with a question³ from many who are bound in this world. (957)

4. 'To a Bhikkhu who is loath (of the world) and affects an isolated seat, the root of a tree or a cemetery, or (who lives) in the caves of the mountains, (958)

¹ *Anegassa vigâñato*
N' atthi kâñi nisaṃkhiti,
Virato so viyârambhâ
Khemam passati sabbadhi.

² Comp. *supra*, *Purâbhedasutta*, vv. 15, 20.

³ Atthi pañhena âgamim = atthiko pañhena âgato 'mhîti atthi-kânam vâ pañhena atthi âgamanañ kâ ti. Commentator.

5. 'How many dangers (are there not) in these various dwelling-places at which the Bhikkhu does not tremble in his quiet dwelling! (959)

6. 'How many dangers (are there not) in the world for him who goes to the immortal region¹, (dangers) which the Bhikkhu overcomes in his distant dwelling! (960)

7. 'Which are his words, which are his objects in this world, which are the virtue and (holy) works of the energetic Bhikkhu? (961)

8. 'What study having devoted himself to, intent on one object², wise and thoughtful, can he blow off his own filth as the smith (blows off) that of the silver³? (962)

9. 'What is pleasant for him who is disgusted (with birth, &c.),—O Sâriputta,' so said Bhagavat, —'if he cultivates a lonely dwelling-place, and loves perfect enlightenment in accordance with the Dhamma, that I will tell thee as I understand it. (963)

10. 'Let not the wise and thoughtful Bhikkhu wandering on the borders⁴ be afraid of the five dangers: gad-flies and (all other) flies⁵, snakes, contact with (evil) men⁶, and quadrupeds. (964)

11. 'Let him not be afraid of adversaries⁷, even having seen many dangers from them; further he

¹ *Gakkhato amatam disam.*

² *Ekodi=ekaggaṭṭito.* Commentator.

³ *Comp. Dhp. v. 239.*

⁴ *Pariyantakârî.*

⁵ *Damsâdhipâtânan ti piṅgalamakkhikânañ ka sesamakkhikânañ ka, sesamakkhikâ hi tato adhipatitvâ khâdanti, tasmâ adhipâtâ ti vukânti.* Commentator.

⁶ *Manussaphassânan ti korâdiphassânam.* Commentator.

⁷ *Paradhammikânam.*

will overcome other dangers while seeking what is good. (965)

12. 'Touched by sickness and hunger let him endure cold and excessive heat, let him, touched by them in many ways, and being houseless, make strong exertions. (966)

13. 'Let him not commit theft, let him not speak falsely, let him touch friendly what is feeble or strong, what he acknowledges to be the agitation of the mind, let him drive that off as a partisan of *Kaṇha* (i. e. *Māra*). (967)

14. 'Let him not fall into the power of anger and arrogance; having dug up the root of these, let him live, and let him overcome both what is pleasant and what is unpleasant. (968)

15. 'Guided by wisdom, taking delight in what is good, let him scatter those dangers, let him overcome discontent in his distant dwelling, let him overcome the four causes of lamentation. (969)

16. 'What shall I eat, or where shall I eat?—he lay indeed uncomfortably (last night)—where shall I lie this night? let the *Sekha* who wanders about houseless subdue these lamentable doubts. (970)

17. 'Having had in (due) time both food and clothes, let him know moderation in this world for the sake of happiness; guarded in these (things) and wandering restrained in the village let him, even (if he be) irritated, not speak harsh words. (971)

18. 'Let him be with down-cast eyes, and not prying, devoted to meditation, very watchful; having acquired equanimity let him with a composed mind cut off the seat of doubt, and misbehaviour. (972)

19. 'Urged on by words (of his teachers) let him be thoughtful and rejoice (at this urging), let

him break stubbornness in his fellow-students, let him utter propitious words and not unseasonable, let him not think detractingly of others. (973)

20. 'And then the five impurities in the world, the subjection of which he must learn thoughtfully, —let him overcome passion for form, sound and taste, smell and touch. (974)

21. 'Let the Bhikkhu subdue his wish for these Dhammas and be thoughtful, and with his mind well-liberated, then in time he will, reflecting upon Dhamma, and having become intent upon one object, destroy darkness.' So said Bhagavat. (975)

Sâriputtasutta is ended.

Atthakavagga, the fourth.

V. PÂRÂYANAVAGGA.

To the Brâhmana Bâvarî, living on the banks of the Godhâvarî, in Assaka's territory, comes another Brâhmana and asks for five hundred pieces of money, but not getting them he curses Bâvarî, saying, 'May thy head on the seventh day hence cleave into seven.' A deity comforts Bâvarî by referring him to Buddha. Then Bâvarî sends his sixteen disciples to Buddha, and each of them asks Buddha a question.

1. VATTHUGÂTHÂ.

1. From the beautiful city of the Kosalas (Sâvatthî) a Brâhmana, well versed in the hymns, went to the South (Dakkhinâpatha) wishing for nothingness¹. (976)

2. In Assaka's territory, in the neighbourhood of Aḷaka, he dwelt on the banks of the Godhâvarî, (living) on gleanings and fruit. (977)

3. And close by the bank there was a large village, with the income of which he prepared a great sacrifice. (978)

4. Having offered the great sacrifice, he again entered the hermitage. Upon his re-entering, another Brâhmana arrived, (979)

5. With swollen feet², trembling, covered with mud, with dust on his head. And he going up

¹ Âkiñkañña.

² Ugghaṭṭapâdo ti maggakkamanena ghaṭṭapâdatalo panhikâya vâ panhikam gopphakena vâ gopphakam gannukena gannukam âgantvâpi ghaṭṭapâdo. Commentator.

to him (i. e. the first Brâhmana) demanded five hundred (pieces of money). (980)

6. Bâvarî, seeing him, bade him be seated, asked him whether he was happy and well, and spoke as follows : (981)

7. 'What gifts I had are all given away by me ; pardon me, O Brâhmana, I have no five hundred.' (982)

8. 'If thou wilt not give to me who asks, may thy head on the seventh day cleave into seven.' (983)

9. So after the usual ceremonies this impostor made known his fearful (curse). On hearing these his words Bâvarî became sorrowful. (984)

10. He wasted away taking no food, transfixed by the arrow of grief, but yet his mind delighted in meditation. (985)

11. Seeing Bâvarî struck with horror and sorrowful, the benevolent deity (of that place) approached him and said as follows : (986)

12. 'He does not know (anything about) the head; he is a hypocrite coveting riches ; knowledge of the head and head-splitting is not found in him¹.' (987)

13. 'If the venerable (deity) knows it, then tell me, when asked, all about the head and head-splitting ; let us hear thy words.' (988)

14. 'I do not know this ; knowledge of it is not found in me ; as to the head and head-splitting, this is to be seen by Buddhas (only).' (989)

15. 'Who then, say, in the circumference of the

¹ Na so muddham pagânâti,
Kuhako so dhanatthiko,
Muddhani muddhapâte ka
Ñânam tassa na viggati.

earth knows the head and head-splitting, tell me that, O deity?' (990)

16. 'Formerly went out from Kapilavatthu a ruler of the world, an offspring of the Okkāka king, the Sakya son, the light-giving; (991)

17. 'He is, O Brâhmaṇa, the perfectly Enlightened (Sambuddha); perfect in all things, he has attained the power of all knowledge, sees clearly in everything; he has arrived at the destruction of all things, and is liberated in the destruction of the upadhis¹. (992)

18. 'He is Buddha, he is Bhagavat in the world, he, the clearly-seeing, teaches the Dhamma; go thou to him and ask, he will explain it to thee.' (993)

19. Having heard the word 'Sambuddha,' Bâvari rejoiced, his grief became little, and he was filled with great delight. (994)

20. Bâvari glad, rejoicing, and eager asked the deity: 'In what village or in what town or in what province dwells the chief of the world, that going there we may adore the perfectly Enlightened, the first of men?' (995)

21. 'In Sâvatthī, the town of the Kosalas, dwells Gina (the Victorious), of great understanding and excellent wide knowledge, he the Sakya son, un-yoked, free from passion, skilled in head-splitting, the bull of men.' (996)

22. Then (Bâvari) addressed his disciples, Brâhmaṇas, perfect in the hymns: 'Come, youths, I will tell (you something), listen to my words: (997)

23. 'He whose appearance in the world is difficult to be met with often, he is at the present time²

¹ Sabbadhammakkhayaṃ patto (i. e. nibbāna)
Vimutto upadhisamkhaṇḍe.

² Sv-âgga.

born in the world and widely renowned as Sambuddha (the perfectly Enlightened); go quickly to Sâvatthî and behold the best of men.' (998)

24. 'How then can we know, on seeing him, that he is Buddha, O Brâhmana? Tell us who do not know him, by what may we recognise him?' (999)

25. 'For in the hymns are to be found the marks of a great man, and thirty-two are disclosed altogether, one by one.' (1000)

26. 'For him on whose limbs these marks of a great man are to be found, there are two ways left, a third does not exist.' (1001)

27. 'If he abides in a dwelling, he will subdue this earth without rod (or) sword, he will rule with justice.' (1002)

28. 'And if he departs from his dwelling for the wilderness, he becomes the saint, incomparable Sambuddha, who has removed the veil (from the world)¹.' (1003)

29. 'Ask in your mind about my birth and family, my marks, hymns, and my other disciples, the head and head-splitting.' (1004)

30. 'If he is Buddha, the clear-sighted, then he will answer by word of mouth the questions you have asked in your mind.' (1005)

31, 32, 33. Having heard Bâvari's words his disciples, sixteen Brâhmanas, Agita, Tissametteyya, Punnaka, further Mettagû, Dhotaka and Upasîva, and Nanda, further Hemaka, the two Todeyya and Kappa, and the wise Gatukanntî, Bhadrâvudha and Udaya, and also the Brâhmana Posâla, and the wise Mogharâgan, and the great Isi Piṅgiya, (1006-1008)

34. All of them, having each their host (of pupils),

¹ Comp. Lalita-vistara (ed. Calc.), pp. 116, 118.

and being themselves widely renowned throughout the world, thinkers delighting in meditation, wise, scented with the perfume of former (good deeds)¹, (1009)

35. Having saluted Bâvarî and gone round him towards the right, all with matted hair and bearing hides, departed with their faces turned to the north. (1010)

36. To Patitthâna of Aḷaka first, then to Mâhisatti, and also to Uggenti, Gonaddha, Vedisâ, Vana-savhaya, (1011)

37. And also to Kosambî, Sâketa, and Sâvatthî, the most excellent of cities, to Setavya, Kapilavattu, and the city of Kusinâra, (1012)

38. And to Pâva, the city of wealth, to Vesâlî, the city of Magadha, to Pâsânaka Ketiya (the Rock Temple), the lovely, the charming. (1013)

39. As he who is athirst (longs for) the cold water, as the merchant (longs for) gain, as he who is plagued by heat (longs for) shade, so in haste they ascended the mountain. (1014)

40. And Bhagavat at that time attended by the assembly of the Bhikkhus taught the Dhamma to the Bhikkhus, and roared like a lion in the forest. (1015)

41. Agita beheld Sambuddha as the shining (sun) without (burning) rays, as the moon on the fifteenth, having reached her plenitude. (1016)

42. Then observing his limbs and all the marks in their fulness, standing apart, rejoiced, he asked the questions of his mind:— (1017)

43. 'Tell me about (my master's) birth, tell me about his family together with the marks, tell me about his perfection in the hymns, how many (hymns) does the Brâhmaṇa recite?' (1018)

¹ Pubbavâsanavâsita.

44. Bhagavat said: 'One hundred and twenty years (is his) age, and by family he is a Bâvarî; three are his marks on the limbs, and in the three Vedas he is perfect. (1019)

45. 'In the marks and in the Itihâsa together with Nighandu and Ketubha—he recites five hundred—and in his own Dhamma he has reached perfection.' (1020)

46. Agita thought: 'Explain fully the marks of Bâvarî, O thou best of men, who cuts off desire; let there be no doubt left for us.' (1021)

47. Bhagavat said: 'He covers his face with his tongue, he has a circle of hair between the eyebrows, (his) privy member (is) hidden in a sheath, know this, O young man¹.' (1022)

48. Not hearing him ask anything, but hearing the questions answered, the multitude reflected overjoyed and with joined hands:— (1023)

49. 'Who, be he a god, or Brahman, or Inda, the husband of Sugâ, asked in his mind those questions, and to whom did that (speech) reply?' (1024)

50. Agita said: 'The head and head-splitting Bâvarî asked about; explain that, O Bhagavat, remove our doubt, O Isi.' (1025)

51. Bhagavat said: 'Ignorance is the head, know this; knowledge cleaves the head, together with belief, thoughtfulness, meditation, determination, and strength.' (1026)

52. Then with great joy having composed himself the young man put his hide on one shoulder,

¹ Mukham givhâya khâdeti,
Unn' assa bhamukantare,
Kosohitam vatthaguyham,
Evam gânâhi mânava.

fell at (Bhagavat's) feet (and saluted him) with his head, (saying): (1027)

53. 'Bāvarī, the Brāhmaṇa, together with his disciples, O thou venerable man, delighted and glad, does homage to thy feet, O thou clearly-seeing.' (1028)

54. Bhagavat said: 'Let Bāvarī, the Brāhmaṇa, be glad together with his disciples! Be thou also glad, live long, O young man! (1029)

55. 'For Bāvarī and for thee, for all there are all (kinds of) doubt; having got an opportunity, ask ye whatever you wish.' (1030)

56. After getting permission from Sambuddha, Agita sitting there with folded hands asked Tathāgata the first question. (1031)

The Vatthugāthās are ended.

2. AGITAMĀNAVAPUKKHĀ.

1. 'By what is the world shrouded,'—so said the venerable Agita,—'by what does it not shine? What callest thou its pollution, what is its great danger?' (1032)

2. 'With ignorance is the world shrouded, O Agita,'—so said Bhagavat,—'by reason of avarice it does not shine; desire I call its pollution, pain is its great danger.' (1033)

3. 'The streams of desire flow in every direction,'—so said the venerable Agita;—'what dams the streams, say what restrains the streams, by what may the streams be shut off¹?' (1034)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 340.

4. 'Whatever streams there are in the world,—O Agita,' so said Bhagavat,—'thoughtfulness is their dam, thoughtfulness I call the restraint of the streams, by understanding they are shut off.' (1035)

5. 'Both understanding and thoughtfulness,'—so said the venerable Agita,—'and name and shape¹, O venerable man,—asked about this by me, declare by what is this stopped?' (1036)

6. Buddha: 'This question which thou hast asked, O Agita, that I will explain to thee; (I will explain to thee) by what name and shape² are totally stopped; by the cessation of consciousness this is stopped here.' (1037)

7. Agita: 'Those who have examined (all) Dhammas (i.e. the saints), and those who are disciples, (and those who are) common men here,—when thou art asked about their mode of life, declare it unto me, thou who art wise, O venerable man.' (1038)

8. Buddha: 'Let the Bhikkhu not crave for sensual pleasures, let him be calm in mind, let him wander about skilful in all Dhammas, and thoughtful.' (1039)

Agitamânavapukkhâ is ended.

3. TISSAMETTEYYAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Who is contented in the world,'—so said the venerable Tissametteyya,—'who is without commotions? Who after knowing both ends does not stick in the middle, as far as his understanding is

¹ Nâmarûpañ ka.

² Nâmañ ka rūpañ ka.

concerned? Whom dost thou call a great man? Who has overcome desire in this world?' (1040)

2. 'The Bhikkhu who abstains from sensual pleasures,—O Metteyya,' so said Bhagavat,—'who is free from desire, always thoughtful, happy by reflection, he is without commotions, he after knowing both ends does not stick in the middle, as far as his understanding is concerned; him I call a great man; he has overcome desire in this world.' (1041)

Tissametteyyamânavapukkhâ is ended.

4. PUNNAKAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'To him who is without desire, who has seen the root (of sin),'—so said the venerable Punna, —'I have come supplicatingly with a question: on account of what did the Isis and men, Khattiyas and Brâhmanas, offer sacrifices to the gods abundantly in this world? (about this) I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1042)

2. 'All these Isis and men, Khattiyas and Brâhmanas,—O Punna,' so said Bhagavat,—'who offered sacrifices to the gods abundantly in this world, offered sacrifices, O Punna, after reaching old age, wishing for their present condition.' (1043)

3. 'All these Isis and men, Khattiyas and Brâhmanas,'—so said the venerable Punna,—'who offered sacrifices to the gods abundantly in this world, did they, O Bhagavat, indefatigable in the way of offering, cross over both birth and old age, O venerable man? I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1044)

4. 'They wished for, praised, desired, abandoned (sensual pleasures),—O *Punnaka*,' so said Bhagavat,—'they desired sensual pleasures on account of what they reached by them; they, devoted to offering, dyed with the passions of existence, did not cross over birth and old age, so I say.' (1045)

5. 'If they, devoted to offering,'—so said the venerable *Punnaka*,—'did not by offering cross over birth and old age, O venerable man, who then in the world of gods and men crossed over birth and old age, O venerable man, I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this?' (1046)

6. 'Having considered everything¹ in the world,—O *Punnaka*,' so said Bhagavat,—'he who is not defeated anywhere in the world, who is calm without the smoke of passions, free from woe, free from desire, he crossed over birth and old age, so I say.' (1047)

Punnakamānavapukkhā is ended.

5. METTAGŪMĀNAVAPUKKHĀ.

1. 'I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this,'—so said the venerable Mettagū,—'I consider thee accomplished and of a cultivated mind, why are these (creatures), whatsoever they are of many kinds in the world, always subject to pain?' (1048)

2. 'Thou mayest well ask me concerning the origin of pain,—O Mettagū,' so said Bhagavat,—

¹ Parovarānti parāni ka orāni ka parattabhāvasakattabhāvādīni parāni ka orāni kā ti vuttam hoti. Commentator.

'I will explain that to thee in the way I myself know it: originating in the upadhis pains arise, whatsoever they are, of many kinds in the world. (1049)

3. 'He who being ignorant creates upadhi, that fool again undergoes pain; therefore let not the wise man create upadhi, considering (that this is) the birth and origin of pain.' (1050)

4. Mettagû: 'What we have asked thee thou hast explained to us; another (question) I ask thee, answer that, pray: How do the wise cross the stream, birth and old age, and sorrow and lamentation? Explain that thoroughly to me, O Muni, for this thing (dhamma) is well known to thee.' (1051)

5. 'I will explain the Dhamma to thee,—O Mettagû,' so said Bhagavat;—'if a man in the visible world, without any traditional instruction, has understood it, and wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world¹.' (1052)

6. Mettagû: 'And I take a delight in that, in the most excellent Dhamma, O great Isi, which if a man has understood, and he wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world.' (1053)

7. 'Whatsoever thou knowest,—O Mettagû,' so said Bhagavat,—'(of what is) above, below, across, and in the middle, taking no delight and no rest in these things, let thy mind not dwell on existence. (1054)

8. 'Living so, thoughtful, strenuous, let the Bhikkhu, wandering about, after abandoning selfishness, birth,

¹ Kittayissâmi te dhammam—Mettagû ti Bhagavâ—
*Di*the dhamme anñtiham
 Yam viditvâ sato karam
 Tare loke visattikam.

and old age, and sorrow, and lamentation, being a wise man, leave pain in this world.' (1055)

9. Mettagū: 'I delight in these words of the great Isi; well expounded, O Gotama, is (by thee) freedom from upadhi (i. e. Nibbāna). Bhagavat in truth has left pain, for this Dhamma is well known to thee¹. (1056)

10. 'And those also will certainly leave pain whom thou, O Muni, constantly mayest admonish; therefore I bow down to thee, having come hither, O chief (nāga), may Bhagavat also admonish me constantly.' (1057)

11. Buddha: 'The Brāhmaṇa whom I may acknowledge as accomplished, possessing nothing, not cleaving to the world of lust, he surely has crossed this stream, and he has crossed over to the other shore, free from harshness (akhila), (and) free from doubt. (1058)

12. 'And he is a wise and accomplished man in this world; having abandoned this cleaving to reiterated existence he is without desire, free from woe, free from longing, he has crossed over birth and old age, so I say.' (1059)

Mettagūmānavapukkhā is ended.

¹ Et' ābhinandāmi vaḷo mahesino
Sukittitaṃ Gotama nūpadhīkaṃ,
Addhā hi Bhagavā pahāsi dukkhaṃ,
Tathā hi te vidito esa dhammo.

Sukittitaṃ Gotama nūpadhīkaṃ ti ettha anupadhikaṃ ti nibbānaṃ, taṃ sandhāya vā Bhagavantam ālapanto āha sukittitaṃ, &c. Commentator.

6. DHOTAKAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this,'—so said the venerable Dhotaka,—'I long for thy word, O great Isi; let one, having listened to thy utterance, learn his own extinction.' (1060)

2. 'Exert thyself then,—O Dhotaka,' so said Bhagavat,—'being wise and thoughtful in this world, let one, having listened to my utterance, learn his own extinction.' (1061)

3. Dhotaka: 'I see in the world of gods and men a Brâhmana wandering about, possessing nothing; therefore I bow down to thee, O thou all-seeing one, free me, O Sakka, from doubts.' (1062)

4. Buddha: 'I shall not go to free any one in the world who is doubtful, O Dhotaka; when thou hast learned the best Dhamma, then thou shalt cross this stream¹.' (1063)

5. Dhotaka: 'Teach (me), O Brâhmana, having compassion (on me), the Dhamma of seclusion (i.e. Nibbâna), that I may understand (it and) that I, without falling into many shapes like the air, may wander calm and independent in this world².' (?) (1064)

¹ Nâham gamissâmi pamokanâya
Kathamkathim Dhotaka kaññi loke,
Dhammañ ka settham âgânamânô
Evam tuvam ogham imam taresi.

² Anusâsa brahme karunâyamânô
Vivekadhammam yam aham vigaññam
Yathâham âkâso va avyâpaggamânô *
Idh' eva santo asito kareyyam.

* Nânappakâratam anâpaggamânô. Commentator.

6. 'I will explain to thee peace¹,—O Dhotaka,' so said Bhagavat;—'if a man in the visible world, without any traditional instruction, has understood it, and wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world.' (1065)

7. Dhotaka: 'And I take delight in that, the highest peace², O great Isi, which if a man has understood, and he wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world.' (1066)

8. 'Whatsoever thou knowest,—O Dhotaka,' so said Bhagavat,—'(of what is) above, below, across, and in the middle, knowing this to be a tie in the world, thou must not thirst for reiterated existence.' (1067)

Dhotakamânavapukkhâ is ended.

7. UPASÎVAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Alone, O Sakka, and without assistance I shall not be able to cross the great stream,'—so said the venerable Upasîva;—'tell me an object, O thou all-seeing one, by means of which one may cross this stream.' (1068)

2. 'Having in view nothingness, being thoughtful,—O Upasîva,' so said Bhagavat,—'by the reflection of nothing existing shalt thou cross the stream; having abandoned sensual pleasures, being loath of doubts, thou shalt regard the extinction of desire (i. e. Nibbâna), both day and night³.' (1069)

¹ Santim.

² Santim uttamam.

³ Âkîñkaññam pekkhamâno satîmâ—Upasîvâ ti Bhagavâ—
N' atthîti nissâya tarassu ogham,
Kâme pahâya virato kathâhi
Tanhakkhayam rattamahâbhi passa.

3. Upastva : 'He whose passion for all sensual pleasures has departed, having resorted to nothingness, after leaving everything else, and being delivered in the highest deliverance by knowledge, will he remain there without proceeding further¹?' (1070)

4. 'He whose passion for all sensual pleasures has departed,—O Upastva,' so said Bhagavat,— 'having resorted to nothingness after leaving everything else, and being delivered in the highest deliverance by knowledge, he will remain there without proceeding further.' (1071)

5. Upastva : 'If he remains there without proceeding further for a multitude of years, O thou all-seeing one, (and if) he becomes there tranquil and delivered, will there be consciousness for such a one²?' (1072)

6. 'As a flame blown about by the violence of the wind,—O Upastva,' so said Bhagavat,— 'goes out, cannot be reckoned (as existing), even so a Muni, delivered from name and body, disappears, and cannot be reckoned (as existing)³.' (1073)

7. Upastva : 'Has he (only) disappeared, or does he not exist (any longer), or is he for ever free

¹ Sabbesu kâmesu yo vîtarâgo
 Âkiññakâññam nissito hitva-m-aññam
 Saññâvimokhe parame vimutto
 Titthe nu so tattha anânuyâyî.

² Titthe ke so tattha anânuyâyî
 Pûgam pi vassânam samantaakkhu
 Tatth' eva so sîti siyâ vimutto
 Bhavetha viññânam tathâvidhassa ?

³ Akkî yathâ vâtavegena khitto
 Attham paleti na upeti samkham
 Evam munî nâmakâyâ vimutto
 Attham paleti na upeti samkham.

from sickness? Explain that thoroughly to me, O Muni, for this Dhamma is well known to thee¹. (1074)

8. 'For him who has disappeared there is no form, O Upasîva,'—so said Bhagavat,—'that by which they say he is, exists for him no longer, when all things (dhamma) have been cut off, all (kinds of) dispute are also cut off².' (1075)

Upasîvamânavapukkâ is ended.

8. NANDAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'There are Munis in the world,'—so said the venerable Nanda,—'so people say. How is this (understood) by thee? Do they call him a Muni who is possessed of knowledge or him who is possessed of life³?' (1076)

2. Buddha: 'Not because of (any philosophical) view, nor of tradition, nor of knowledge, O Nanda, do the expert call (any one) a Muni; (but) such as wander free from woe, free from desire, after having secluded themselves, those I call Munis⁴.' (1077)

¹ Atthaṅgato so uda va so n' atthi
Udâhu ve sassatiyâ arogo,
Tam me munî sâdhu viyâkarohi,
Tathâ hi te vidito esa dhammo.

² Atthaṅgatassa na pamânam atthi,
Yena nam vaggu tam tassa n' atthi,
Sabbesu dhammesu samûhatesu
Samûhatâ vâdapathâpi sabbe.

³ Ñârupapannam no munim vadanti
Udâhu ve gîviten' ûpapannam?

⁴ Na ditthiyâ na sutiyâ na ñânenâ
Muniñ ka Nanda kusalâ vadanti,

3. 'All these Samanas and Brâhmanas,'—so said the venerable Nanda,—'say that purity comes from (philosophical) views, and from tradition, and from virtue and (holy) works, and in many (other) ways. Did they, in the way in which they lived in the world, cross over birth and old age, O venerable man? I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1078)

4. 'All these Samanas and Brâhmanas, O Nanda,'—so said Bhagavat,—'say that purity comes from (philosophical) views, and from tradition, and from virtue and (holy) works, and in many (other) ways; still they did not, in the way in which they lived in the world, cross over birth and old age, so I say.' (1079)

5. 'All these Samanas and Brâhmanas,'—so said the venerable Nanda,—'say that purity comes from (philosophical) views, and from tradition, and from virtue and (holy) works, and in many (other) ways; if thou, O Muni, sayest that such have not crossed the stream, who then in the world of gods and men crossed over birth and old age, O venerable man? I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1080)

6. 'I do not say that all Samanas and Brâhmanas,—O Nanda,' so said Bhagavat,—'are shrouded by birth and old age; those who, after leaving in this world what has been seen or heard or thought, and all virtue and (holy) works, after leaving everything of various kinds, after penetrating desire, are free from passion, such indeed I call men that have crossed the stream¹.' (1081)

Visenikatvâ anighâ nirâsâ

Karanti ye te munayo ti brûmi.

¹ Nâham 'sabbe samanabrâhmanâse
Gâtigarâya nivutâ' ti brûmi,

7. Nanda : ' I delight in these words of the great Isi ; well expounded (by thee), O Gotama, is freedom from upadhi (i. e. Nibbâna) ; those who, after leaving in this world what has been seen or heard or thought, and all virtue and (holy) works, after leaving everything of various kinds, after penetrating desire, are free from passion, such I call men that have crossed the stream.' (1082)

Nandamânavapukkhâ is ended.

9. HEMAKAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. ' Those who before in another world,'—so said the venerable Hemaka,—' explained to me the doctrine of Gotama, saying, " So it was, so it will be," all that (was only) oral tradition, all that (was only) something that increased (my) doubts¹. (1083)

2. ' I took no pleasure in that, but tell thou me the Dhamma that destroys desire, O Muni, which if a man has understood, and he wanders about thoughtful, he may cross desire in the world.' (1084)

3. Buddha : ' In this world (much) has been seen,

Ye s' îdha *dittham* va *sutam* *mutam* vâ
Sîlabbatam vâpi *pahâya* *sabbam*
Anekarûpam pi *pahâya* *sabbam*
Tanham *pariññâya* *anâsavâse*
 Te ve *narâ* *oghatinnâ* ti *brûmi*.

¹ Ye me *pubbe* *viyâkamsu*
Huram *Gotamasâsanam*
Ikkâsi *iti* *bhavissati*
Sabban tam *itihîtiham*
Sabban tam *takkavaddhanam*.

heard, and thought; the destruction of passion and of wish for the dear objects that have been perceived, O Hemaka, is the imperishable state of Nibbâna. (1085)

4. 'Those who, having understood this, are thoughtful, calm, because they have seen the Dhamma, tranquil and divine, such have crossed desire in this world¹.' (1086)

Hemakamânavapukkhâ is ended.

10. TODEYYAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'He in whom there live no lusts,'—so said the venerable Todeyya,—'to whom there is no desire, and who has overcome doubt, what sort of deliverance is there for him?' (1087)

2. 'He in whom there live no lusts,—O Todeyya,' so said Bhagavat,—'to whom there is no desire, and who has overcome doubt, for him there is no other deliverance.' (1088)

3. Todeyya: 'Is he without breathing or is he breathing, is he possessed of understanding or is he forming himself an understanding²? Explain this to me, O thou all-seeing one, that I may know a Muni, O Sakka.' (1089)

¹ Etad aññâya ye satâ
Ditthadhammâbhinibbutâ
Upasantâ ka tadasâ (?) *
Tinnâ loke visattikam.

² Nirâsaso so uda âsasâno
Paññânâvâ so uda paññakappî.

* B reads ye satâ instead of tadasâ.

4. Buddha : ' He is without breathing, he is not breathing, he is possessed of understanding, and he is not forming himself an understanding ; know, O Todeyya, that such is the Muni, not possessing anything, not cleaving to lust and existence.' (1090)

Todeyyamânavapukkhâ is ended.

11. KAPPAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. ' For those who stand in the middle of the water,'—so said the venerable Kappa,—' in the formidable stream that has set in, for those who are overcome by decay and death, tell me of an island, O venerable man, and tell thou me of an island that this (pain) may not again come on ¹.' (1091)

2. ' For those who stand in the middle of the water,—O Kappa,' so said Bhagavat,—' in the formidable stream that has set in, for those overcome by decay and death, I will tell thee of an island, O Kappa. (1092)

3. ' This matchless island, possessing nothing (and) grasping after nothing, I call Nibbâna, the destruction of decay and death ². (1093)

¹ Tvañ ka me dîpam* akkhâhi
Yathâ yidam nâparam siyâ.

² Akiñkanam anâdânam
Etam dîpam anâparam
Nibbânam iti nam brûmi
Garâmakâkûparikkhayam.

Akiñkanan ti kiñkanapaṭipakkham, anâdânan ti âdânapaṭipakkham, kiñkanâdânâvâpasaman ti vuttam hoti. Commentator.

* B reads disam.

4. 'Those who, having understood this, are thoughtful (and) calm, because they have seen the Dhamma, do not fall into the power of Mâra, and are not the companions of Mâra.' (1094)

Kappamânavapukkhâ is ended.

12. GATUKANNIMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Having heard of a hero free from lust,'—so said the venerable *Gatukannin*,—'who has crossed the stream, I have come to ask him who is free from lust; tell me the seat of peace, O thou with the born eye (of wisdom), tell me this truly, O Bhagavat.' (1095)

2. 'For Bhagavat wanders about after having conquered lust as the hot sun (conquers) the earth by its heat; tell the Dhamma to me who has (only) little understanding, O thou of great understanding, that I may ascertain how to leave in this world birth and decay.' (1096)

3. 'Subdue thy greediness for sensual pleasures,—O *Gatukannin*,' so said Bhagavat,—'having considered the forsaking of the world as happiness, let there not be anything either grasped after or rejected by thee¹.' (1097)

4. 'What is before thee, lay that aside; let there be nothing behind thee; if thou wilt not grasp after what is in the middle, thou wilt wander calm².' (1098)

¹ Kâmesu vinaya gedham,
Nekkhammam datt^hu khemato
Uggahîtam nirattam vâ
Mâ te viggittha kiñkanam.

² Comp. supra, Attadandasutta, v. 15.

5. 'For him whose greediness for name and form is wholly gone, O Brâhmaṇa, for him there are no passions by which he might fall into the power of death.' (1099)

Gatukannimânavapukkhâ is ended.

13. BHADRÂVUDHAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'I entreat the wise (Buddha), the houseless, who cuts off desire,'—so (said) the venerable Bhadrâvudha,—'who is free from commotion, forsakes joy, has crossed the stream, is liberated, and who leaves time behind; having heard the chief's (word), they will go away from here'¹. (1100)

2. 'Different people have come together from the provinces, longing (to hear) thy speech, O hero; do thou expound it thoroughly to them, for this Dhamma is well known to thee.' (1101)

3. 'Let one wholly subdue the desire of grasping (after everything),—O Bhadrâvudha,' so said Bhagavat,—'above, below, across, and in the middle; for whatever they grasp after in the world, just by that Mâra follows the man.' (1102)

4. 'Therefore, knowing this, let not the thoughtful Bhikkhu grasp after anything in all the world, considering as creatures of desire this generation, sticking fast in the realm of death.' (1103)

Bhadrâvudhamânavapukkhâ is ended.

¹ *Okamgaham tanhakkhidam anegam*
Nandimgaham oghatinnam vimuttam
Kappamgaham abhiyâṭe sumedham,
Sutvâna nâgassa apanamissanti ito.

14. UDAYAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'To Buddha who is sitting meditating, free from pollution,'—so said the venerable Udaya,—
'having performed his duty, who is without passion, accomplished in all things (dhamma), I have come with a question; tell me the deliverance by knowledge, the splitting up of ignorance.' (1104)

2. '(It consists in) leaving lust and desire,—O Udaya,' so said Bhagavat,—'and both (kinds of) grief, and driving away sloth, and warding off misbehaviour.' (1105)

3. 'The deliverance by knowledge which is purified by equanimity and thoughtfulness and preceded by reasoning on Dhamma I will tell thee, the splitting up of ignorance¹.' (1106)

4. Udaya: 'What is the bond of the world, what is its practice? By the leaving of what is Nibbâna said to be²?' (1107)

5. Buddha: 'The world is bound by pleasure, reasoning is its practice; by the leaving of desire Nibbâna is said to be.' (1108)

6. Udaya: 'How does consciousness cease in him that wanders thoughtful? Having come to ask thee, let us hear thy words.' (1109)

¹ Upekkhâsatisamsuddham
Dhammatakkapuregavam
Aññâvimokham pabrûmi
Aviggâya pabhedanam.

² Kim su samyogano loko,
Kim su tassa vikâranâ
Kiss' assa vippahânena
Nibbânam iti vukkati?

7. Buddha: 'For him who both inwardly and outwardly does not delight in sensation, for him who thus wanders thoughtful, consciousness ceases.' (1110)

Udayamânavapukkhâ is ended.

15. POSÂLAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'He who shows the past (births, &c.),'—so said the venerable Posâla,—'who is without desire and has cut off doubt, to him who is accomplished in all things (dhamma), I have come supplicatingly with a question. (1111)

2. 'O Sakka, I ask about his knowledge who is aware of past shapes, who casts off every corporeal form, and who sees that there exists nothing either internally or externally; how can such a one be led (by anybody) ¹?' (1112)

3. 'Tathâgata, knowing all the faces of consciousness,—O Posâla,' so said Bhagavat,—'knows (also) him who stands delivered, devoted to that (object) ². (1113)

4. 'Having understood that the bonds of pleasure do not originate in nothingness (?), he sees clearly in

¹ Vibhûtarûpasaññissa
Sabbakâypahâyino
Agghattañ ka bahiddhâ ka
Natthi kiñkîti passato
Ñânam Sakkânupukkhâmi,
Katham neyyo tathâvidho.

² Viññânatthitîyo sabbâ—Posâlâ ti Bhagavâ—
Abhigânam Tathâgato
Tittantam enam gânatî
Vimuttam tapparâyanam.

this (matter), this (is) the knowledge of a perfect, accomplished Brâhmana ¹. (1114)

Posâlamânavapukkhâ is ended.

16. MOGHARÂGAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Twice have I asked Sakka,'—so said the venerable Mogharâgan,—'but the clearly-seeing has not explained it to me; if the divine Isi is asked for the third time, he will explain it, so I have heard. (1115)

2. 'There is this world, the other world, Brahman's world together with the world of the gods; I do not know thy view, the famous Gotama's (view). (1116)

3. 'To this man who sees what is good I have come supplicatingly with a question: How is any one to look upon the world that the king of death may not see him?' (1117)

4. 'Look upon the world as void, O Mogharâgan, being always thoughtful; having destroyed the view of oneself (as really existing), so one may overcome death; the king of death will not see him who thus regards the world ². (1118)

Mogharâgamânavapukkhâ is ended.

¹ Âkiñkaññâsambhavam
Nandîsamyoganam iti
Evam evam abhiññâya
Tato tattha vipassati,
Etam ñânam tathamtassa
Brâhmanassa vusîmato.

² Comp. Dhp. v. 170.

17. PĪṄGIYAMĀNAVAPUKKHĀ.

1. 'I am old, feeble, colourless,'—so said the venerable Piṅgiya,—'my eyes are not clear, my hearing is not good; lest I should perish a fool on the way, tell me the Dhamma, that I may know how to leave birth and decay in this world.' (1119)

2. 'Seeing others afflicted by the body,—O Piṅgiya,' so said Bhagavat,—'(seeing) heedless people suffer in their bodies;—therefore, O Piṅgiya, shalt thou be heedful, and leave the body behind, that thou mayest never come to exist again.' (1120)

3. Piṅgiya: 'Four regions, four intermediate regions, above and below, these are the ten regions; there is nothing which has not been seen, heard, or thought by thee, and (is there) anything in the world not understood (by thee)? Tell (me) the Dhamma, that I may know how to leave birth and decay in this world.' (1121)

4. 'Seeing men seized with desire,—O Piṅgiya,' so said Bhagavat,—'tormented and overcome by decay,—therefore thou, O Piṅgiya, shalt be heedful, and leave desire behind, that thou mayest never come to exist again.' (1122)

Piṅgiyamānavapukkhā is ended.

This said Bhagavat, living in Magadha at Pāsāṇaka Ketiya (the Rock Temple). Sought by sixteen Brāhmanas, the followers (of Bāvarī, and) questioned by each of them in turn, he responded to the questions. If a man, having understood the meaning and tenor of each question, lives according to the Dhamma, then he will go to the further shore of decay and death, for these Dhammas lead to the

further shore, and therefore this order of Dhamma was called 'the way to the other shore.'

1, 2. Agita, Tissametteyya, Punṇaka and Mettagû, Dhotaka and Upasîva, Nanda and Hemaka, the two Todeyya and Kappa, and the wise Gatukannin, Bhadrâvudha and Udaya, and also the Brâhmana Posâla, and the wise Mogharâgan, and Piṅgiya the great Isi, (1123, 1124)

3. These went up to Buddha, the Isi of exemplary conduct; asking subtle questions they went up to the supreme Buddha. (1125)

4. Buddha, being asked, responded to their questions truly, and in responding to the questions the Muni delighted the Brâhmanas. (1126)

5. They, having been delighted by the clearly-seeing Buddha, the kinsman of the Âdikkas, devoted themselves to a religious life near the man of excellent understanding. (1127)

6. He who lived according to what had been taught by Buddha (in answer) to each single question, went from this shore to the other shore. (1128)

7. From this shore he went to the other shore entering upon the most excellent way; this way is to lead to the other shore, therefore it is called 'the way to the other shore.' (1129)

8. 'I will proclaim accordingly the way to the further shore,'—so said the venerable Piṅgiya;—'as he saw it, so he told it; the spotless, the very wise, the passionless, the desireless lord, for what reason should he speak falsely? (1130)

9. 'Well! I will praise the beautiful voice of (Buddha), who is without stain and folly, and who has left behind arrogance and hypocrisy. (1131)

10. 'The darkness-dispelling Buddha, the all-

seeing, who thoroughly understands the world¹, has overcome all existences, is free from passion, has left behind all pain, is rightly called (Buddha), he, O Brāhmaṇa, has come to me. (1132)

11. 'As the bird, having left the bush, takes up his abode in the fruitful forest, even so I, having left men of narrow views, have reached the great sea, like the *hamsa*². (1133)

12. 'Those who before in another world explained the doctrine of Gotama, saying, "So it was, so it will be," all that was only oral tradition, all that was only something that increased my doubts³. (1134)

13. 'There is only one abiding dispelling darkness, that is the high-born, the luminous, Gotama of great understanding, Gotama of great wisdom, (1135)

14. 'Who taught me the Dhamma, the instantaneous, the immediate, the destruction of desire, freedom from distress, whose likeness is nowhere⁴. (1136)

15. Bāvari: 'Canst thou stay away from him even for a moment, O Piṅgiya, from Gotama of great understanding, from Gotama of great wisdom, (1137)

¹ Lokantagū.

² Digo yathā kubbanakam pahāya
Bahupphalam kânanam âvaseyya
Evam p' aham appadasse pahāya
Mahodadhim hamsa-r-iv' agghapatto.

³ Ye 'me pubbe viyâkamsu
huram Gotamasâsanam
ikkâsi iti bhavissati
sabban tam itihîtiham
sabban tam takkavaddhanam.

⁴ Yo me dhammam adesesi
Sandittikam akâlikam
Tanhakkhayam anâtikam
Yassa n' atthi upamâ kvaṭi.

16. 'Who taught thee the Dhamma, the instantaneous, the immediate, the destruction of desire, freedom from distress, whose likeness is nowhere?' (1138)

17. Piṅgiya: 'I do not stay away from him even for a moment, O Brāhmaṇa, from Gotama of great understanding, from Gotama of great wisdom, (1139)

18. 'Who taught me the Dhamma, the instantaneous, the immediate, the destruction of desire, freedom from distress, whose likeness is nowhere. (1140)

19. 'I see him in my mind and with my eye, vigilant, O Brāhmaṇa, night and day; worshipping I spend the night, therefore I think I do not stay away from him. (1141)

20. 'Belief and joy, mind and thought incline me towards the doctrine of Gotama; whichever way the very wise man goes, the very same I am inclined to¹. (?) (1142)

21. 'Therefore, as I am worn out and feeble, my body does not go there, but in my thoughts I always go there, for my mind, O Brāhmaṇa, is joined to him. (1143)

22. 'Lying in the mud (of lusts) wriggling, I jumped from island to island; then I saw the perfectly Enlightened, who has crossed the stream, and is free from passion.' (1144)

23. Bhagavat²: 'As Vakkali was delivered by

¹ Saddhā ka pīti ka mano sati ka
Nāmenti me Gotamasāsanamhā (?),
Yam yam disam vagati bhūripaṇṇo
Sa tena ten' eva nato 'ham asmi.

² At the conclusion of this (i. e. the preceding) gāthā, Bhagavat, who stayed at Sāvattthī, when seeing the maturity of the minds of

faith, (as well as) Bhadrâvudha and Â/avi-Gotama, so thou shalt let faith deliver thee, and thou shalt go, O Piṅgiya, to the further shore of the realm of death¹. (1145)

24. Piṅgiya: 'I am highly pleased at hearing the Muni's words; Sambuddha has removed the veil, he is free from harshness, and wise. (1146)

25. 'Having penetrated (all things) concerning the gods, he knows everything of every description; the Master will put an end to all questions of the doubtful that (will) admit (him). (1147)

26. 'To the insuperable, the unchangeable (Nibbâna), whose likeness is nowhere, I shall certainly go; in this (Nibbâna) there will be no doubt (left) for me, so know (me to be) of a dispossessed mind². (1148)

Pârâyanavagga is ended.

Suttanipâta is ended.

Piṅgiya and Bâvarî, shed a golden light. Piṅgiya, who sat picturing Buddha's virtues to Bâvarî, having seen the light, looked round, saying, 'What is this?' And when he saw Bhagavat standing, as it were, before him, he said to the Brâhmana Bâvarî: 'Buddha has come.' The Brâhmana rose from his seat and stood with folded hands. Bhagavat, shedding a light, showed himself to the Brâhmana, and knowing what was beneficial for both, he said this stanza while addressing Piṅgiya. Commentator.

¹ Yathâ ahû Vakkali muttasaddho
Bhadrâvudho Â/avi-Gotamo ka
Evam eva tvam pi pamuññayassu saddham,
Gamissasi tvam Piṅgiya maññudheyyapâram.

² Asamhîram asamkuppam
Yassa n' atthi upamâ kvañi
Addhâ gamissâmi, na me 'ttha kamkhâ,
Evam padhârehi avittakittam.

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 Nirupadhi, free from the elements of existence, 115.
 Nissita, dependent, 141.
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- Pamāda, indolence, 55.
 Pamatta, indolent, 55.
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 Rāhula, Buddha's son, 55.
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 Teachers, famous, xii, 86.
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 Udaya mânava, xiii, 206.
 Uggenî city, 188.
 Upâdâna, seizure, 138.
 Upadhi, substance, elements of existence, xvi, 5, 60, 62, 106, 133, 150, 186, 194, 195, 201.
 Upâsaka, follower, adherent, 24, 52, 62, 64, 85.
 Upasampadâ, priest's orders, 14, 80, 95.
 Upasîva mânava, xii, 197.
 Upekhaka, equable, 163.
 Uposatha, fasting, abstinence, 66, 131.
 Uppalaka hell, 121.
 Uruga, snake, 1.
 Ussada, desire, 89, 163.
 Uttâna, exertion, 55.
 Vâda, doctrine, 168, 172.
 Vâdasîla, disputatious, xiii, 63, 109.
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 Vâkapeyya sacrifice, 50.
 Vanasavhaya city, 188.
 Vaṅgisa thera, 57, 73.
 Vasala, Vasalaka, outcast, 20.
 Vâsava = Inda, 64.
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 Vatthugâthâ, 56, 128.
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 Vedagô, having passed sensation, 91.
 Vedanâ, sensation, 136.
 Vedisâ city, 188.
 Veḥavana, 85, 87.
 Vesali city, 188.
 Vessavana Kuvera king, 63.
 Vessika, man of the third caste, 52.
 Vetaranî river in hell, 124.
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 Vinikkaya, resolutions, placita, xiii.
 Viññâna, consciousness, 135.
 Viriyavat, firm, 91.
 Visionary, xiv.
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 Work, 116.
 Works, virtuous, xiv.
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 Yoga, attachment, 115.
 Yogakkhema = Nibbâna, 69.
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	. . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .							. . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	ङ	{ 𐬙 (ng) } 𐬚 (N)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	ह	𐬛 (hv)	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . .	. . .							. . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .							. . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .							. . .
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	. . .	'h	. . .							. . .
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	. . .	'h	. . .							. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis . . . . .	. . .	k	. . .	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	kh	. . .	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	kh
15 Media . . . . .	. . .	g	. . .	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	. . .
16 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	gh	. . .	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	. . .
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	. . .	ñ	. . .	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	. . .

CONSONANTS (<i>continue</i>).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨 𐬨𐬭 𐬨𐬭𐬭	𐬨	ی	ی	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨𐬭𐬭𐬭	𐬨𐬭𐬭𐬭	ش	ش	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬭𐬭	𐬭𐬭	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬭𐬭𐬭	𐬭𐬭𐬭	تھ	تھ	תה	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	د	د	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			S							
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1			Z (h)							
37 " asperimus 2			Z (z)							

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

38 Tenuis . . . . .	...	t	...	ਤ	...	...	...	...	...
39 " aspirata . . . . .	...	th	...	ਤ	...	...	...	...	...
40 Media . . . . .	...	d	...	ਤ	...	...	...	...	...
41 " aspirata . . . . .	...	dh	...	ਤ	...	...	...	...	...
42 Nasalis . . . . .	...	n	...	ਨ	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis . . . . .	...	r	...	ਰ	...	...	...	...	...
44 " fricata . . . . .	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45 " diacritica . . . . .	...		R	...	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	sh	...	ਸ	...	...	...	...	...
47 " lenis . . . . .	...	zh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Labiales.

48 Tenuis . . . . .	...	p	...	ਪ	...	...	...	...	...
49 " aspirata . . . . .	...	ph	...	ਫ	...	...	...	...	...
50 Media . . . . .	...	b	...	ਬ	...	...	...	...	...
51 " aspirata . . . . .	...	bh	...	ਫ	...	...	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima . . . . .	...		p	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis . . . . .	...	m	...	ਮ	...	...	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis . . . . .	...	w	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55 " aspirata . . . . .	...	hw	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	f	...	ਫ	...	...	...	...	...
57 " lenis . . . . .	...	v	...	ਵ	...	...	...	...	...
58 Anusvāra . . . . .	...	m	...	ਮ	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga . . . . .	...	h	...	ਫ	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlevi	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ə			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ɔ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	(a)		अ	𐬀	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	i			आ	𐬁	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	f	(i)		इ	𐬂	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	is			उ	𐬃	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	h			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ɹ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	é (ai)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	âi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ei (éi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	oi (ou)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	ô (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	âu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	eu (éu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	ou (ou)		
23 " "	ä		
24 Gutturalis fracta	i		
25 Palatalis fracta	ü		
26 Labialis fracta

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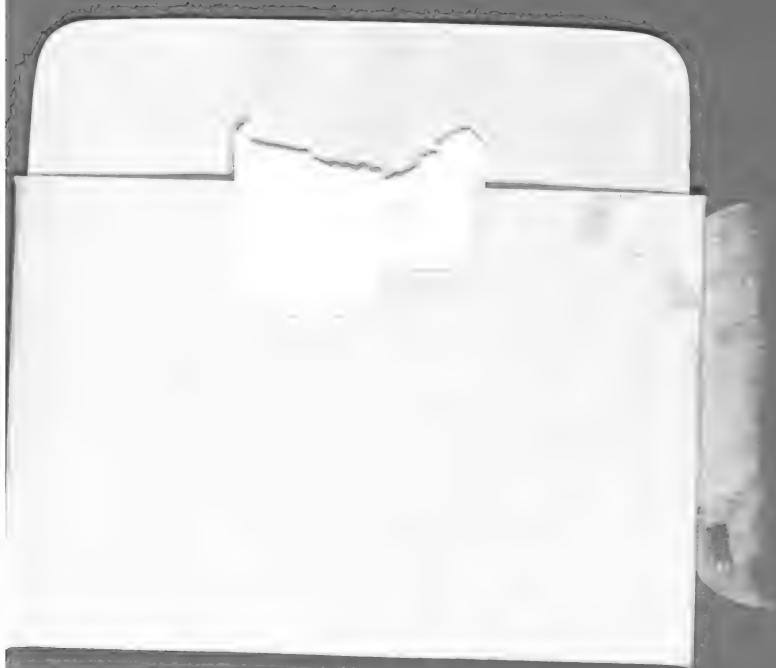
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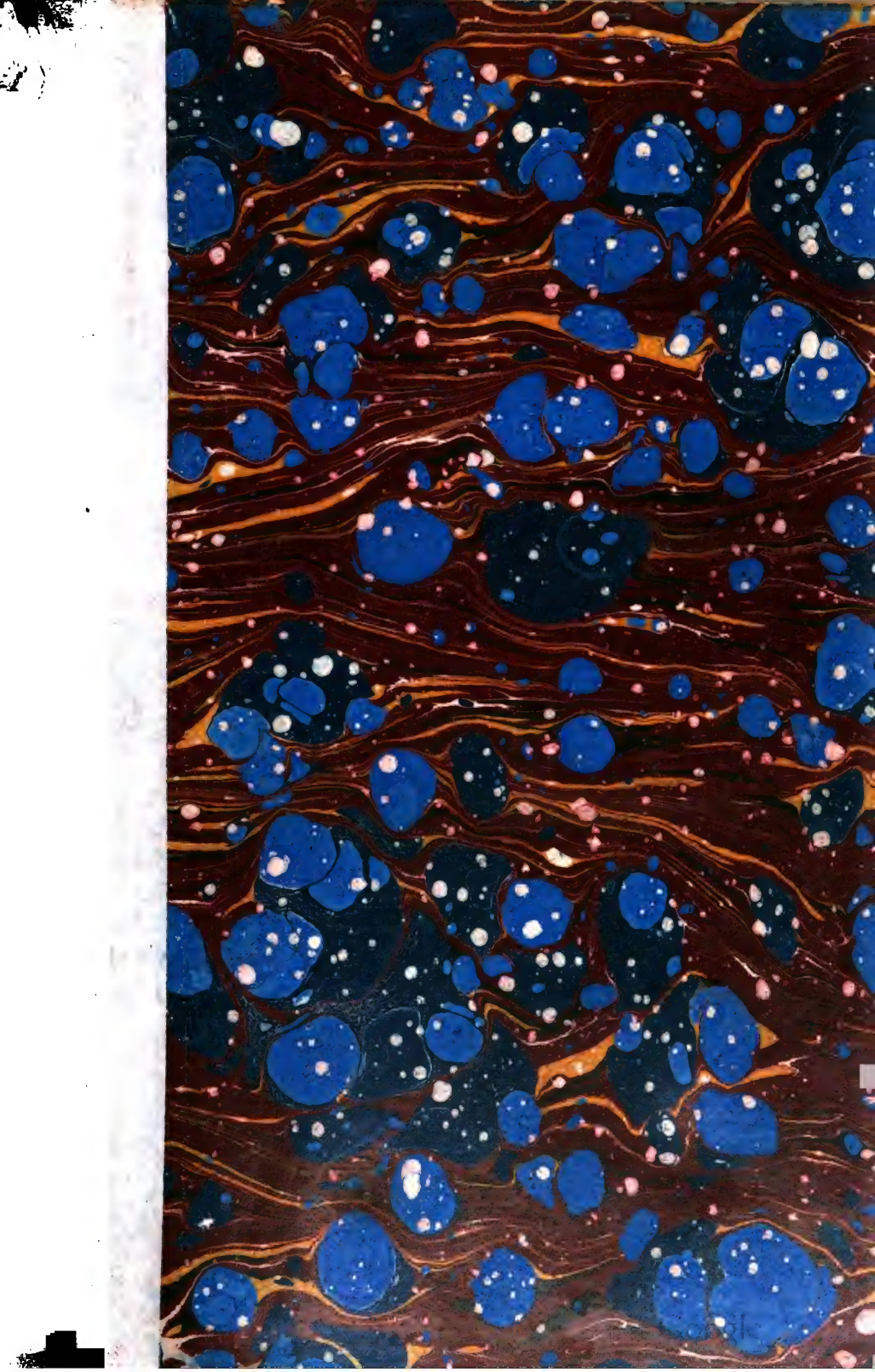
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TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XI

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

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24476

BUDDHIST SUTTAS

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

1. THE MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA SUTTANTA
2. THE DHAMMA-KAKKA-PPAVATTANA SUTTA
3. THE TEVIGGA SUTTANTA
4. THE ÂKAÑKHEYYA SUTTA
5. THE KETOKHILA SUTTA
6. THE MAHÂ-SUDASSANA SUTTANTA
7. THE SABBÂSAVA SUTTA



AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

BUDDHIST SUTTAS.

ON being asked to contribute a volume of translations from the Pāli Suttas to the important series of which this work forms a part, the contributor has to face the difficulty of choosing from the stores of a nearly unknown literature—a difficulty arising from the embarrassment, not of poverty, but of wealth. I have endeavoured to make such a choice as would enable me to bring together into one volume a collection of texts which should be as complete a sample as one volume could afford of what the Buddhist scriptures, on the whole, contain. With this object in view I have refrained from confining myself to the most interesting books—those, namely, which deal with the Noble Eightfold Path, the most essential, the most original, and the most attractive part of Gotama's teaching; and I have chosen accordingly, besides the Sutta of the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness (the Dhamma-*kakka*-ppavattana-Sutta), which treats of the Noble Path, six others which treat of other sides of the Buddhist system; less interesting perhaps in their subject matter, but of no less historical value.

These are—

1. The Book of the Great Decease (the Mahā-parinibbāna-Suttanta), which is the Buddhist representative of what, among the Christians, is called a Gospel.
2. The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness (the Dhamma-*kakka*-ppavattana-Sutta), containing the Four Noble Truths, and the Noble Eightfold Path which ends in Arahatsip.

3. The Discussion on Knowledge of the Three Vedas (the *Tevigga-Suttanta*), which is a controversial dialogue on the right method of attaining to a state of union with Brahmâ.

4. The Sutta entitled 'If he should desire—' (*Ākañkheyya-Sutta*), which shows in the course of a very beautiful argument some curious sides of early Buddhist mysticism and of curiously unjustified belief.

5. The Treatise on Barrenness and Bondage (the *Ketokhila-Sutta*), which treats of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants, from the moral, as distinguished from the disciplinary, point of view.

6. The Legend of the Great King of Glory (the *Mahâ-sudassana-Suttanta*), which is an example of the way in which previously existing legends were dealt with by the early Buddhists.

7. The Sutta entitled 'All the Āsavas' (the *Sabbâsava-Sutta*), which explains the signification of a constantly recurring technical term, and lays down the essential principles of Buddhist Agnosticism.

The Discipline of the Buddhist Mendicants, the Rules of their Order—probably the most influential, as it is the oldest, in the world—will be fully described, down to its minutest details, in the translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, which will appropriately form a subsequent part of this Series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East. There was therefore no need to include any Sutta on this subject in the present volume: but of the rest of the matters discussed in the Buddhist Sacred Books—of Buddhist legend, gospel, controversial theology, and ethics—the works selected will I trust give a correct and adequate, if necessarily a somewhat fragmentary, idea.

The age of these writings can be fixed, without much uncertainty, at about the latter end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century before the commencement of the Christian era. This is the only hypothesis which seems, at present, to account for the facts known about them. It should not however be looked upon as anything

more than a good working hypothesis to be accepted until all the texts of the Buddhist Pāli Suttas shall have been properly edited. For it depends only on the fact that one of the texts now translated contains several statements, and one very significant silence, which afford ground for chronological argument. That argument amounts only to probability, not to certainty; and it might scarcely be worth while to put it forward were it not that the course of the enquiry will be found to raise several questions of very considerable interest.

The significant silence to which I refer occurs in the account of the death of Gotama at the end of the Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta¹; and I cannot do better than quote Dr. Oldenberg's remarks upon it at p. xxvi of the able Introduction to his edition of the text of the Mahā-vagga.

'The Tradition regarding the Councils takes up the thread of the story where the accounts of the life and work of Buddha, given in the Sutta Piṭaka, end. After the death of the Master—so it is related in the Kulla-vagga—Subhadda, the last disciple converted by Buddha shortly before his death², proclaimed views which threatened the dissolution of the community.

"Do not grieve, do not lament," he is said to have said to the believers. "It is well that we have been relieved of the Great Master's presence. We were oppressed by him when he said, 'This is permitted to you, this is not permitted.' In future we can do as we like, and not do as we do not like."

'In opposition to Subhadda,—the tradition goes on to relate,—there came forward one of the most distinguished and oldest of Buddha's disciples, the great Kassapa, who proposed that five hundred of the most eminent members of the community should assemble at Rāgagaha, the royal residence of the ruler of Magadha, in order to collect the Master's precepts in an authentic form. It has already been said above, how, during the seven months' sitting of

¹ Translated below, pp. 112-135.

² This is a mistake. The Subhadda referred to is quite a different person from the last convert. See my note below, p. 127.

the assembly, Kassapa as president fixed the Vinaya with the assistance of Upāli, and the Dhamma with the assistance of Ānanda.

‘This is the story as it has come down to us. What we have here before us is not history, but pure invention ; and, moreover, an invention of no very recent date. Apart from internal reasons that might be adduced to support this, we are able to prove it by comparing another text which is older than this story, and the author of which cannot yet have known it. I allude to the highly important Sutta, which gives an account of the death of Buddha, and the Pāli text of which has recently been printed by Professor Childers. This Sutta gives¹ the story—in long passages word for word the same as in the *Kulla-vagga*—of the irreverent conduct of Subhadda, which Kassapa opposes by briefly pointing to the true consolation that should support the disciples in their separation from the Master. Then follows the account of the burning of Buddha’s corpse, of the distribution of his relics among the various princes and cities, and of the festivals which were instituted in honour of these relics. Everything that the legend of the First Council alleges as a motive for, and as the background to, the story about Kassapa’s proposal for holding the Council, is found here altogether, except that there is no allusion to the proposal itself, or to the Council. We hear of those speeches of Subhadda, which, according to the later tradition, led Kassapa to make his proposal, but we do not hear anything of the proposal itself. We hear of the great assembly that meets for the distribution of Buddha’s relics, in which—according to the later tradition—Kassapa’s proposal was agreed to, but we do not hear anything of these transactions. It may be added that we hear in this same Sutta² of the precepts which Buddha delivered to his followers shortly before his death, concerning doubts and differences of opinion that might arise, among the members of the community, with regard to the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and with regard to

¹ Pages 67, 68 in the edition of Childers.

² Pages 39, 60, 61, *ibid*.

the treatment of such cases when he should no longer be with them. If anywhere, we should certainly have expected to find here some allusion to the great authentic depositions of Dhamma and Vinaya after Buddha's death, which, according to the general belief of Buddhists, established a firm standard according to which differences could be judged and have been judged through many centuries. There is not the slightest trace of any such allusion to the Council. This silence is as valuable as the most direct testimony. It shows that the author of the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta did not know anything of the First Council.'

The only objection which it seems to me possible to raise against this argument is that the conclusion is worded somewhat too absolutely; and that it is rather a begging of the question to state, in the very first words referring to the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta, that it is older than the story in the *Kulla-vagga*, and that its author could not have known that work. But no one will venture to dispute the accuracy of Dr. Oldenberg's representation of the facts on which he bases his conclusion; and the conclusion that he draws is, at least, the easiest and readiest way of explaining the very real discrepancy that he has pointed out. We shall be quite safe if we only say that we have certain facts which lend strong probability to the hypothesis that the author of the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta did not know that account of the First Council which we find in the *Kulla-vagga*.

We do not know for certain the time at which that part of the *Kulla-vagga*, in which that account occurs, was composed. I think it quite possible that it was as late as the Council of Patna (B.C. 250), though Dr. Oldenberg places it somewhat earlier¹. But even if we put the conclusion of the *Kulla-vagga* as late as the year I have mentioned, it is still in the highest degree improbable that the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta, supposing it to be an older work, can have been composed very much later than the fourth century B.C.—a provisional date sufficient at present for practical purposes.

¹ Mahâ-vagga, p. xxxviii.

This conclusion, however, is only almost, and not quite certain. It is just possible that the author of the Book of the Great Decease omitted all mention of the First Council at Rāgagaha, not because he did not know of it, but because he considered it unnecessary to mention an event which had no bearing on the subject of his work. He was describing the death of the Buddha, and not the history of the Canon or of the Order.

I must confess however that I only mention this as a possibility from a desire rather to understate than to overstate my case. For, firstly, it should be remembered that the writer does not merely omit to mention an occurrence subsequent to and unconnected with the Great Decease. He does more: he gives an account of the Subhadda incident which is inconsistent and irreconcilable with the legend or narrative of the Rāgagaha Council as related in the *Kulla-vagga*. Had that narrative, as we now have it, been received in his time among the Brethren, he would scarcely have done this.

And, secondly, he does not, after all, close his book, as he might well have done, with the Great Decease itself. It will be seen from the translation below¹ that there was a point in his narrative, the exclamations of sorrow at the death of the Buddha, which would have formed, had he desired to omit all unnecessary details, a very fitting conclusion to his narrative. The Book of the Great King of Glory, the *Mahā-sudassana-Sutta*, closes with the very exclamation our author puts, at this point, into the mouth of Sakka. The *Mahā-parinibbāna* was then over, and the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta* might have then been closed. But he goes on and describes in detail the cremation, the distribution of the relics, and the feasts celebrated in their honour. It is not necessary for my point to show that it was in the least degree unnatural to do so. It is sufficient to be able to point out that the author having done so,—having gone on to the arrival of Kassapa, who was afterwards (in the *Kulla-vagga*) said to have held the Council; having mentioned the very incident which, according to the

¹ See below, Chap. VI, § 21.

other narrative, gave rise to the holding of the Council ; and having referred to events which took place after the Council,—it is scarcely a tenable argument to say that he, knowing of it, did not refer, even incidentally and in half a sentence, to so important an event, simply because it did not come, necessarily, within the subject of his work. And when we find that in other works on the death of the Buddha, referred to below¹, the account of the Council of Rāgagaha has, in fact, been included in the story, it is difficult to withhold our assent to the very great probability of the hypothesis, that it would have been included also in the Pāli Book of the Great Decease had the belief in the tradition of the Council been commonly held at the time when that book was put into its present shape. At the same time we must hold ourselves quite prepared to learn that some other explanation may turn out to be possible. The argument, if it applied to writers of the nineteenth century, would be conclusive. But we know too little about the mode in which the Pāli Piṭakas were composed to presume at present to be quite certain.

The Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta was then probably composed before the account of the First Council of Rāgagaha in the concluding part of the *Kulla-vagga*. It was also almost certainly composed after Pāṭaliputta, the modern Patna, had become the capital city of the kingdom of Magadha ; after the worship of relics had become common in the Buddhist church ; and after the rise of a general belief in the *Kakkavatti* theory, in the ideal of a sacred king, a supreme overlord in India.

The first of these last three arguments depends on the prophecy placed in Gotama's mouth as to the future greatness of Pāṭaliputta—a prophecy found in the *Mahā-vagga* as well as in the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta*. It is true that the guess may actually have been made, and that it required no great boldness to hazard a conjecture so vaguely expressed. The words simply are—

‘And among famous places of residence and haunts of

¹ See p. xxxviii.

busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtaliputta, a centre for interchange of all kinds of wares. But there will happen three disasters to Pâtaliputta, one of fire, and one of water, and one of dissension¹.

But it is, to say the least, improbable that the conjecture would have been recorded until after the event had proved it to be accurate: and it would scarcely be too hazardous to maintain that the tradition of the guess having been made would not have arisen at all until after the event had occurred.

What was the event referred to may also be questioned, as the words quoted do not, in terms, declare that the city would become the actual capital. But we know, not only from Buddhist, but from Greek historians, that it did, and this is most probably the origin of the prophecy.

Now the *Mâlâlaṅkāravatthu*, a Pâli work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, has been translated, through the Burmese, by Bishop Bigandet; and it says,

‘That monarch [Susunâga], not unmindful of his mother’s origin, re-established the city of Vesâlî, and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Râgagaha lost her rank of royal city, which she never afterwards recovered. He died in 81’ [that is, of the Buddhist era reckoned from the Great Decease]². . . .

Relying on similar authority Bishop Bigandet afterwards himself says:

‘King Kâśoka left Râgagaha, and removed the seat of his empire to Palibothra [the Greek name for Pâtaliputta], near the place where the modern city of Patna stands².’

¹ See below, Chap. I, § 28. I have translated *Putabhēdanam*, ‘a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares,’ in accordance with the commentary, which is clearly based on a derivation from *puta*, ‘a bag or bundle.’ But I see that Trenckner in his Pâli Miscellany renders *nânâputabhēdanam* by ‘surrounded by a number of dependent towns.’

At the end the text has ‘from fire or from water or from dissension;’ on which Buddhaghosa says that or stands here for and; and the comment is correct enough, not of course philologically, but exegetically. But in either case the last clause is of very little importance for the present argument.

² Bigandet’s ‘Legend of the Burmese Budha,’ third edition, vol. ii. pp. 115, 183. I have altered the spelling only of the proper names.

It would seem therefore that, according to the tradition followed by this writer, Susunâga first removed the capital to Vesâli, and his successor Kâ/âsoka, who died, in the opinion of the writer in question, in 118 after the Great Decease, finally fixed it at Pâ/âliputta.

If we therefore apply this date to the prophecy we must come to the conclusion that the Book of the Great Decease was put into its present form at least 100 years after the Buddha's death, and probably a little more. But the authority followed by Bishop Bigandet is very late; and no mention of these occurrences is found either in the *Dîpavamsa* or in the *Mahāvamsa*. I think indeed that the whole account of these two kings, as at present accepted in Ceylon and Birma, is open to grave doubt¹ (in which connection it should be noticed that the oldest account of the Council of Vesâli, in the *Kulla-vagga*, Book XII, makes no mention of Kâ/âsoka).

We have next to consider the reference to the relics in the concluding sections of Chapter VI as a possible basis for chronological argument. These sections are almost certainly older than the time when especial sanctity was claimed for Buddhist dâgabas on the ground that they contained particular relics of the Blessed One (such as a tooth, or the bowl, or the neck bone); for if such special relics were accepted as objects of worship when the Book of the Great Decease was put together, they would naturally have been mentioned in the course of Chapter VI.

It is even almost certain that when the sections were put into their present form no Buddhist dâgaba was in existence except at the eight places mentioned in them; and the words are quite consistent with the belief that those eight had themselves then ceased to have any very widespread and acknowledged sanctity. So in Chapter V, § 13, where four places are spoken of 'which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and of awe,' there is no mention of dâgabas at all; and in Chapter V, § 16, it is

¹ See my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 50.

clearly implied that only one dāgaba, or memorial burial mound, should be erected in honour of a Tathāgata, just as one memorial mound should be erected in honour of a king of kings.

When we recollect that in the first and second, and perhaps in the third century before Christ, dāgabas had already been erected in honour of the Buddha in distant parts of the continent of India, and had rapidly become famous as places of pilgrimage, the reasonable conclusion to be drawn from these passages is that the Book of the Great Decease is older than them all; or, at the least, that it was written before any of them had become famous.

On the other hand, there is evidently an exaggerated belief as to the respect in which the Buddha was held by his contemporaries underlying the concluding and other sections of the book. It is probable enough that Gotama was held in deep respect by the simple people among whom he lived and moved about as a religious teacher and reformer. It may well be that the inhabitants of the village where he died gave him a sort of public funeral. But that the neighbouring clans should have vied one with the other for the possession of his remains is quite inconsistent with the position that he can reasonably be supposed to have held among them. It must have taken some time for this belief to spring up, and be received without question.

In a similar way a considerable interval must have elapsed before the beautiful parable in the last section of Chapter I could have given rise to the belief in the miracle (the solitary miracle ascribed to the Buddha, so far as I know, in the Sutta Pitaka) recorded in the previous section.

So also the comparison drawn between the Buddha and a Kakkavatti Rāga or King of Kings in Chapter V, § 37, and Chapter VI, § 33, can scarcely have arisen till the rise of a lord paramount in the valley of the Ganges had familiarised the people with the idea of a Universal Monarch. Now it was either just before or just after the well-known Councils at Vesāli, of which mention has been made above, that that important revolution took place which raised a

low-caste adventurer to be the first *Kakkavatti Rāga*¹. To the people of that time *Kandragupta* seemed to be lord of the world, for to them India was the world — just as European writers even now talk complacently of ‘the world’ while ignoring three-fourths of the human race.

‘Is it surprising,’ as I have asked elsewhere, ‘that this unity of power in one man made a deep impression upon them? Is it surprising that, like Romans worshipping Augustus, or like Greeks adding the glow of the sun-myth to the glory of Alexander, the Indians should have formed an ideal of their *Kakkavatti*, and have transferred to this new ideal many of the dimly sacred and half-understood traits of the Vedic heroes? Is it surprising that the Buddhists should have found it edifying to recognise in their hero “the *Kakkavatti* of Righteousness;” and that the story of the Buddha should have become tinged with the colouring of these *Kakkavatti* myths?’

In point of fact we know that in later works the attraction of this poetic ideal led to the almost complete disregard of the simpler narrative which seemed so poor and meagre in comparison; and M. Senart has shown how large a proportion of the later poem called the *Lalita Vistara* is inspired by it. When, in isolated passages of the Book of the Great Decease, we find the earliest germs of this fruitful train of thought, we are I think safe in concluding that it assumed its present form after the notorious career of *Kandragupta* had made him supreme in the valley of the Ganges.

All the above arguments tend in one direction; namely, that the final redaction of the Book of the Great Decease must be assigned to the latter part of the fourth century before Christ, or to the earlier part of the following century. And so much alike are it and all the other Suttas translated in this volume in their form, in their views of life, and in

¹ I have ventured in my ‘Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,’ p. 51, to point out that the Councils of Vesāli were very possibly held just at the time when Nanda was defeated by *Kandragupta*. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, while placing the Councils, like all the later authorities, under an Asoka (probably *Kandragupta*), says (p. 41 of Wassilief’s German translation) that the assembled brethren were fed by Nanda.

the religious doctrines they lay down, that, though it may be possible hereafter to show that some are a little older or a little younger than the others, every one will I think admit that they must all be assigned to about the same period of time. There is not the least reason to believe that either of them is older than the Book of the Great Decease; and the argument has only been confined to it because it alone deals with the kind of subject which can give foundation to chronological conclusions. When the whole of the literature of the Pāli Piṭakas has been fully explored, we may perhaps be able to reach a more definite conclusion.

We are in absolute ignorance as to the actual author of any of the texts I have translated. It is quite evident that they are not the work of Gotama himself; and it is difficult to believe that even his immediate disciples could have spoken of him in the exaggerated terms in which occasionally he is here described. On the other hand, the history of similar religious movements teaches us how quickly such notions spring up concerning the omniscience and sinlessness of the founder of the movement; and it would be better to reserve our judgment as to the impossibility, on this account alone, of those Suttas having been composed even by the very earliest disciples.

It would be of less importance who composed the Suttas if we could be sure that they gave an accurate account of the teachings of the great thinker and reformer whose words they purport to preserve. But though, like all other writings of a similar character, they are doubtless based upon traditions older than the time of their authors or final redactors, they cannot unfortunately be depended upon as entirely authentic. And it will be always difficult, even when the whole of the Suttas have been published, to attempt to discriminate between the original doctrine of Gotama, and the later accretions to, or modifications of it.

But we can already make some steps towards such a discrimination, without much fear of being contradicted.

There can be little doubt but that the doctrines of the Four Noble Truths and of the Noble Eightfold Path, the 'Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness,' were not only the teaching of Gotama himself, but were the central and most essential part of it. I am aware that no method can be more misleading, or more uncritical, than first to form a theory regarding the personal character of the author of a new religious movement—as some later critics of the Gospel History have done—and then to adopt those passages in the sacred books which fit in with that character, and to reject those which oppose it. We cannot begin by postulating that Gotama was a man of high moral earnestness, and of great intellectual acuteness; and then disregard all the passages in which erroneous, and even puerile, opinions or sayings are placed in his mouth. But it does not follow that we are obliged either altogether to reject the evidence of the Buddhist Scriptures as to what Gotama did actually teach, or altogether to accept it.

It will be acknowledged that the Suttas have preserved for us at least the belief of the earliest Buddhists—the Buddhists in India—as to what the original doctrines, taught by the Buddha himself, had been. We have in the Vinaya Piṭaka an invaluable and indisputable record of the mental characteristics and capabilities of these earliest followers of the Buddhist faith. Sanskrit scholars are engaged in elucidating the history of the beliefs in which Gotama was brought up, and which though often modified and frequently denied, still underlie, throughout, all that he is represented to have taught. We have therefore reliable evidence of the system out of which, and we know the system into which, Gotama's teaching was developed. This being so, it will be impossible to refrain, in despair, from the attempt to solve one of the most interesting problems which the history of the Āryan race presents to us. Scholars will never be unanimously agreed on all points; but they will agree in ascribing some parts of the early Buddhist Dharma or doctrine only to the early disciples; and after allowing for all reasonable doubts, they will agree in ascribing other parts to the great Teacher himself. I venture to think

that not only the Four Noble Truths, but the whole of the Seven Jewels of the Law, may already be placed, with certainty, in the latter category¹.

The form, in which these Suttas have been preserved, deserves careful attention. Every reader will be struck at once with the constant repetitions. These repetitions are not essential, and are merely designed to facilitate the learning of the Suttas by heart. Writing was unknown in the age of the Buddha, and probably for long after his time. In all probability indeed, just as the Indians learnt from the Greeks, not the art of coinage, but the custom of issuing a legally authorised coinage²; so it was from the Greeks that they acquired, if not their earliest alphabet, at least the knowledge of the utility of writing. But even for some time after writing was generally known, it was considered a desecration to make use of it for the preservation of the sacred books. This feeling naturally passed away much sooner among the adherents of the popular religious faith of Buddhism, than it did among their conservative opponents. With the latter it is by no means extinct even now, and the first record we have of the Buddhist Scriptures being reduced into writing is the well-known passage in the *Dīpavamsa*, which speaks of their being recorded in books in Ceylon towards the beginning of the first century before the commencement of our era. And as all our copies of the Buddhist *Piṭakas* are, at present, derived from those then in use in Ceylon, we are practically concerned only with those thus referred to in the *Dīpavamsa*³.

The date of the *Dīpavamsa* may be placed approximately in the fourth century of our era; but its author reproduces the continued tradition of the monasteries in

¹ They will be found enumerated, and shortly described, in a note below (pp. 62, 63). I am glad to learn that my friend Dr. Morris is preparing a full account of them, drawn from various parts of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, for his forthcoming work to be accordingly entitled 'The Seven Jewels of the Law.'

² See my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon' (Part VI of *Numismata Orientalia*), p. 13.

³ *Dīpavamsa* XX, vv. 20, 21, quoted in the *Mahāvamsa*, p. 207.

which he dwelt, and he is more probably correct, than not, in the assertion I have quoted. It would follow that the Buddhist Scriptures were, till then, handed down by word of mouth only; and no one who is acquainted with the wonderful powers of memory possessed by Indian priests, who can devote their whole lives to the task of acquiring and repeating their sacred books by heart, will doubt for a moment the possibility of this having been the case.

(Two methods were adopted in India to aid this power of memory. One, adopted chiefly by the grammarians, was to clothe the rules to be remembered in very short enigmatical phrases (called sūtras or threads), which taxed the memory but little, while they required elaborate commentaries to render them intelligible. The other, the method adopted in the Buddhist writings (both Sutta and Vinaya), was, firstly, the use of stock phrases, of which the commencement once given, the remainder followed as a matter of course; and secondly, the habit of repeating whole sentences, or even paragraphs, which in our modern books would be understood or inferred, instead of being expressed.)

The stock phrases, which must be distinguished from the repetitions, belong certainly to a very early period of Buddhism, and many of them recur in Sanskrit as well as in Pāli texts¹. One result of these numerous repetitions of phrases and paragraphs is that the preservation of the text, when once established, was rendered very easy; and that mistakes in the MSS. can now be easily rectified when they occur in such repeated passages. To edit the text of such portions of a Pāli Sutta is therefore a comparatively easy task; and it may be said of all the Suttas here translated, that they have thus acquired a valuable protection against that danger of corruption from various readings which often renders uncertain the text of important passages of works written on the very different and simpler system

¹ Several examples of such passages occur in the present volume in the Ākaṅkheyya- and Mahā-sudassana-Suttas, where they are pointed out in the notes.

to which we are accustomed. On the other hand, however, the catchwords may sometimes have given rise to serious interpolations.

It is open to much doubt whether, in the numerous passages where such stock phrases and repetitions occur, the best mode of translation is to follow word for word the expressions found in the original (but only inserted there to perform a service no longer necessary), or to make use of contractions, the fact of their being so being duly pointed out, either in notes, or by some typographical expedient. Where, for instance, a long paragraph is devoted to what an elder of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants should do, or be, under certain given circumstances, and the whole paragraph is then repeated word for word, of an ordinary member, and of a nun, and of a lay-disciple (*upāsaka*), or of a religious woman (*upasikā*)¹, it would be possible to convey the whole sense intended, by translating that an elder of the Order, and an ordinary member, and a nun, and a lay-disciple of either sex, should do, or be, such and such things.

But every case of repetition is not so simple as this; such curtailing destroys at least the form and the emphasis of the originals; and it seemed more in accordance with the rules laid down in the prospectus to the Series of Translations from the Sacred Books of the East, of which this volume forms a part, to adhere in all cases strictly to the text. With the exception of the earlier chapters in the Book of the Great Decease, in which a few such contractions will be found mentioned in the notes, I have therefore reproduced almost all the repetitions. The result will not, I trust, be embarrassing to the reader who keeps constantly in mind the aim and origin of these stock phrases and repetitions, and does not allow the wearisome form in which they are presented to shut out from his view the logical sequence of the sometimes very striking ideas which these Suttas contain. I venture to go further and to maintain that it is not necessary or

¹ See below, Book of the Great Decease, Chap. III, §§ 7, 8.

even correct to read through the whole of passages which were never intended to be read. We shall do wisely when coming to a phrase which we already know, to make use of a little judicious skipping, and, noting the course of the argument, to pass on, with even mind, to the next paragraph.

I send forth the following translations with very great diffidence. It is not too much to say that the discovery of early Buddhism has placed all previous knowledge of the subject in an entirely new light; and has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism. I use the term 'discovery' advisedly, for though the Pāli texts have existed for many years in our public libraries, they are only now beginning to be understood; and the Buddhism of the Pāli Piṭakas is not only a quite different thing from Buddhism as hitherto commonly received, but is antagonistic to it. I cannot hope that the renderings of the many technical terms, now for the first time submitted to the judgment of students of early Buddhism, will all stand the test of time. So perfectly dovetailed is the old Buddhist system, so utterly different from European Christianity are the ideas involved, so pregnant are the expressions used with deep and earnest religious feelings resting on a foundation completely apart from our own, that the translation of each term becomes a problem of great difficulty and delicacy. Where Gogerly or Burnouf has dealt with any word, the process has been easier: but there are many words they have not touched, and while Gogerly had no sympathy with these ancient beliefs, Burnouf has confined himself chiefly to later phases of Buddhism. There are several paragraphs—such as the one at Chapter I, § 12 of the Book of the Great Decease—which have cost me more time and trouble than the reader of the few words they contain will easily believe; and it would be impossible to add a note to every word justifying the rendering which was finally adopted to convey the Buddhist idea, without involving at the same time some misleading implication.

In order to call attention to the fact, when a word in the original Pāli is one of these technical terms of the Buddhist system of self-training, and when therefore the English expression must be taken in that technical sense, I have throughout written the technical terms with capital letters; and I would invite the special notice of the reader to the words thus distinguished ¹.

Apart, too, from the necessity of great care in the rendering of single words, I have felt bound to make some attempt, however inadequate, to reproduce the style and tone of the Buddhist author, or authors. A mere word-for-word translation, though much easier to make, and perhaps more useful to those engaged in the study of the language would not only fail to do justice to the original, but would even convey a wrong impression to those who are interested in these works from the point of view of the comparative history of religious belief. There is a very real, though peculiar, eloquence in a considerable number of the prose passages, and more especially in the closing sections of each chapter; not the mere rhetorical eloquence of a clever word-painter, but the unconscious eloquence which springs from deep religious emotion. So also in the verses scattered through the Book of the Great Decease, while there is occasional doggerel, there are also one or two passages (such as I, 34; IV, 56; VI, 15-18, and 63) where the rhythm of the Pāli verses is exceedingly beautiful, and the thoughts expressed not devoid of fancy. The translation of such passages has been beset with difficulty; and I am only too conscious how small has been the success attained. But I must ask the reader constantly to bear in mind that words, dull and bare to us, are full of meaning to the Buddhist. 'The Blessed Master came to the Mango-grove' is a very plain statement of supposed fact: but to the earnest Buddhist the mention of 'the Master' calls up to his mind

¹ I regret to say that the printer has very frequently omitted to reproduce these capitals; but they still remain in some places, and the paragraph which explains them is therefore retained.

his highest ideal of what is wise and great and kind; and the Mango-grove is surrounded to him with all the poetry, and is associated with all the tender memories which to the devout and earnest Christian are wrapped up in such names as Bethany or the Mount of Olives. While impressed therefore with the knowledge of having come far short of my ideal, I feel there is for these reasons some justification in asking a kindly consideration for this first volume of English translations from the prose portions of the Pāli Piṭakas.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

BRICK COURT, TEMPLE,

August, 1880.

MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA-
SUTTANTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.

IN translating this Sutta I have followed the text published by my friend the late Mr. Childers, first in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and afterwards separately. In the former the text appeared in two instalments, the first two sheets, with many various readings in the foot-notes, in the volume for 1874; and the remainder, with much fewer various readings, in the volume for 1876. The reprinted text omits most of the various readings in the first two sheets, and differs therefore slightly in the paging. The letters D, S, Y, and Z, mentioned in the notes, refer to MSS. sent to Mr. Childers from Ceylon by myself, Subhûti Unnânse, Yâtramulle Unnânse, and Mudliar de Zoysa respectively. The MS. mentioned as P (in the first two sheets quoted only in the separate édition) is, no doubt, the Dîgha Nikâya MS. of the Phayre collection in the India Office Library. The other four are now I believe in the British Museum.

The Hon. George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service published an analysis of this work in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1839; but as he unfortunately skips, or only summarises, most of the difficult passages, his work, though a most valuable contribution for the time, now more than half a century ago, has not been of much service for the present purpose. Of much greater value was Buddhaghosa's commentary contained in the *Su-maṅgala Vilâsini*¹; but the great fifth-century commen-

¹ I have used the copy made for Turnour, and now in the India Office Collection.

tator wrote of course for Buddhists, and not for foreign scholars; and his edifying notes and long exegetical expansions of the text (quite in the style of Matthew Henry) often fail to throw light on the very points which are most interesting, and most doubtful, to European readers.

The *Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu*, a late Pāli work by a Burmese author of the eighteenth century¹, is based, in that part of it relating to the last days of the Buddha, almost exclusively on the Book of the Great Decease, and on Buddhaghosa's commentary upon it. Bishop Bigandet's translation into English of a Burmese translation of this work, well known under the title of 'The Life or Legend of Gaudama the Budha of the Burmese,' affords evidence therefore of the traditional explanations of the text. In the course either of the original author's recasting, or of the double translation, so many changes have taken place, that its evidence is frequently ambiguous and not always quite trustworthy: but with due caution, it may be used as a second commentary.

The exact meaning which was originally intended by the title of the book is open to doubt. 'Great-Decease-Book' may as well mean 'the Great Book of the Decease,' as 'the Book of the Great Decease.' This book is in fact longer than any other in the collection, and the epithet 'Great' is often opposed in titles to a 'Short' Sutta of (otherwise) the same name². But the epithet is also frequently intended, without doubt, to qualify the immediately succeeding word in the title³; and, though the phrase 'Great Decease,' as applied to the death of the Buddha, has not been found elsewhere, it is, I think, meant to do so here⁴.

¹ See 'The Life or Legend,' &c., third edition, vol. ii. p. 149. The date there given (1134 of the Burmese era = 1773 A.D.) is evidently the date of the original work, and not of the translation. Nothing is said in the book itself or in Bishop Bigandet's notes of the name of the author, or of the name or date of the Burmese translator.

² There are several such pairs in the *Magghimā Nikāya*; and the *Mahā-Satippaṭṭhāna-Sutta* in the *Dīgha* is the same as the *Satippaṭṭhāna-Sutta* in the *Magghima*.

³ E.g. in the *Mahā-padhāna-Sutta* and *Mahā-sudassana-Sutta*.

⁴ Childers seems to have been of the same opinion, vide *Dict.* I, 268.

The division of the Book into chapters, or rather Portions for Recitation, is found in the MSS.; the division of these chapters into sections has been made by myself. It will be noticed that a very large number of the sections have already been traced, chiefly by Dr. Morris and myself, in various other parts of the Pāli Piṭakas: whole paragraphs or episodes, quite independent of the repetitions and stock phrases above referred to, recurring in two or more places. The question then arises whether (1) the Book of the Great Decease is the borrower, whether (2) it is the original source, or whether (3) these passages were taken over, both into it, and into the other places where they recur, from earlier sources. It will readily be understood that, in the present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Pāli Piṭakas, this question cannot as yet be answered with any certainty. But a few observations may even now be made.

Generally speaking the third of the above possible explanations is not only more probable in itself, but is confirmed by parallel instances in literatures developed under similar conditions, both in the valley of the Ganges and in the basin of the Mediterranean.

It is quite possible that while some books—such as the Mahā-vagga, the Kulla-vagga, and the Dīgha Nikāya—usually owe their resemblances to older sources now lost or absorbed; others—such as the Saṃyutta and the Aṅguttara—are always in such cases simply borrowers from sources still existing.

At the time when our Book of the Great Decease was put into its present shape, and still more so when a Book of the Great Decease was first drawn up, there may well have been some reliable tradition as to the events that took place, and as to the subjects of his various discourses, on the Buddha's last journey. He had then been a public Teacher for forty-five years; and his system of doctrine, which is really, on the whole, a very simple one, had already been long ago elaborated, and applied in numerous discourses to almost every conceivable variety of circumstances. What he then said would most naturally be, as it is represented to have been, a final recapitulation of the most

important and characteristic tenets of his religion. But these are, of course, precisely those subjects which are most fully and most frequently dealt with in other parts of the Pāli Piṭakas. No record of his actual words could have been preserved. It is quite evident that the speeches placed in the Teacher's mouth, though formulated in the first person, in direct narrative, are only intended to be summaries, and very short summaries, of what was said on these occasions. Now if corresponding summaries of his previous teaching had been handed down in the Order, and were in constant use among them, at the time when the Book of the Great Decease was put together, it would be a safe and easy method to insert such previously existing summaries in the historical account as having been spoken at the places where the Teacher was traditionally believed to have spoken on the corresponding doctrines. In the historical book the simple summaries would sufficiently answer every purpose; but when each particular matter became the subject of a separate book or division of a book, the same summaries would be included, but would be amplified and elucidated. And this is in fact the relation in which several of the recurring passages, as found in the Book of the Great Decease, stand to the same passages when found elsewhere.

On the other hand, some of the recurring passages do not consist of such summaries, but are actual episodes in the history. As an instance of these we may take the long extract at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second chapter (I, 20-II, 3, and again II, 16-II, 24), which is found also in the Mahā-vagga. The words are (nearly¹) identical in both places, but in the Book of the Great Decease the account occurs in its proper place in the middle of a connected narrative, whereas in the Mahā-vagga, a treatise on the Rules and Regulations of the Order, it seems strangely out of place. So the passage, also a long one, with which the Book of the Great

¹ On the difference see the note at II, 16. It affects only a few localising phrases in a narrative occupying (in the translation) thirteen pages.

Decease commences (on the Seven Conditions of Welfare), seems to have been actually borrowed by the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* from our work.

The question of these summaries and parallel passages cannot be adequately treated by a discussion of the instances found in any one particular book. It must be considered as a whole, and quite apart from the allied question of the 'stock phrases' above alluded to, in a discussion of all the instances that can be found in the Pāli Piṭakas. For this purpose tabulated statements are essential, and as a mere beginning such a statement is here annexed (including the passages, marked with an asterisk, which have every appearance of belonging to the same category).

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.			OTHER BOOKS.	
Chap. I (34 sections)	§§ 1-10	..	Āṅguttara (Sutta-nipāta).	
"	" § 11	..	" (Kha-nipāta).	
"	" §§ 16, 17 ¹	..	Dīgha (Sampasādaniya) and Samyutta (Satippaṭṭhāna- vagga).	
"	" §§ 20-34	..	Mahā-vagga VI, 28.	
"	" §§ 1, 2, 3	..	Mahā-vagga VI, 29.	
Chap. II (35 sections)	§§ 13, 14, 15	..	Dīgha (Satippaṭṭhāna). Magg'hima "	
"	" §§ 16-24	..	Samyutta "	
"	" §§ 27-35	..	Vibhaṅga "	
Chap. III (66 sections)	§§ 1-10	..	Mahā-vagga VI, 30.	
"	" §§ 11-20	..	Samyutta (Satippaṭṭhāna- vagga).	
"	" §§ 21-23*	..	Samyutta (Iddhipāda-vagga).	
"	" §§ 24-32	1..	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
"	" §§ 33-42	1..	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
Chap. IV (58 sections)	§§ 2, 3	..	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
	§§ 7-11 *	..	Āṅguttara (Katuka-nipāta).	
		..	" "	

¹ Omitted in Po-fa-tsu. See below, p. xxxviii.

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.			OTHER BOOKS.	
Chap. V (69 sections)	§ 10	..	Anguttara	(Duka-nipāta).
"	"	§§ 16-22 } ₁ ..	"	(Katuka-nipāta).
"	"	§§ 27-31* } ..	"	"
"	"	§ 36	..	Samyutta (Satippa//hāna-vagga).
"	"	§§ 41-44	..	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).
"	"	§ 60	..	Kulla-vagga V, 8, 1.
"	"	§ 63	..	Mahā-vagga I, 38, 1.
"	"	§ 68	..	Kulla-vagga XI, 1, 15.
Chap. VI (62 sections)	§ 16	..	Dīgha	(Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).
"	"	§§ 36-41	..	Kulla-vagga XI, 1, 1.

No Sanskrit work has yet been discovered giving an account of the last days of Gotama ; but there are several Chinese works which seem to be related to ours. Of one especially, named the Fo Pan-ni-pan King (apparently Buddha-Parinibbāna-Sutta, but such an expression is unknown in Pāli), Mr. Beal says²:

‘This appears to be the same as the Sūtra known in the South. . . . It was translated into Chinese by a Shaman called Fa-tsu, of the Western Tsin dynasty, circa 200 A.D.’

I do not understand this date. The Western Tsin dynasty is placed by Mr. Beal himself on the fly-leaf of the Catalogue at 265-313 A.D. And whether the book referred to is really the same work as the Book of the Great Decease seems to me to be very doubtful. At p. 160 of his ‘Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese’ Mr. Beal says, that another Chinese work ‘known as the Mahā Parinirvāṇa Sūtra’ ‘is evidently the same as the Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta of Ceylon,’ but it is quite evident from the extracts which he gives that it is an entirely different and much later work.

On this book there would seem further to be a translated commentary, Ta Pan-ni-pan King Lo, mentioned

¹ Omitted by Po-fa-tsu. See below, p. xxxviii.

² Catalogue of Buddhist Chinese Books in the India Office Library, p. 95.

At pp. 12-13 of the same Catalogue we find no less than seven other works, and an eighth on p. 77, not indeed identified with the Book of the Great Decease, but bearing titles which Mr. Beal represents in Sanskrit as Mahâparinirvâṇa Sûtra. They purport to be translated respectively—

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| | A. D. |
| 1. By Dharmaraksha of the Northern Liang dynasty . | 502-555 |
| 2. By Dharmaraksha " " | |
| 3. By Fa Hian and Buddhabhadra of the Eastern Tsin
dynasty | 317-419 |
| 4. By Gñānabhadra and others of the Eastern Tang
dynasty | 620-904 |
| 5. By Dharmagupta and others of the Western Tsin
dynasty | 265-313 |
| 6. By Fa Hian of the Eastern Tsin dynasty . | 317-419 |
| 7. Unknown. | |
| 8. By Dharmabodhi of the Former Wei dynasty . | circa 200 |
| Indian author, Vasubandhu. | |

‘The general outline,’ says Mr. Beal¹, ‘is this. Buddha, on a certain occasion, proceeded to Kinsinagara (sic), and entering a grove of Sâla trees, there reposed. He received a gift of food from Chanda, an artisan of the neighbouring town. After partaking of the food he was seized with illness. He discoursed through the night with his disciples, and disputed with certain heretical teachers. At early dawn he turned on his right side with his head to the north, and died. The Sâla trees bent down to form a canopy over his head. The account then proceeds to relate

¹ Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. p. 90.

the circumstances of his cremation, and the subsequent disputes, between the Mallas and others, for his ashes.'

There is a curious echo here of some of the sections translated below; though each particular item of the summary is really in contradiction with the corresponding part of the Pāli book. There is perhaps another Chinese work on the death of Buddha, of the existence of which I have been informed, through the kind intervention of Professor Max Müller, by Mr. Kasawara. It was translated by Po-fa-tsu between 290 and 306 A. D. It seems to be the same as the first mentioned above, but it contains a good deal of matter not found in the Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta (notably an account of the Rāgagaha Council, the mention of which is so conspicuously absent from the Pāli work); and it omits many of the sections found in the Pāli. Mr. Kasawara has been kind enough to send me the following details regarding those omissions, and they are of peculiar interest as compared with the table given above¹:

Chapters in the Pāli.	Sections wanting in Chinese.
1st Chapter . .	15-18.
3rd Chapter . .	21-42.
4th Chapter . .	53-56.
5th Chapter . .	4-6; 16-23; 27-31; 48-51.
6th Chapter . .	27; 48-50.

There is no evidence to show that any of the above works are translations of our Sutta, or in any sense the same work. No reliance, in fact, can be placed upon the mere similarity of title in order to show that a Chinese work and an Indian one are really the same: and I regret that attempts should have been made to fix the date of Indian works by the fact that Chinese translations bearing similar titles are said to have been made in a certain period. But the above-mentioned works on the Great Decease will, when published, throw valuable light on the traditions of different, though no doubt later, schools of Buddhist thought; and a detailed comparison would probably throw a very interesting light on the way in which

¹ On p. xxxvi.

religious legends of this kind vary and grow; and the existence of these Chinese translations affords ground for the hope that we may some day discover an earlier Sanskrit work on the same subject¹.

The cremation ceremonies described in the sixth chapter are not without interest. It would be natural enough that Gotama should have been buried without any of those ritualistic forms the usefulness of which he denied, and without any appeal to gods whose power over men he ignored. But the tone of the narrative makes it at least possible that there was not really anything unusual in the method of his cremation; and that the elaborate rites prescribed in the Brâhmanical books for use at a funeral² were not, in practice, observed in the case of the death of any person other than a wealthy Brâhman, or some layman of rank who was a devoted adherent of the Brâhmins.

In the same way we find that in those countries where the more ancient form of Buddhism still prevails, there are a few simple forms to be used in the case of the cremation of a distinguished Bhikkhu or Upâsaka; but in ordinary cases bodies are buried without any ceremony.

So in Ceylon, Robert Knox—whose rare and curious work, one of the most trustworthy books of travels extant, deserves more notice than it has received, and who was a captive there for many years before the natives were influenced by any contact with Europeans—says³,

‘It may not be unacceptable to relate how they burn their dead. As for persons of inferior quality, they are interred in some convenient places in the woods (there being no set places for burial), carried thither by two or three of their friends, and buried without any more ado. They lay them on their backs, with their heads to the West, and their feet to the East, as we do. Then these people go and wash: for they are unclean by handling the dead.

¹ I have not been able to trace any reference to either of these Chinese works in Mr. Edkins’s ‘Chinese Buddhism.’

² See Max Müller in *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. ix.

³ Knox’s ‘Historical Relation of Ceylon,’ Part III, Chap. xi.

‘But persons of greater quality are burned, and that with ceremony. When they are dead they lay them out, and put a cloth over their privy parts; and then wash the body, by taking half a dozen pitchers of water and pouring upon it. Then they cover him with a linen cloth, and so carry him forth to burning. This is when they burn the body speedily. But otherwise they cut down a tree that may be proper for their purpose, and hollow it like a hog-trough, and put the body, being disembowelled and embalmed, into it, filling up all about with pepper, and so let it lie in the house until it be the king’s command to carry it out to the burning. For that they dare not do without the king’s order if the person deceased be a courtier. Sometimes the king gives no order in a great while; it may be not at all: therefore, in such cases, that the body may not take up house-room or annoy them, they dig a hole in the floor of their house, and put hollowed tree and all in, and cover it. If afterwards the king commands to burn the body, they take it up again, in obedience to the king—otherwise there it lies.

‘Their order for burning is this: if the body be not thus put into a trough or hollow tree, it is laid upon one of his bedsteads, which is a great honour among them. This bedstead with the body on it, or hollowed tree with the body in it, is fastened with poles, and carried upon men’s shoulders unto the place of burning, which is some eminent place in the fields, or highways, or where else they please. There they lay it upon a pile of wood some two or three feet high;—then they pile up more wood upon the corpse, lying thus on the bedstead or in the trough. Over all they have a kind of canopy built (if he be a person of very high quality), covered at top, hung about with painted cloth, and bunches of cocoa-nuts, and green boughs; and so fire is put to it. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep together the ashes into the manner of a sugar-loaf, and hedge the place round from wild beasts breaking in, and they will sow herbs there. Thus I saw the king’s uncle, the chief *tirinanx*¹ (who was, as it were, the chief primate of all the

¹ Knox’s way of spelling *Terunnânsê*, that is, *Thera*.

nation), burned upon a high place, that the blaze might be seen a great way¹.

I myself saw an Unnânsê burned very much in this way near the Weyangoda Court-house; and there is a long account in the native newspaper, the *Lak-riwi-kirana* (Ceylon Sunbeam), of the 12th March, 1870, of the cremation of a Weda-râla, or native doctor. Bishop Bigandet relates in a note in his 'Life or Legend of Gautama' the corresponding ceremonies still in use in Burma, of which he has been a witness²; but cremation is apparently as seldom resorted to in Burma as it is in Ceylon.

The unceremonious mode of burying the dead referred to by Knox is not adopted in the more settled districts on the sea coast. When at Galle I enquired into the funeral customs there prevalent, with the following result³:

A few hours after a man has died, the relations wash the corpse, shave it; and, having clothed it with a strip of clean white cloth, place it on a bedstead covered with white cloth, and under a canopy (*wiyana*) also of white cloth. They then place two lamps, one to burn at the head, and the other at the foot of the corpse, and use perfumes.

A coffin is then prepared, covered with black cloth; and the body is placed on the coffin, and is then sprinkled over with lavender or rose-water. The women meanwhile bow backwards and forwards with their hands behind their heads, uttering loud wailings over the deceased.

Then the male relatives carry the coffin to the grave, which is dug in one of their own cocoa-nut topes near by, and over which is raised a more or less elaborate canopy or arch of cloths and evergreens (*gedi-ge*), adorned with the tender leaves and flowers of the cocoa-nut. Along the path also from the house to the grave young cocoa-nut leaves and flowers are sometimes hung, and the pathway itself is often spread with clean white cloths.

The tom-tom beaters go first; and the dull monotonous

¹ In the older editions of Knox there is a curious engraving of a body being thus burnt.

² Third edition, vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.

³ See the *Ceylon Friend* for 1870, pp. 109 and following.

sound of their instruments of music is appropriate enough. Then follow some Buddhist mendicants, in number according to the wealth or influence of the deceased, and walking under a portable canopy of white cloth. Then the coffin is carried by the nearest male relatives, and followed by other male relatives and relations—no females, even the widowed mother of an only son, taking part in this last sad procession.

Three times the coffin is carried round the grave: then it is placed on two sticks placed across the mouth of the pit; and one end of a roll of white cloth is placed on the coffin, the other end being held by all the Unnânsês (Bhikkhus) whilst the people repeat three times in Pâli the well-known formula of the Refuges (the simple Nicene Creed of the Buddhists):

‘I take my refuge in the Buddha,
I take my refuge in the Dhamma,
I take my refuge in the Order¹’

Then the priests respond, thrice repeating in Pâli the well-known verse discussed below²:

‘How transient are all component things!
Their nature’s to be born and die;
Coming, they go; and then is best,
When each has ceased, and all is rest!’

Then the Unnânsês let go the roll of white cloth, and whilst water is poured from a goblet into a cup placed on a plate until the cup is full to the brim³, they again chaunt three times in Pâli the following verses:—

‘As rivers, when they fill, must flow,
And reach, and fill the distant main;

¹ Buddham saranam gakkhâmi
 Dhammam saranam gakkhâmi
 Samgham saranam gakkhâmi.

² Anikkâ vata samkhârâ uppâdavaya-dhammino
 Uppaggitvâ nirugghanti tesam vûpasamo sukho.

See ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 16, and the ‘Legend of the Great King of Glory,’ II, 42.

³ This ceremony is called *Pæm wadanawâ*.

So surely what is given here
Will reach and bless the spirits there!

If you on earth will gladly give
Departed ghosts will gladly live!

As water poured on mountain tops
Must soon descend, and reach the plain;
So surely what is given here
Will reach and bless the spirits there!¹

The relations then place the coffin in the grave, and each throws in a handful of earth. The Unnânsês then go away, taking the roll or rolls of cloth, one end of which was placed upon the coffin. The grave is filled in. Two lights, one at the head of it, and one at the foot, are left burning. And then the friends and relations return to the house.

The funeral now being over, is followed by a feast; for though nothing may be cooked in a house or hut in which there is a corpse, yet plenty of food has been brought in from neighbouring tenements by the relations of the deceased.

There is, however, yet another very curious ceremony to be gone through. Three or seven days—whichever, according to the rules of astrology, is a lucky day—after the deceased person died, an Unnânsê is duly invited to the house in which the deceased died. He arrives in the evening; reads *bana* (that is, the Word, passages from the sacred books) throughout the night; and in the morning is presented with a roll of white cloth, and is asked to partake of food, chiefly of course curries, of those different kinds of which the deceased had been most particularly fond.

¹ Yathâ vârivahâ pûrâ paripûrenti sâgaram
 Evam eva ito dinnam petânam upakappati.
 Ito dinnena yâpenti petâ kâlakatâ tahim.
 Unname udakam vattam yathâ ninnam pavattati
 Evam eva ito dinnam petânam upakappati.

These verses occur in the *Tirokudda-Sutta* of the *Khuddaka-Pâṭha*, but in a different order.

This ceremony is called *Mataka Dānaya* (Gift for the Dead), and the previous feast is called *Mataka Bhatta* (Feast in honour of the Dead): the two combined taking the place of an ancient rite observed in pagan, pre-Buddhistic, times, and then also called *Mataka Bhatta*, in which offerings were made to the *Petas*; that is, to the manes, or departed ghosts, of ancestors and near relations. Such offerings are of course forbidden to Buddhists¹, and it is a very instructive instance of a survival in belief, of the effect of the natural reluctance to make much change in the mode of paying the customary funeral respect to deceased friends, that the kind of food supposed to be most appreciated by the dead should still be used in the Buddhist funeral rites.

Another part of the ceremony, that part where one end of a roll of cloth is placed on the coffin while the other end is held by all the assembled *Unnānsês*², is a fragment of ritualistic symbolism which deserves attention. The members of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants were enjoined to avoid all personal decoration of any kind; and to attire themselves in cloths of no value, such as might be gathered from a dust heap (*Pamsu-kûla*), or even from a cemetery. This was a principle to be followed, not a literal rule to be observed; and therefore from the first presents of strips of plain white cotton cloth, first torn in pieces to deprive them of any commercial value, then pieced together again and dyed a dull orange colour to call to mind the colour of old worn out linen, were the material from which the mendicants' clothing was actually made. But the duty of contempt for dress (called *Pamsu-kûlikaṅga*, from the dust heap) was never lost sight of, and advantage was taken of the gifts given by the faithful at funerals to impress this duty upon the minds of the assembled *Bhikkhus*.

Nothing is known of any religious ceremony having been performed by the early Buddhists in India, whether the person deceased was a layman, or even a member of the

¹ Compare the *Mataka-Bhatta-Gâtaka* (No. 18), translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i. pp. 226 and following.

² See p. xlii.

Order. The Vinaya Piṭaka, which enters at so great length into all the details of the daily life of the recluses, has no rules regarding the mode of treating the body of a deceased Bhikkhu. It was probably burnt, and very much in the manner described in the last chapter of our Sutta—that is to say, it was reverently carried out to some convenient spot, and there simply cremated on a funeral pyre without any religious ritual, a small tope being more often than not erected over the ashes. Though funerals are, naturally, not unfrequently mentioned in the historical books, and in the Birth Stories, there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious ceremony¹.

The date of the Great Decease is not quite certain. The dwellers in the valley of the Ganges, for many generations after Gotama's death, were a happy people, who had no need of dates; and it was only long afterwards, and in Ceylon, that the great event became used as the starting-point for chronological calculations, as the Buddhist era.

The earliest use of the Buddha's Parinibbāna as such an era is in an Inscription of King Nissanka Malla's, of the twelfth century A.D., published by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1875. Both in the historical records of Ceylon, and in those passages of the Purāṇas which are the nearest approach to historical records in India, the chronology is usually based on the lists of kings, just as it is in the Old Testament. Only by adding together the lengths of the reigns of the intermediate kings is it possible to calculate the length of the time that is said to have elapsed between any two given events.

If these lists of kings had been accurately kept from

¹ Compare Mahāvamsa, pp. 4, 125, 129, 199, 223-225, and Chap. 39, verse 28; Gāṭaka I, 166, 181, 402; II, 6; Dasaratha Gāṭaka, pp. 1, 21, 22, 26, &c.; Dhammapada Commentary, pp. 94, 205, 206, 222, 359; Hatthavana-gallavihāra-vamsa, Chap. IX; Hardy, 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 322-324.

The words Saddham, Uddhadehikam, and Nivāpo, given in Childers, refer to pagan rites.

On funerals among Buddhists in Japan, see Miss Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks,' vol. i.

possibly derived from a northern Buddhist Sanskrit work—the date of the Buddha's death is fixed at five hundred years before the time of Milinda¹, who certainly reigned about a century after Christ. I am, therefore, of opinion that the hitherto accepted date of the Buddha's death should be modified accordingly.

This would make the date of the Great Decease about 420–400 B.C. (very possibly a year or two later), and the date of Gotama's birth therefore eighty years earlier, or in round numbers about 500 B.C.

I have discussed the whole question at full length in my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' written in amplification of a paper read in 1874 before the Royal Asiatic Society; and to that work I must refer any reader, who may take interest in these chronological discussions, for ampler details. I have been able here to present only a summary of an argument which is in so far of little importance, inasmuch as the rectification which I have ventured to propose only differs by a little more than half a century from the earliest date which can in any case be suggested as approximately correct (that is about 485 B. C.). The date 543 B. C., still unfortunately accepted outside the circle of students of Buddhism², is now acknowledged to be too early by all scholars who have seriously considered the subject.

¹ Trenckner, p. 3. Mr. Trenckner says in his preface that Buddhaghosa quotes this work, but unfortunately he does not give any reference. See the note below on our Sutta, Chap. VI, § 3.

² See, for instance, Max Duncker, 'History of Antiquity,' vol. iv. p. 364. On the dated Edict, ascribed by some to Asoka, see my note loc. cit., and Oldenberg, 'Introd. to the Mahā-vagga,' p. xxxviii.

THE BOOK

OF THE

GREAT DECEASE.

MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1¹. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling in Râgagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Agâtasattu, the son of the queen-consort of Videha origin², the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vaggians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vag-

¹ Sections 1-10, inclusive, recur in the Vaggi Vagga of the Sutta Nipâta in the Ânguttara Nikâya; and there is a curiously incorrect version of § 3 in the Fa Kheu Pi Hu, translated from the Chinese by Mr. Beal, under the title of 'The Dhammapada from the Buddhist Canon,' pp. 165, 166.

² Agâtasattu Vedehiputto. The first word is not a personal name, but an official epithet, 'he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe;' the second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not unfrequently to private persons. Thus Upatissa, the earnest and thoughtful disciple whom the Buddha himself declared to be 'the second founder of the kingdom of righteousness,' is referred to either as Dhamma-senâpati or as Sâriputta; epithets of corresponding origin to those in the text. By the Gains Agâtasattu is called Kûzika or Konika, which again is probably not the name given to him at the rice-eating (the ceremony corresponding to infant baptism), but a nickname acquired in after life.

gians, mighty and powerful¹ though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!

2. So he spake to the Brâhman Vassakâra, the prime-minister of Magadha, and said :

‘Come now, O Brâhman, do you go to the Blessed One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and enquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, and vigorous health. Then tell him that Agâtasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vaggians, has resolved, “I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!” And bear carefully in mind whatever the Blessed One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue!’

3. Then the Brâhman Vassakâra hearkened to the words of the king, saying, ‘Be it as you say.’ And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, he mounted one of them, left Râgagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture’s Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for car-

¹ Evammahiddhike evammahânubhâve. There is nothing supernatural about the iddhi here referred to. Etena tesañ samagga-bhâvan kathesi says the commentator simply: thus referring the former adjective to the power of union, as he does the second to the power derived from practice in military tactics (hatthisippâdhi). The epithets are, indeed, most commonly applied to the supernatural powers of Devatâs, Nâgas, and other fairy-like beings; but they are also used, sometimes in the simple sense of this passage, and sometimes in the other sense, of Buddhas and of other Arahats. See M. P. S. 12, 43; M. Sud. S. 49-53; Gât. I, 34, 35, 39, 41.

riages, and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down respectfully by his side [and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded¹].

4. Now at that time the venerable Ânanda was standing behind the Blessed One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Have you heard, Ânanda, that the Vaggians hold full and frequent public assemblies?'

'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he.

'So long, Ânanda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vaggians hold these full and frequent public assemblies; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

[And in like manner questioning Ânanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Blessed One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vaggian confederacy².]

'So long, Ânanda, as the Vaggians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vaggians as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls

¹ § 2 repeated.

² In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause.

belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian shrines¹ in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that Arahats from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahats therein may live at ease—so long may the Vaggians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

5. Then the Blessed One addressed Vassakâra the Brâhman, and said :

‘When I was once staying, O Brâhman, at Vesâli at the Sârandada Temple², I taught the Vaggians these conditions of welfare ; and so long as those conditions shall continue to exist among the Vaggians, so long as the Vaggians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.’

‘We may expect then,’ answered the Brâhman, ‘the welfare and not the decline of the Vaggians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven. So, Gotama, the Vaggians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha ; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance³. And now, Gotama, we must go ; we are busy, and have much to do.’

¹ *Ketiyâni*, which Sum. Vil. explains as *Yakkha-ketiyâni*.

² The commentator adds that this was a *vihâra* erected on the site of a former temple of the *Yakkha Sârandada*.

³ ‘Overcome’ is literally ‘done’ (*akaraṇīyâ*), but the word evidently has a similar sense to that which ‘done’ occasionally has

‘Whatever you think most fitting, O Brâhman,’ was the reply. And the Brâhman Vassakâra, delighted and pleased with the words of the Blessed One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : ‘Go now, Ânanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the Brethren¹ as live in the neighbourhood of Râgagaha.’

in colloquial English. The Sum. Vil. (fol. 7i) says *akaraññiyâ, akatabbâ agahetabbâ : yadidañ, nipâta-mattañ : yuddhas-sâti, karañatthe sâmi-vañanañ, abhimukkhena yuddhena gahetuñ na sakkâ ti attho*. Upalâpanâ, which I have only met with here, must mean ‘humbug, cajolery, diplomacy;’ see the use of the verb *upa-lâpeti*, at Mahâ Vagga V, 2, 21; Gât. II, 266, 267; Pât. in the 70th Pât. Sum. Vil. explains it, at some length, as making an alliance, by gifts, with hostile intent, which comes to much the same thing. The root I think is *lî*.

¹ The word translated ‘brethren’ throughout is in the original *bhikkhû*, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A *bhikkhu*, literally ‘beggar,’ was a disciple who had joined Gotama’s order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word. Hardy has ‘priests;’ I have elsewhere used ‘monks’ and sometimes ‘beggars’ and ‘members of the order.’ This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of *bhikkhu*. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. ‘Brethren’ connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering *bhikkhu*.

And he did so; and returned to the Blessed One, and informed him, saying:

‘The company of the Brethren, Lord, is assembled, let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit.’

And the Blessed One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the Brethren, and said:

‘I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he spake as follows:

‘So long, O mendicants, as the brethren meet together in full and frequent assemblies—so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the order—so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down—so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence¹—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude—so long as the brethren so train their minds² that good and holy men shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease

¹ ‘Ponobhavikâ’ punabbhava-dâyikâ. (S. V. fol. řû.)

² ‘Paḁḁattam yeva satim upaḁḁāḁessanti’ ti attano abhantare satim upaḁḁāḁessanti. (S. V. fol. řû.)

—so long may the brethren be expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

7. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business—so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk—so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness—so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, sinful desires—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of sinners—so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way [to Nirvāna¹] because they

¹ 'Oramattakenā' ti avaramattakena appamattakena. 'Antarā' ti arahattam appatvā' va etth' antare. 'Vosānan' ti . . . osakkanam idam vuttam hoti. Yāva sīla-pārisuddhi-mattena vā vipassanā-mattena vā sotāpanna-bhāva-mattena vā sakadāgāmi-bhāva-mattena vā anāgāmi-bhāva-mattena vā 'vosānam' na 'āpaggissanti' nāma 'vuddhi yeva bhikkhūnam pāṭikamkhā no parihāni.' S. V. (fol. 171). This is an interesting analogue to Philippians iii. 13: 'I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark,' &c. See also below, Chap. V, § 68.

have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

8. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

‘So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of sin¹, full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

9. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

¹ The exact distinction between hiri and ottappa is here explained by Buddhaghosa as follows :

‘Hirimanâ’ ti pâpa-gigu~~kk~~hana-lakkhanâya hiri~~yâ~~ yutta~~ñittâ~~. ‘Ottâpî’ ti pâpato bhaya-lakkhanena ottappena samannâgatâ : that is, loathing sin as contrasted with fear of sin. But this is rather a gloss than an exact and exclusive definition. Ahirikâ is shamelessness, anotappam frowardness. At Gât. I, 207 we find hiri described as subjective, and ottappa as objective, modesty of heart as contrasted with decency in outward behaviour.

‘So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

10. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

‘So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold perception due to earnest thought, that is to say, the perception of impermanency, of non-individuality¹, of corruption, of the danger of sin, of sanctification, of purity of heart, of Nirvâṇa, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

11. ‘Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

¹ For a further explanation of the meaning of anattam see Gotama's second discourse in the Mahâ Vagga I, 6: 38-47. Buddhaghosa makes no special comment here on either of the seven perceptions.

‘So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of action, speech, and thought amongst the saints, both in public and in private—so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with the upright and the holy, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the order, down even to the mere contents of a begging bowl—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues which (unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished) are productive of freedom¹, and praised by the wise; which are untarnished by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts²; and which are conducive to high and holy thoughts—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving faith which leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these six conditions shall continue to

¹ Buddhaghosa takes this in a spiritual sense, ‘*tâni pan’ etâni (sîlâni) tanhâ-dâsavyato moġetvâ bhugissa-bhâva-karato bhugissâni:*’ that is, ‘These virtues are bhugissâni because they bring one to the state of a free man by delivering him from the slavery of craving.’

² *Tanhâ-diġġhi aparâmatthattâ, idam nâma tvam âpannapubbo ti kenâki paramatthum asakkuneyyattâ ka, ‘aparâmatthâni’* (S.V. fol. 170), that is, ‘These virtues are called aparâmatthâni because they are untarnished by craving or delusion, and because no one can say of him who practices them, “you have been already guilty of such and such a sin.”’ Craving is here the hope of a future life in heaven, and delusion the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (the two nissayas) which are condemned as unworthy inducements to virtue.

exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these six conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

12. And whilst the Blessed One stayed there at Râgagaha on the Vulture's Peak he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance¹.'

¹ This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have rendered 'earnest contemplation' is samâdhi, which occupies in the Pâli Piṭakas very much the same position as faith does in the New Testament; and this section shows that the relative importance of samâdhi, paññâ, and sîla played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterwards in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought, or equal succinctness of form.

The expression 'set round with' is in Pâli paribhâvita, which Dr. Morris holds to be etymologically exactly parallel to our phrase 'perfected by,' on the ground that facio is a causal of the Latin representative of the Sanskrit root bhû. In the *Ketokhila Sutta* of the *Magghima Nikâya* eggs are said to be paribhâvitâni by a brooding hen. Buddhaghosa says simply sîla-paribhâvito ti âdesu yamhi sîle /hatvâ magga-samâdhiṃ nibbattenti so tena sîlena paribhâvito. 'The samâdhi belonging to the (Noble Eightfold) Path is said to be paribhâvito by that virtue, in which they (that is, the converted) are steadfast whilst they practice the samâdhi.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had sojourned at Râgagaha as long as he pleased, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go to Ambalattikâ.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda in assent, and the Blessed One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalattikâ.

14. There the Blessed One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

15. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Ambalattikâ, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Nâlandâ.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nâlandâ; and there, at Nâlandâ, the Blessed One stayed in the Pâvârîka mango grove.

16. ¹Now the venerable Sâriputta came to the

¹ This conversation is given at length in the Sampasâdaniya Sutta of the Dîgha Nikâya, and also in the Satipattâna Vagga of the Samyutta Nikâya. I have compressed mere repetitions at the places marked with [] where the preceding clauses are, in the text, repeated in full.

place where the Blessed One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side, and said: 'Lord! such faith have I in the Blessed One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether Samana or Brâhman, who is greater and wiser than the Blessed One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.'

'Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sâriputta: verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Arahât Buddhas, comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their doctrine, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what salvation they attained to?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'Of course then thou hast perceived all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Arahât Buddhas comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours]?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'But at least then, O Sâriputta, thou knowest me as the Arahât Buddha now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned]!'

'Not even that, O Lord!'

'You see then, Sâriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Arahât Buddhas of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?'

17. 'O Lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Arahât Buddhas that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage

of the faith. Just, Lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and toranas, and with one gate alone; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only friends. And he, on going over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. That might well be. Yet all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, Lord, that I know the lineage of the faith. I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the past, putting away all lust, ill-will, sloth, pride, and doubt; knowing all those mental faults which make men weak; training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha of to-day, has [done so] now¹.

18. There in the Pavārika mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk

¹ The tertium quid of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sāriputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far—after the cross-examination by the Buddha—he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to Buddhahood. The Pāli of ‘the full fruition of Enlightenment’ is *anuttaram sammā-sambodhiṃ*, which might be rendered ‘Supreme Buddhahood.’

with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

19. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Nâlandâ, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Pâ/aliġâma.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pâ/aliġâma.

20. ¹ Now the disciples at Pâ/aliġâma heard of his arrival there, and they went to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest house. And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Then the Pâ/aliġâma disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest house, bowing to the Blessed One and keeping him on their right as they past him². On arriving there they made the rest

¹ From this sentence down to the end of the verses at Chap. II, § 3, is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahâ Vagga VI, 28, 1, to VI, 29, 2.

² It would be very rude to have left him otherwise. So in Europe a similar custom is carried still further, persons leaving the royal presence being expected to go out backwards.

house fit in every way for occupation¹, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Blessed One, and bowing, stood beside him, and said: 'All things are ready, Lord! It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. And the Blessed One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Blessed One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pâtali-gâma disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Blessed One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. ²Then the Blessed One addressed the Pâtali-gâma disciples, and said: 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of Brâhmans, nobles, heads of houses, or Samanas—

¹ With reference to Oldenberg's note at Mahâ Vagga, p. 384, it may be mentioned that Buddhaghosa says here, 'sabba-santharin' ti yathâ sabbam santhatam yeva. (S. V. fol. 7e.)

² The following sentences contain a synopsis of what was merely the elementary righteousness, the Âdi-brahma-kariyam, quite distinct from, and not for a moment to be compared in glory with the Magga-brahma-kariyam, the system developed in the Noble Eightfold Path. It will have been seen above, § 11, that the latter, to be perfect, must be untarnished by the attraction of the hope of heaven or the fear of hell.

he enters shyly and confused; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe¹. This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!

24. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, Brāhmins, heads of houses, or members of the order—he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer.'

25. When the Blessed One had thus taught the disciples, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, 'The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.' 'Even so, Lord!' answered the disciples of Pâtaligâma, and they rose from their seats, and bowing to the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Blessed One, not long after the disciples

¹ Four such states are mentioned, apâya, duggati, vinipâto, and nirayo, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgment, it cannot accurately be so rendered.

of Pâtaligâma had departed thence, entered into his private chamber.

26. At that time Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pâtaligâma to repel the Vaggians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers.

27. And the Blessed One, with his great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pâtaligâma. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ânanda: 'Who is it then, Ânanda, who is building a fortress at Pâtaligâma?'

'Sunîdha and Vassakâra, Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vaggians.'

28. They act, Ânanda, as if they had consulted with the Tâvatimsa angels. [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]: 'And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares. But three dangers will hang over Pâtali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension¹.'

¹ This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist as proving the Buddha's power of prophecy and the authority of the

29. Now Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Blessed One :

‘May the venerable Gotama do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day.’ And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Then when Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes; and informed the Blessed One, saying :

Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied, it is valuable evidence of the age both of the Mahâ Vagga and of the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta;—evidence, however, that cannot as yet be applied to its full extent, as the time at which Pâṭali-gâma had grown into the great and important city of Pâṭali-putta is not as yet known with sufficient certainty. The late Burmese tradition on this point given in Bigandet's *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, vol. ii, p. 183, can scarcely be depended upon, though it doubtless rests on older documents, and is mentioned also by Hiouen Thsang.

The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called *vatthu-viggâ*, which Buddhaghosa explains here at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Pâli Piṭakas. See, for instance, § 1 of the Mahâ-sîlam, translated below in the *Tevigga Sutta*. The belief is turned to ridicule in the edifying legend, No. 40, in my ‘*Buddhist Birth Stories*,’ pp. 326–334.

‘The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.’

And the Blessed One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Sunīdha and Vassakâra, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Blessed One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One gave thanks in these verses:—

‘Wheresoe’er the prudent man shall take up his
abode

Let him support there good and upright men of
self-control.

Let him give gifts to all such deities as may
be there.

Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they
honour him again;

Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her
only son.

And the man who has the grace of the gods, good
fortune he beholds¹.

¹ This passage gives Buddhaghosa a good deal of difficulty, as it apparently inculcates offerings to the gods, which is contrary not only to both the letter and spirit of Buddhism, but also to the practice of Buddhists. He explains away the gifts to the deities by saying they are gifts of merit only (*patti*)—the giver giving the four necessities to Bhikkhus, and then expressing a wish that the *Devatās* should share in his *puñña*. I am inclined to think, on the authority of the *Deva-dhamma Gâtaka* (No. 9 in ‘Buddhist

32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed him as he went, saying, 'The gate the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate he went out at was called Gotama's gate.

33. But the Blessed One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing¹; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work². Then the Blessed One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. And the Blessed One beheld the people looking for boats and rafts, and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song:—

'They who cross the ocean dream
Making a solid path across the pools—

Birth Stories'), that by the deities are here meant the 'good and upright men of self-control,' mentioned in the previous clause. The verses were perhaps originally non-Buddhistic.

¹ Samatittikā kākapeyyā. See the note on Tevigga Sutta I, 19, translated below, where the same expression occurs.

² Ulumpam ti pāram gamanattāya āniyo kottetvā katam; kullam ti valli-ādhi bandhitvā katabbam, says Buddhaghosa. The spelling u/lumpam would correspond better to the Sanskrit form uḍupa, and has been chosen by Childers in his dictionary, and by Oldenberg in his transliteration of this passage (Mahā Vagga VI, 28 : 11, 12).

Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
 These are the wise, these are the saved indeed!¹

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ That is, those who cross the 'ocean drear' of *tanhâ*, or craving; avoiding, by means of the 'dyke' or causeway of the Noble Path, the 'pools' or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion (comp. *Dhp.* v. 91), whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods,—'these are the wise, these are the saved indeed!'

How the metre of the verses in the text fell into the confusion in which it at present stands is not easy to see. One would expect—

Ye *visagga pallalâni taranti annavam saram*

Kullam hi gano bandhati tinnâ medhâvino ganâ.

That a gloss can creep into the text, even in verses, is clear from the indisputable instance at *Gâtaka* II, 35; and the words *setum katvâna* would have been a very natural gloss had the passage once stood as above. Then supposing that a copyist or reciter had found the words *ye visagga pallalâni setum katvâna taranti annavam saram*, he might have corrected, as he thought, the order of the words so as to avoid any possibility of the words being taken to mean that the *setu*, the solid causeway, was made over the *annavam saram*, the vastly deep, which would be palpably absurd. Buddhaghosa found *setum katvâna* in the text, but it is not possible to tell in what order he found the words. The Turnour MS. of the *Sumangala Vilâsini* has *pabandhati*, but a Ceylon copy of the *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* confirms the Burmese reading *bandhati* at *Mahâ Vagga* VI, 28, 13. I need scarcely say that the translation follows the printed text. We know too little about the history of the Pâli Suttas to be able to do more than make a passing note of such curiosities.

On vanishing away from a place, comp. below, III, 22.

CHAPTER II.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Koṭigâma.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Koṭigâma; and there he stayed in the village itself¹.

2. And at that place the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I!'

'And what are these four?'

'The noble truth about sorrow; the noble truth about the cause of sorrow; the noble truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the noble truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these noble truths are grasped and known the craving for existence is rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:

¹ As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or house where the Blessed One stayed; but it is also (in this and one or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds nothing positive to the sense.

‘By not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are,
Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth;
When these are grasped, the cause of birth is then removed,
The root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth.’

4. There too, while staying at Koṭigâma, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. ‘Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils,—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as was convenient at Koṭigâma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the villages of Nâdika.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed proceeded to the villages of Nâdika with a great company of the brethren; and there, at Nâdika, the Blessed One stayed at the Brick Hall¹.

¹ At first Nâdika is (twice) spoken of in the plural number; but then, thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular. Buddhaghosa

6. And the venerable Ânanda went to the Blessed One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'The brother named Sâḷha has died at Nâdika, Lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nandâ has died, Lord, at Nâdika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny?' And in the same terms he enquired concerning the devout Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugâtâ, the devout Kakudha, and Kâlinga, and Nikata, and Kaṭissabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.

7. 'The brother named Sâḷha, Ânanda, by the destruction of the great evils has by himself, and in this world, known and realised and attained to Arahatship, and to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nandâ, Ânanda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ânanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion has become a Sakadâgâmin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout woman Sugâtâ, Ânanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salva-

explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water. On the public resting-place for travellers, which in this instance bore the proud title of Brick Hall, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 280-285.

tion¹. The devout Kakudha, Ânanda, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. So also is the case with Kâlinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty devout men of Nâdika. More than ninety devout men of Nâdika, who have died, Ânanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, hatred, and delusion, become Sakadâgâmins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nâdika who have died, Ânanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of final salvation.

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ânanda, that a human being should die, but that as each one does so you should come to the Buddha, and enquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to the Buddha. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself, "Hell is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."

9. 'What then, Ânanda, is this mirror of truth? It is the consciousness that the elect disciple is in this world possessed of faith in the Buddha—

¹ See 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-110, and below, VI, 9.

believing the Blessed One to be the Holy One, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Blessed Buddha. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Truth—believing the truth to have been proclaimed by the Blessed One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Order—believing the multitude of the disciples of the Blessed One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding — believing this church of the Buddha to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to high and holy thought¹.

10. 'This, Ânanda, is the way, the mirror of truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself: "Hell is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."'

11. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nâdika the

¹ See above, § I, 11.

Blessed One addressed to the brethren that comprehensive religious discourse on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

‘Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

12. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Nâdika, he addressed Ānanda, and said: ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Vesâli.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesâli; and there at Vesâli the Blessed One stayed at Ambapâli’s grove.

13. Now there the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you.’

14. ‘And how does a brother become mindful?’

‘Herein, O mendicants, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving—while subject to sensations, let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief arising from the craving which follows our sensation—and so also

as he thinks or reasons or feels let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or reasoning, or feeling.'

15. 'And how does a brother become thoughtful?'

'He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out and coming in, in looking and watching, in bending in his arm or stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or carrying his bowl, in eating and drinking, in consuming or tasting, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

'Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you¹.'

¹ This doctrine of being 'mindful and thoughtful'—*sato sampagāno*—is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pāli Piṭakas, and is one of the 'Seven Jewels of the Law.' It is fully treated of in each of the Nikāyas, forming the subject of the Mahā Satippaṭṭhāna Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and the Satippaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Maggħima Nikāya, and the Satippaṭṭhāna Vaggo of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, as well as of various passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and of the work called Vibhaṅga in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. I am glad to learn that Dr. Morris intends to collect and compare all these passages in his forthcoming work on the 'Seven Jewels of the Law.' These sections of the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta and the treatment in the Vibhaṅga have preserved, in Dr. Morris's opinion, the oldest form of the doctrine. Compare Chap. II, § 34.

Buddhaghosa has no comment here on the subject itself, reserving what he has to say for the comment on the Suttas devoted entirely to it; but he observes in passing that the reason why the Blessed One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being 'mindful and thoughtful,' was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtesan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the phrase *sati upaṭṭhāpetabbā* below, Chap. V, § 13. (text, p. 51), in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation. But see the next note.

16. ¹ Now the courtezan Ambapâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli, and was staying at her mango grove. And ordering a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and proceeded with her train towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

17. Then she—instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Blessed One, and said:

‘May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.’

And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapâli the courtezan saw that the Blessed One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she past him, she departed thence.

¹ From this point down to the words ‘he rose from his seat,’ in § II, 24, is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahâ Vagga VI, 30, 1, to VI, 30, 6. But the passage there follows immediately after the verses translated above, § I, 34, so that the events here (in §§ 16–22) localised at Vesâli, are there localised at Kosîgâma. Our section II, 5 is then inserted between our sections II, 22 and II, 23; and our section II, 12 does not occur at all, the Blessed One only reaching Ambapâli’s grove when he goes there (as in our section II, 23) to partake of the meal to which he had been invited. Buddhaghosa passes over this discrepancy in silence.

18. Now the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli, and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments: some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

19. And Ambapâli drove up against the young *Likkhavis*, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the *Likkhavis* said to Ambapâli the courtesan, 'How is it, Ambapâli, that thou drivest up against us thus?'

'My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,' said she.

'Ambapâli! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,' said they.

'My Lords, were you to offer all Vesâli with its subject territory¹, I would not give up so honourable a feast!'

Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands², exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl³!' and they went on to Ambapâli's grove.

20. When the Blessed One saw the *Likkhavis*

¹ Sâhâran ti sa-ganapadan. (S. V. 1au.)

² Aṅgulî pothesum. Childers translates this phrase 'to snap the fingers as a token of pleasure;' but Buddhaghosa says, aṅgulî pothesun ti aṅgulî kâlesum. (S. V. 1au.)

³ Ambapâli means mango grower, one who looks after mangoes.

approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said :

‘O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the *Tâvatimsa* gods, gaze upon this company of the *Likkhavis*, behold this company of the *Likkhavis*, compare this company of the *Likkhavis*—even as a company of *Tâvatimsa* gods¹.’

21. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the *Likkhavis* alighted there, and then went on on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse².

22. Then they instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words, addressed the Blessed One, and said, ‘May the Blessed One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow?’

‘O *Likkhavis*, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapâli the courtesan,’ was the reply.

¹ The *Tâvatimsa*-devâ are the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. Buddhaghosa says, ‘*Imam Likkhavi-parisam tumhâkam kîtena Tâvatimsa-parisam upasamharatha upanetha allyâpetha : Yath’ eva hi Tâvatimsâ abhirûpa pâsâdikâ nilâdi-nâna-vannâ eva ñ k’ ime Likkhavi-râgâno pîti. Tâvatimshehi samake katvâ passathâ ti attho.*’

² The *Mâlâlankâra*-vatthu gives the substance of the discourse on this occasion. ‘The princes had come in their finest and richest dress ; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.’—Bigandet, 2nd ed. p. 260.

Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands, exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl!' And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Blessed One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they past him, they departed thence.

23. And at the end of the night Ambapâli the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready!'

And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and took his bowl, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapâli's dwelling-house was: and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapâli the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes before the order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

24. And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.' And the Blessed One accepted the gift; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence¹.

¹ Bishop Bigandet says: 'In recording the conversion of a courtesan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Budha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanely speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions—one is almost reminded of

25. While at Ambapâli's mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the disciples on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

26. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Ambapâli's grove, he addressed Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Beluva¹.'

'So be it, Lord,' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

27. Now the Blessed One there addressed the brethren, and said: 'O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesâli, each according to the place where his friends, intimates, and close companions may live, for the rainy season of vassa. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.'

the conversion of "a woman that was a sinner," mentioned in the Gospels' (Legend of the Burmese Budha, 2nd ed. p. 258).

¹ Beluva-gâmakoti Vesâli-samîpe pâda-gâmakoti, 'a village on a slope at the foot of a hill near Vesâli,' says Buddhaghosa. (S. V. 1au.)

‘So be it, Lord!’ said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesâli, each according to the place where his friends or intimates or close companions lived: whilst the Blessed One stayed even there at Beluva.

28. Now when the Blessed One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

29. Then this thought occurred to the Blessed One, ‘It would not be right for me to pass away from existence without addressing the disciples, without taking leave of the order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come¹.’

30. And the Blessed One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

31. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover; when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he went out from the monastery, and sat down behind the monastery on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ânanda went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and addressed the

¹ The commentary on *gîvita-saṅkhâram adhitthâya vihareyyan* is not quite clear, but the general meaning of the words cannot be very different from the version given in the text.

Blessed One, and said : ' I have beheld, Lord, how the Blessed One was in health, and I have beheld how the Blessed One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Blessed One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties were no longer clear¹, yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Blessed One would not pass away from existence until at least he had left instructions as touching the order.'

32. 'What, then, Ânanda? Does the order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine: for in respect of the truths, Ânanda, the Tathâgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back². Surely, Ânanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, "It is I who will lead the brotherhood," or, "The order is dependent upon me," it is he who

¹ Madhuraka-gâto viyâ ti sañgâta-garubhâvo sañgâta-ttābhâvo (sic) sūle uttâsita-sadiso: na pakkhâyantī ti na pakâsenti nânâkâranâ na upa-ttāhanti: Dhammâ pi mam na ppa-ttibhanti ti sati-ppa-ttānâ dhammâ mayham pâka-tā na honti. (S. V. fol. 14m.) As the first clause is corrupt, I have translated madhuraka-gâto independently of it. Childers's reading nam na ppa-ttibhanti is clearly incorrect. My own MS. of the Dîgha Nikâya and the Turnour MS. of the Samyutta Nikâya agree with Buddhaghosa.

² Na tatth' Ânanda Tathâgatassa dhammesu âkariya-muttāhi; on which Buddhaghosa says, Âkariya-muttāhi (MS. vuttāhi) ti yathâ bāhirakānam âkariya-muttāhi nāma hoti: daharakāle kassaki akathetvâ pakkhima-kāle marana-māñke nipannâ piya-manâpassa antevâsikassa kathenti: evam Tathâgatassa idam mahallaka-kāle pakkhima-ttāne kathes-sāmī ti muttāhim (MS. vuttāhim) katvâ pariharitvâ thapitam kiñci n' atthī ti. (S. V. 14m.) Comp. Gâtaka II, 221, 250.

should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the order. Now the Tathâgata, Ânanda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the order? I too, O Ânanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ânanda, can only with much additional care be made to move along, so, methinks, the body of the Tathâgata can only be kept going with much additional care¹. It is only, Ânanda, when

¹ Vegha-missakena, the meaning of which is not clear. The Mâlâlankâra-vatthu, as rendered by Bigandet, has 'repairs.' The Sumangala Vilâsinî says, Veghamissakenâ ti bâha-bandhana-kakka-bandhanâdinâ patisaṅkharanena veghamissakena; thus giving the same meaning, but in such a way as to throw no light on the derivation of the word. The whole episode from §II, 27 to the end of the chapter occurs also word for word in the Satipaṭṭhâna Vagga of the Samyutta Nikâya, and the Burmese Phayre MS. there reads vekhamissakena, as the Burmese MS. does here. My Dîgha Nikâya confirms Childers's reading, which no doubt correctly represents the uniform tradition of the Ceylon MSS. The Sumangala Vilâsinî goes on, maññe ti gara-sakatam viya meghamissakena maññe yâpeti arahatta-phala-veghanena katu-iriyâpatha-kappanam Tathâgatassa hoti nidasseti. Here the reading meggha of the Turnour MS. must be a copyist's slip of the pen for veggha, and vegghanena is no clearer than veghamissakena. On the use of the word missaka at the end of a compound see Gâtaka II, 8, 420, 433. I have translated on what seems to me the only solution at present possible, namely, that an initial *a* has been dropt, and that vegghâ or vekkhâ = avekshâ, 'attention, foresight, care.' In the same way though avalaṇṇeti does occur (Gâtaka I, 111), the more usual form in Pâli, and the only one given by Childers, is valaṇṇeti.

the Tathâgata, ceasing to attend to any outward thing, or to experience any sensation, becomes plunged in that devout meditation of heart which is concerned with no material object—it is only then that the body of the Tathâgata is at ease.

33. 'Therefore, O Ânanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ânanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

34. 'Herein, O Ânanda, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving—while subject to sensations let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from the sensations—and so, also, as he thinks, or reasons, or feels, let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or to reasoning, or to feeling.

35. 'And whosoever, Ânanda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves—it is they, Ânanda, among my

bhikkhus, who shall reach the very topmost Height!—but they must be anxious to learn¹.

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

¹ Tamatagge me te Ânanda bhikkhû bhavissanti ye ke \bar{c} i sikkhâkâmâ. The Burmese MSS. for me te read p'ete, which is a little easier. Buddhaghosa says, Tamatagge ti tamagge. Magghe takâro padasandhivasena vutto. Idam vuttam hoti ime aggatamâ ime aggamâ ti: evam sabbam tamayogam khinditvâ ativiya agge uttama-bhâve te Ânanda mamam bhikkhû bhavissanti. Kesam ati-agge bhavissanti? Ye ke \bar{c} i sikkhâkâmâ sabbesam te katu-sati-ppatthâna-gôkarâ ka bhikkhû agge bhavissantî ti. Arahattatikûfena desanam ganhati, 'Tamatagge is for tamagge. The t in the middle is used for euphony. This word means, "these are the most pre-eminent, the very chief." Having, as above stated, broken every bond of darkness (tama) those bhikkhus of mine, Ânanda, will be at the very top, in the highest condition. They will be at the very top of whom? Those bhikkhus who are willing to learn, and those who exercise themselves in the four ways of being mindful and thoughtful, they shall be at the top of all (the rest). Thus does he make Arahatsip the three-peaked height of his discourse' (compare on this last phrase Nibbâna desanâkû/am ganhati, Gâtaka I, 275, 393, 401; and see also I, 114). Uttama, the highest (scil. bhâva, condition), is used absolutely of Arahatsip or Nirvâna at Gâtaka I, 96; Aggaphala occurs in the same sense at Gâtaka I, 114; and even Phalagga at Mah. 102. The last words, 'but they must be anxious to learn,' seem to me to be an after thought. It is only those who are thoroughly determined to work out their own salvation, without looking for safety to any one else, even to the Buddha himself, who will, whilst in the world, enter into and experience Nirvâna. But, of course, let there be no mistake, merely to reject the vain baubles of the current superstitious beliefs is not enough. There is plenty to learn and to acquire, of which enough discourse is elsewhere. For aggamâ in the comment we must read aggatamâ. If one could read amatagge in the text, all difficulty would vanish; but this would be too bold, and neither do I see how the use of anamatagge can help us.

CHAPTER III.

1¹. Now the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesâli for alms, and when he returned he sat down on the seat prepared for him, and after he had finished eating the rice he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Take up the mat, Ânanda; I will go to spend the day at the *Kâpâla Ketiya*.'

'So be it, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Blessed One.

2. So the Blessed One proceeded to the *Kâpâla Ketiya*, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ânanda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'How delightful a spot, Ânanda, is Vesâli, and the Udena *Ketiya*, and the Gotamaka *Ketiya*, and the Sattambaka *Ketiya*, and the Bahuputta *Ketiya*, and the Sârândada *Ketiya*, and the *Kâpâla Ketiya*.'

3. 'Ânanda! whosoever has thought out, developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi², and so

¹ The whole of this passage down to the end of § 10 recurs in the Iddhipâda Vagga of the *Samyutta Nikâya*.

² Iddhi. The four paths are, 1. will, 2. effort, 3. thought, and 4. investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against sin. The Iddhi reached by them is supposed in works on Buddhism to be a bodily condition (power of flying, &c.), by which the body rose superior to all the ordinary limitations of

mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which had yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thought them out, and thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which has yet to run.'

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Blessed One, the venerable Ânanda was incapable of comprehending them; and he besought not the Blessed One, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! Live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!' So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One¹.

matter—a bodily condition corresponding to the mental condition of exaltation and power by which it was reached. On this curiously perverted exaggeration of the real influence of the mind over the body see, further, the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-177. Two of the string of participles—*yânikatâ*, which may possibly mean 'made use of as a vehicle,' and *susamâradhâ*, 'most thoroughly ascended up to'—might seem to allude to *Iddhi* as a power of flying bodily through the air. But the whole set of participles is used elsewhere of conditions of mind highly esteemed among the Buddhists, and incapable of giving support to any such allusion. So, for instance, of universal love (*mettâ*) at *Gâtaka* II, 61.

¹ *Yathâ tam Mârena pariyutthita* *kitto*. Here *tam* is the indeclinable particle, *yathâ tam* introducing an explanation. My MS. of the *Dîgha Nikâya* and the Turnour MS. of the *Sumangala Vilasini* read *pariyutthita*, and either spelling is correct. The

5. A second and a third time did the Blessed One [say the same thing, and a second and a third time was Ânanda's heart thus hardened].

6. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : ' You may leave me, Ânanda, awhile, and do whatever seemeth to thee fit.'

' So be it, Lord !' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed, and rising from his seat he saluted the Blessed One, and passing him on the right, sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ânanda had been gone, Mâra, the Evil One, approached the Blessed One, and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Blessed One in these words :

' Pass away now, Lord, from existence ; let the Blessed One now die. Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away—even according to the

fact is that the *y* or *v* in such cases is even less than euphonic ; it is an assistance not to the speaker, but merely to the writer. Thus in the Siñhalese *duwanawâ*, 'to run,' the spoken word is *du-anawâ*, and the *w* is written only to avoid the awkward use in the middle of a word of the initial sign for the sound *a*. That the speakers of Pâli found no difficulty in pronouncing two vowels together is abundantly proved by numerous instances. The writers of Pâli, in those cases in which the second vowel begins a word, use without hesitation the initial sign ; but in the middle of the word this would be so ungainly that they naturally prefer to insert a consonantal sign to carry the vowel sign. The varying readings I have pointed out are a strong confirmation of the correctness of the pronunciation of modern native scholars ; and we may the more readily adopt it as the question is not really one concerning the pronunciation of Pâli, but concerning the use which modern native copyists make of their own alphabet. I would pronounce therefore *pari-utthita-kitto*.

word which the Blessed One spoke when he said¹: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex² shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"

8. 'And now, Lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away—even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, widespread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed to men." And now, Lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from

¹ The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha, after he had been enjoying the first bliss of *Nirvâna*, under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 109-111). The Evil One then also tempted him to die (see below, paragraph III, 43), and this was his reply.

² The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, for each of these classes of persons.

existence ; let the Blessed One now die ! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away !'

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One addressed Māra, the Evil One, and said : ' O Evil One ! make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die !'

10. Thus the Blessed One while at the *Kâpāla Ketiya* deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Blessed One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation :

' His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small ;
With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause !'

11. Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ānanda : ' Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?'

12. Then the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Blessed One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said : ' Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of

heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?’

13. ‘Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ānanda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight? This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

14. ‘Again, Ānanda, a Samāna or a Brāhman of great (intellectual) power, and who has the feelings of his heart well under his control; or a god or fairy (devatā¹) of great might and power,—when such a

¹ Devatā is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Buddhist ideas, of the spirit world. It includes gods of all sorts; tree and river nymphs; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses (see my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ Tale No. 40); spirits in the ground (see above, § I, 26); the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries; and many other similar beings. ‘Celestial being’ would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above (§ I, 26). ‘Superhuman being’ would be an inaccurate rendering; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. ‘Spirit’ being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties—none of which are included under devatā—would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pāli word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class

one by intense meditation of the finite idea of earth or the infinite idea of water (has succeeded in realising the comparative value of things¹) he can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently. These are the second causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his temporary form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake².

more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of devatâs being referred to, and there being no word in English for them all, I have ventured to put the word devatâ into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.

¹ Yassa parittâ paṭṭhavi-saṇṇâ bhâvitâ hoti appamâṇâ âposasaṇṇâ, on which Buddhaghosa says simply, Parittâ ti dubbalâ: appamâṇâ ti balavâ, and then goes on, as a note to kampeti, to tell a long story how Sangharakkhita Sâmaṇera, the nephew of Nâga Thera, attained Arahatsip on the day of his admission to the order; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said in Matthew xxi. 21 to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings; and the train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated. There is much about it in the Mahâ Padhâna Sutta of the Dîgha Nikâya, where Chap. III, §§ 11-20 recur.

² The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have

16. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently.

gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamt that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' (pp. 62-64), and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. The sacred event is also one of those represented on the ancient bas-reliefs round the Bharhut Thûpa, a full description of which will be found in General Cunningham's most interesting work, 'The Stupa of Bharhut.' General Cunningham says of the description placed above this sculpture : 'Above it in large characters is inscribed Bhagavato rûkdanta, which may perhaps be translated, "Buddha as the sounding elephant," from ru, to sound, to make a particular sort of sound.' Now the first word of the inscription is in the genitive case, so that if the second word could mean an elephant, the whole would signify, 'The Buddha's elephant.' But the characters which General Cunningham reads rûkdanta are, I venture to suggest, okkanti (? ûkkanti); and the inscription simply says, 'The descent of the blessed One.' As I have pointed out in 'Buddhism' (p. 184), the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Hindus have striven to embellish the life story of the Teacher whose followers they had become. In the *Lalita Vistara* (Calc. ed. p. 63) the entrance of the elephant into Mâyâ precedes the dream; but though the ignorant may have therefore accepted it as a fact, it is of course only a figure of speech—and I venture to think from the Hindu standpoint, a beautiful figure of speech—to express the incarnation of divine mildness and majesty in a human form. The use of such a figure is not confined to India. In the earliest of the Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the incarnation of the divine gentleness and love is expressed by saying that a dove from heaven 'entered into' the human form.

This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathâgata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathâgata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathâgata passes entirely away with that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ānanda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight¹? Assemblies of nobles, Brâhmaṇas, householders, and Samanas, and the angel hosts of the Guardian Angels, the Great Thirty-Three, Mâra, and Brahma.

22. 'Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse

¹ The connection, or rather want of connection, between this and the last paragraph seems to me to be very suggestive as to the way in which the Sutta was composed. The narrative is resumed at paragraph III, 43. On vanishing away, comp. I, 33.

I used to instruct, incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say, "Who may this be who thus speaks? a man or a god?" Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not, even when I vanished away; and would say, "Who may this be who has thus vanished away? a man or a god?"'

23. [And in the same words the Blessed One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight assemblies.'

24. 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight positions of mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things¹]. What are the eight?'

¹ Abhibhâyatani ti abhibhavanakâranâni. Kim abhibhavanti? Pakkanika-dhamme pi ârammanâni pi: tâni hipa/ipakkha-bhâvena pakkaniika-dhamme abhibhavanti puggalassa nânuttaritâya ârammanâni, says Buddhaghosa. (Sum. Vil. *iti*.)

This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief as to the long-vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance, and the whole argument is also expressed in another form in the

25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the second position of mastery.

27. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the third position of mastery.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms that are blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—just, for

passage on the nine successive 'Cessations,' of which an abstract will be found in Childers, sub voce *nirodha*.

The two lists have been translated and commented upon by Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 543, 824-832), who took the texts from the Mahânidâna Sutta and the Sangîti Sutta respectively. The former has been reprinted in Grimbolt's *Sept Suttas Pâlis*, where the passage will be found at pp. 261, 262. I regret that in my interpretation I have been compelled to differ so greatly from Burnouf. Though I have devoted much care and time to the subject, I do not suppose that I have understood it better than he did. We cannot hope to get to the bottom of what these old Buddhists thought about matter and mind from such curt lists as these.

instance, as the Ummâ flower is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue ; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares which, on whichever side you look at it, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—that is the fifth position of mastery.’

30–32. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth ; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue ; and the Kanikâra flower, the Bandhu-gîvaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the Ummâ flower, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. ‘Now these stages of deliverance, Ânanda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms¹], are eight in number. Which are the eight ?

34. ‘A man possessed with the idea of form sees forms—this is the first stage of deliverance.

35. ‘Without the subjective idea of form, he sees forms externally—this is the second stage of deliverance.

¹ These are the *Attha Vimokkhâ*. Buddhaghosa has no comment upon them ; merely saying, ‘The passage on the Vimokkhas is easy to understand’—which is tantalizing. The last five Vimokkhas occur again below, in Chap. VI, §§ 11–13, where it is clear that they are used to express the progress through deep meditation, into absent-mindedness, abstraction, and being sunk in thought, until finally the thinker falls into actual trance.

36. 'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent (upon what he sees)—this is the third stage of deliverance.

37. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of resistance, by paying no attention to the idea of distinction, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present—this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

38. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present—this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

39. 'By passing quite beyond the mere consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking "nothing at all exists," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present—this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

40. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present—this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

41. 'By passing quite beyond the state of "neither ideas nor the absence of ideas" he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be—this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

42. 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight stages of deliverance.

43. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was resting under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the

river Nerañgarâ immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Mâra, the Evil One, came, Ânanda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words: "Pass away now, Lord, from existence! Let the Blessed One now die! Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away!"

44. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ânanda, I addressed Mâra, the Evil One, and said: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until not only the brethren and sisters of the order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"

45. "I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men!"

46. 'And now again to-day, Ânanda, at the *Kâpâla Ketiya*, Mâra, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].

47. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ânanda, I answered him and said: "Make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathâgata shall take place

before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die !”

48. ‘Thus, Ânanda, the Tathâgata has now to-day at the *Kâpâla Ketiya* consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.’

49. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ânanda addressed the Blessed One, and said : ‘Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa ! live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One ! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !’

50. ‘Enough now, Ânanda, beseech not the Tathâgata !’ was the reply. ‘The time for making such request is past.’

51. And again, the second time, the venerable Ânanda besought the Blessed One [in the same words. And he received from the Blessed One the same reply].

52. And again, the third time, the venerable Ânanda besought the Blessed One [in the same words].

53. ‘Hast thou faith, Ânanda, in the wisdom of the Tathâgata ?’

‘Even so, Lord !’

‘Now why, then, Ânanda, dost thou trouble the Tathâgata even until the third time ?’

54. ‘From his own mouth have I heard from the Blessed One, from his own mouth have I received this saying, “Whosoever has thought out, Ânanda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as

a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.” Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.’

55. ‘Hast thou faith, Ânanda?’

‘Even so, Lord!’

‘Then, O Ânanda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence—in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying, “Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.” If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!’

56. ‘On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling at Râgagaha, on the hill called the Vulture’s Peak. Now there, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: “How pleasant a spot, Ânanda, is Râgagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture’s Peak. Whosoever has thought out, Ânanda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he

desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.' If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!"

57. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling at that same Râgagaha in the Banyan Grove—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha at the Robbers' Cliff—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Sîtavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasondika—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Tapoda Grove—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in Gîvaka's Mango Grove—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhî.'

58. 'Now there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Râgagaha; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak; how pleasant the

Banyan tree of Gotama ; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff ; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra ; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili ; how pleasant the mountain cave Sappasonḍika in the Sītavana Grove ; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove ; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove ; how pleasant Givaka's Mango Grove ; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhī !

59. "Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

60. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was residing here at Vesâli at the Udena Ketiya. And there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Vesâli ; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised

them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

61. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling here at Vesâli at the Gotamaka *Ketiya*—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sattamba *Ketiya*—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Bahuputta *Ketiya*—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sârandada *Ketiya* [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ânanda, in the same words].

62. 'And now to-day, Ânanda, at the *Kâpâla Ketiya*, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Vesâli; how pleasant the Udena *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Gotamaka *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Sattamba *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Bahuputta *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Sârandada *Ketiya*. Who-soever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thought and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run."

63. 'But now, Ânanda, have I not formerly¹ de-

¹ That *paṭigaṭṭh'eva* means 'formerly, already' is clear from Mahâ Vagga I, 7, 1; X, 2, 3, though its derivation would seem to render the meaning 'frequently, recurringly' more natural. The

clared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Ânanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! And this mortal being, Ânanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathâgata. The remaining sum of life has been surrendered by him. Verily, the word has gone forth from the Tathâgata, saying, “The final extinction of the Tathâgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die!” That the Tathâgata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying—this can no wise be!’

64. ‘Come, Ânanda, let us go to the Kûâgâra Hall, to the Mahâvana.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with Ânanda

phrase occurs pretty often. Trenckner (*milinda-paṇḥam*, p. 422) proposes a correction into *paṭikaḥḥ’eva*. *Paluggâti* just below is noteworthy as an unusual contraction of *palugge iti*.

¹ I do not understand the connection of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition; and certainly the latter utterance of the two is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other sayings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pâli Piṭakas.

with him, to the Mahâvana to the Kû/âgâra Hall : and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said :

‘Go now, Ânanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesâli.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesâli, he went to the Blessed One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Blessed One, and said :

‘Lord ! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Blessed One do even as seemeth to him fit.’

65. Then the Blessed One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said :

‘Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad ; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

‘Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order

that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men ?'

They are these :

The four earnest meditations.

The fourfold great struggle against sin.

The four roads to saintship.

The five moral powers.

The five organs of spiritual sense.

The seven kinds of wisdom, and

The noble eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

66. And the Blessed One exhorted the brethren, and said :

'Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying, "All component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathâgata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die !"

'My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close :

I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone !

Be earnest then, O brethren ! holy, full of thought !

Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your
own hearts!

Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth
and law¹,

Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of
grief.'

End of the Third Portion for Recitation².

¹ Dhamma and vinaya. The Buddhist religion, as just summarised, and the regulations of the order.

² It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time when death was so near at hand, is reported to have laid such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms—such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on—afterwards were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Pāli ones. To attempt more would demand a treatise rather than a note, and it has given me peculiar pleasure to learn, as these sheets are passing through the press, that my friend Dr. Morris intends to devote a book to the treatment of these seven 'Jewels of the Law,' as the *Kulla Vagga* calls them (IX, 1, 4), which form, when united, the bright diadem of *Nirvāṇa*.

The four Earnest Meditations (*kattāro Satipaṭṭhānā*) are—

1. Meditation on the body.
2. Meditation on the sensations.
3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

The fourfold Great Struggle against sin is divided into *kattāro Samappadhānā*, which are—

1. The struggle to prevent sinfulness arising.
2. The struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which *Iddhi* (see above, § 3, note) is to be acquired. They are the *Kattāro Iddhipādā*:

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

The five moral powers (*pañña Balāni*) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (*Indriyāni*). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference of name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven Ratanas of a *Kakkavatti*?

The details of both classes are—

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation.
5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom (*satta Bogghangā*) are—

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation (of scripture).
5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo*) forms the subject of the *Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta*, translated in this volume, and consists of—

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct.
5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing.
7. Intellectual activity. 8. Earnest thought.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Now the Blessed One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesâli for alms: and when he had passed through Vesâli, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesâli with an elephant look¹ and addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'This will be the last time, Ânanda, that the Tathâgata will behold Vesâli. Come, Ânanda, let us go on to *Bhanda-gâma*.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to *Bhanda-gâma*; and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

2. There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It is through not understanding and grasping four truths², O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration—both you and I.'

'And what are these four? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realised and known, when noble meditation is realised and known, when noble wisdom is realised and known, when noble

¹ *Nâgapalokitam Vesâliyam apaloketvâ*. The Buddhas were accustomed, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backwards to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men!

² Or Conditions (*Dhammâ*). They must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the better known Four Noble Truths (*Sakkâni*) above, Chap. II, § 2.

freedom is realised and known—then is the craving for existence rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth.'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the teacher said¹:

'Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime—

These are the truths realised by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, must die!'

4. There too, while staying at *Bhanda-gâma*, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation.

¹ This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, paragraph 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved. The last word means, completely gone out; and here refers to the extinction of *kilesa* and *taṇhâ*, which will bring about, inevitably, the extinction of being. Compare the passage quoted by Burnouf in *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 376. Probably the whole stanza formerly stood in some other connection, where the word *parinibbuto* had its more usual sense. See Buddhaghosa's note on IV, 23.

The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhandā-gāma as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said : ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Hatthi-gāma.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Hatthi-gāma.

6. [And in similar words it is then related how the Blessed One went on to Amba-gāma, to Gambu-gāma, and to Bhoga-nagara.]

7. Now there at Bhoga-nagara the Blessed One stayed at the Ānanda Ketiya.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said : ‘I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great References¹. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the brethren, in assent², to

¹ The meaning of mahāpadesa is not quite clear. Perhaps it should be rendered true authorities. I have followed Buddhaghosa in taking apadesa as the last part of the compound. He says, mahāpadesā ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahā-kāraṇāni ti attho, ‘the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men.’

² I ought perhaps to have explained why I have ventured to differ from Childers in the rendering of the common word paṭi-suzāti. The root sru seems to have meant ‘to sound’ before it meant ‘to hear;’ and, whether this be so or not, paṭi-suzāti means not simply ‘to consent,’ but ‘to answer (assentingly).’ It

the Blessed One, and the Blessed One spoke as follows :

8. 'In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus: "From the mouth of the Blessed One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order¹. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother?" Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Reference.

9. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard,

has been pointed out to me that answer was formerly 'and-swerian,' where swerian is probably not unrelated to the root svar, 'to sound.'

¹ Sutte otâretabbâni vinaye sandassetabbâni, where one would expect to find the word *Piṭaka* if it had been in use when this passage was first written or composed.

face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren." This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Reference.

10. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and

compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by those elders." This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Reference.

11. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say, "In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture

and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Reference.'

'These, brethren, are the Four Great References.'

12. There, too, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gâma, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Pâvâ.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pâvâ.

And there at Pâvâ the Blessed One stayed at the Mango Grove of Kunda, who was by family a smith.

14. Now Kunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Blessed One had come to Pâvâ, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

And *Kunda*, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.'

And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Then seeing that the Blessed One had consented, *Kunda*, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

17. Now at the end of the night, *Kunda*, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of dried boar's flesh. And he announced the hour to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready.'

18. And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of *Kunda*, the worker in metals. When he had come thither he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed *Kunda*, the worker in metals, and said: 'As to the dried boar's flesh you have made ready, serve me with it, *Kunda*; and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.'

‘Even so, Lord!’ said *Kunda*, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the dried boar’s flesh he had made ready he served to the Blessed One; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the order.

19. Now the Blessed One addressed *Kunda*, the worker in metals, and said: ‘Whatever dried boar’s flesh, *Kunda*, is left over to thee, that bury in a hole. I see no one, *Kunda*, on earth nor in *Māra*’s heaven, nor in *Brahma*’s heaven, no one among *Samanas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, among gods and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the *Tathāgata*.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said *Kunda*, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And whatever dried boar’s flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.

20. And he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened *Kunda*, the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Blessed One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

21. Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by *Kunda*, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

22. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: ‘Come, *Ānanda*, let us go on to *Kusinâra*.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

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23. When he had eaten *Kunda’s* food,
The copper-smith’s—thus have I heard—
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death!

And from the dried flesh of the boar, as soon as
he had eaten it,

There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
Then after nature was relieved the Blessed One
announced and said :

‘I now am going on to *Kusinârâ*¹.’

24. Now the Blessed One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: ‘Fold, I pray you, Ānanda, the robe; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ānanda, and must rest awhile!’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

25. And the Blessed One seated himself on the seat prepared for him; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: ‘Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.’

26. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: ‘But just now,

¹ ‘It should be understood,’ says Buddhaghosa, ‘that these are verses by the Theras who held the council.’ And he repeats this at §§ 52, 56.

Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakutthâ, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs¹.

27. Again the second time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ânanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ânanda, and would drink.'

28. And again the second time the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One: 'But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakutthâ, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

29. Again the third time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ânanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ânanda, and would drink.'

30. 'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ânanda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

¹ *Akkhodikâ ti pasannodikâ: sâtodikâ ti madhurodhikâ: sîtodikâ ti tanu-sîta-salilâ: setakâ ti nikkaddamâ: supatitthâ ti sundara-titthâ.* (S.V. *thri*.) Comp. IV, 56.

31. Then Ânanda thought: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathâgata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

32. And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Blessed One; and when he had come where the Blessed One was he said to him: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathâgata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Blessed One drink the water! Let the Happy One drink the water!'

Then the Blessed One drank of the water.

33. Now at that time a man named Pukkusa¹, a young Mallian, a disciple of Ââra Kâlâma's, was passing along the high road from Kusinârâ to Pâvâ.

34. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Blessed One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated

¹ The Pukkusa caste was one of the lower castes of Sûtras. Compare Assâlâyana Sutta (Pischel), pp. 13, 35; Burnouf's 'Introduction,' &c., pp. 144, 208; Lalita Vistara XXI, 17. But Buddhaghosa says Pukkusa must here be simply a name, as the Mallas were of the Khattiya caste. He adds that this Pukkusa was the owner of the five hundred carts that had just passed by; and that Ââra Kâlâma was called Ââra because he was Dîgha-pîngalo, Kâlâma being his family name.

Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!'

35. 'Formerly, Lord, Â/âra Kâlâma was once walking along the high road; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, Lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Â/âra Kâlâma. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Â/âra Kâlâma was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Â/âra Kâlâma:

"But, Lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by?"

"No, indeed, sir, I saw them not."

"But, Lord, did you hear the sound of them?"

"No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound."

"But, Lord, were you then asleep?"

"No, sir, I was not asleep."

"But, Lord, were you then conscious?"

"Yes, I was conscious, sir."

"So that you, Lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, Lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them!"

"It is even so, sir."

36. 'Then thought that man: "How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake,

neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him."

'And after giving utterance to his deep faith in Âlâra Kâlâma, he departed thence.'

37. 'Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with—that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing?'

38. 'What in comparison, Lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts. That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.'

39. 'Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at Âtumâ, and was at the Threshing-floor¹. And at that time the falling rain begun to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Âtumâ, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.

¹ Bhusâgâre ti khaḷu-sâlâyam. (S. V. *thri*.)

40. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side.

41. 'And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man :

"Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together?"

"But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, Lord, were you?"

"I, sir, have been here all the while."

"But, Lord, did you see it?"

"I, sir, saw nothing."

"But, Lord, did you hear it?"

"I, sir, heard nothing."

"Were you then, Lord, asleep?"

"I, sir, was not asleep."

"Were you then conscious, Lord?"

"Even so, sir."

"So that you, Lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing."

"That is so, sir."

42. 'Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man :

“How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!—so that a man being conscious and awake neither sees nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.” And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me with the customary demonstrations of respect.’

43. And when he had thus spoken Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words: ‘Now I, Lord, as to the faith that I had in Â/âra Kâlâma, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures ¹!’

¹ This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of those argumentative dialogues by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained. See below, V, 50.

44. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man, and said : ' Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.'

' So be it, sir !' said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian ; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

45. And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Blessed One, saying, ' Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Blessed One show me favour and accept it at my hands !'

' In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ānanda in one.'

' Even so, Lord !' said Pukkusa ; in assent, to the Blessed One ; and in one he robed the Blessed One, and in one, Ānanda.

46. Then the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One ; and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

47. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ānanda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Blessed One, and when it was so

placed on the body of the Blessed One it appeared to have lost its splendour¹!

48. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Blessed One should be so clear, so exceeding bright! For when I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Blessed One, lo! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour!'

49. 'It is even so, Ānanda. Ānanda, there are two occasions on which the colour of the skin of a Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two?'

50. 'On the night, Ānanda, on which a Tathāgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain—on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

51. 'And now this day, Ānanda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinārā, in the Sāla Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sāla

¹ The commentator says, *Bhagavato kāyam upanāmitan ti nivāsana-pârûpana-vasena alliyâpitam: Bhagavâ pi tato ekam nivāsesi ekam pârûpi. Vîtakkikam* (MS. *kkh*) *viyâ ti yathâ* (MS. *tathâ*) *vîtakkiko aṅgāro antanten'eva gotîti bahi pan'assa pabbhâ n'atthi, evam bahi pakkhinna-* (MS. *pakkhinna-*) *pabbhâ hutvâ khâyatî ti.* My MS. of the text reads *vitâsikam* (as did Yâtrâmulle's MS. here, and one MS. of Fausböll's at Gâtaka I, 153, 154). There the word is used of embers in which food is cooked, 'without flame,' = 'glowing, smoldering.' *Vitakkhikâ*, 'an eruption on the skin,' belongs to the root *karâ*.

trees, the utter passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Come, Ânanda! let us go on to the river Kakutthâ.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

52. The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in colour like to gold¹!

53. Now the Blessed One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakutthâ; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

54. And when he was come there he addressed the venerable *Kundaka*, and said: 'Fold, I pray you, *Kundaka*, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, *Kundaka*, and would lie down.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable *Kundaka*, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

¹ We have here the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ânanda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels. The *Mâlâlaṅkāra-vatthu*, for instance, says, 'His body appeared shining like a flame. Ânanda was exceedingly surprised. Nothing of this kind had, as yet, happened. "Your exterior appearance," said he to Budha, "is all at once white, shining, and beautiful above all expression." "What you say, O Ânanda, is perfectly true. There are two occasions [&c., much as above]. The shining light emanating from my body is a certain forerunner of this great event [his Parinibbâna]."'

55. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other; and calm and self-possessed, he meditated on the idea of rising up again in due time. And the venerable *Kundaka* seated himself there in front of the Blessed One.

56. The Buddha to *Kakutthâ's* river came,
 Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow,
 He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
 The Buddha without equal in the world!
 When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
 Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
 The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
 The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
 There spake he to the brother *Kundaka* :
 'Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.'
 Cheered by the Holy One, he quickly spread
 The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
 The Master laid him down, wearied and worn;
 And there, before him, *Kunda* took his seat.

57. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ânanda*, and said: 'Now it may happen, *Ânanda*, that some one should stir up remorse in *Kunda* the smith, by saying, "This is evil to thee, *Kunda*, and loss to thee in that when the Tathâgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died." Any such remorse, *Ânanda*, in *Kunda* the smith should be checked by saying, "This is good to thee, *Kunda*, and gain to thee, in that when

the Tathâgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Blessed One, *Kunda*, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying, 'These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other — and which are the two? The offering of food which, when a Tathâgata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathâgata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind—these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by *Kunda* the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.'” In this way, *Ânanda*, should be checked any remorse in *Kunda* the smith.'

58. Then the Blessed One perceiving how the matter stood, uttered, even at that time, this hymn of exultation :

‘ To him who gives shall virtue be increased ;
In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise ;
The righteous man casts off all sinfulness,
And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
And all delusion, doth to Nirvâna reach !’

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing
the Episode of *Ârâra*.

CHAPTER V.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : ' Come, Ânanda, let us go on to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati.'

' Even so, Lord !' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati : and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said :

3. ' Spread over for me, I pray you, Ânanda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sâla trees¹. I am weary, Ânanda, and would lie down.'

' Even so, Lord !' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he spread a

¹ According to the commentator ' tradition says that there was a row of Sâla trees at the head (sîsa) of that couch (mañña), and another at its foot, one young Sâla tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sâla trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the (periodically elected) râga of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Blessed One asked Ânanda to make ready.' There is no further explanation of the term *uttara-sîsakam*, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighbouring republic, but available at other times for passers by.

covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sâla trees. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

4. Now at that time the twin Sâla trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season¹; and all over the body of the Tathâgata these dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandârava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathâgata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'The twin Sâla trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathâgata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandârava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathâgata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of rever-

¹ Sabbaphâliphullâ ti sabbe samantato pupphitâ mûlato patthâya yâva aggâ ekakkhannâ ahesum. (S.V. *thlu*.) Compare ekaphâliphullam vanam at Gâtaka I, 52.

ence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old !'

6. 'Now it is not thus, Ânanda, that the Tathâgata is rightly honoured, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathâgata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ânanda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts ; and thus, Ânanda, should it be taught.'

7. Now at that time the venerable Upâvana was standing in front of the Blessed One, fanning him. And the Blessed One was not pleased with Upâvana, and he said to him : 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !'

8. Then this thought sprung up in the mind of the venerable Ânanda : 'The venerable Upâvana has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and speaks thus with him ?'

9. And the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One : 'The venerable Upâvana has long

been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and speaks thus with him?'

10. 'In great numbers, Ânanda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathâgata. For twelve leagues, Ânanda, around the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits¹. And the spirits, Ânanda, are murmuring, and say, "From afar have we come to behold the Tathâgata. Few and far between are the Tathâgatas, the Arahât Buddhas who appear in the world: and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathâgata will take place; and this eminent brother stands in

¹ Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (*devatâyo*) could stand *âragga-ko/i-nittûdana-* (MS. *nittad-dana-*) *matte pi*, 'on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet,' without inconveniencing one another (*aññam aññam avyâbâdhenti*). It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in Chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

There is no comment on *nittûdana*, but there can be little doubt that Childers's conjectural reading is correct.'

front of the Tathâgata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathâgata ;” thus, Ânanda, do the spirits murmur.’

11. ‘ But of what kind of spirits is the Blessed One thinking ?’

12. ‘ There are spirits, Ânanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : “ Too soon will the Blessed One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away ¹ ! ” ’

13. ‘ There are spirits, too, Ânanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : “ Too soon will the Blessed One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight ! ” ’

14. ‘ But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, “ Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and

¹ *Kakkum* loke antaradhâyissati, on which there is no comment. It is literally, ‘ the Eye in the world will vanish away,’ where Eye is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word Light. The Master is often called *Kakkhumâ*, ‘ He with the Eye,’ ‘ He of the spiritual Eye ’ (see, for instance, the last verses in this Sutta), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.

organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!”]¹

15. ‘In times past, Lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathâgata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One. But, Lord, after the end of the Blessed One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One.’

16. ‘There are these four places, Ânanda, which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe. Which are the four?’

17. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here the Tathâgata was born!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

18. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here the Tathâgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

19. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathâgata!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

20. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here the Tathâgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

¹ The words in brackets have been inserted from par. III, 63 above. See par. VI, 39 below.

21. 'And there will come, Ânanda, to such spots, believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and devout women, and will say, "Here was the Tathâgata born!" or, "Here did the Tathâgata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!" or, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathâgata!" or, "Here the Tathâgata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!"'

22. 'And they, Ânanda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

upant and
23. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind?'

'Don't see them, Ânanda.'

'But if we should see them, what are we to do?'

'Abstain from speech, Ânanda.'

'But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?'

'Keep wide awake, Ânanda.'

24. 'What are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'Hinder not yourselves, Ânanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathâgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ânanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ânanda, among the nobles, among the Brâhmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathâgata; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata.'

25. ¹ 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ânanda, should they treat the remains of a Tathâgata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings²?'

26. 'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ânanda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool³. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron⁴, and cover that close up with another

¹ This conversation occurs also below (VI, 33), and the older tradition probably had it only in that connection.

² King of kings is an inadequate rendering of *Kakkavatti Râgâ*. It is a king whose power no other king can dispute, who is the acknowledged overlord in India. The idea can scarcely have existed before *Kandragupta*, the first *Kakravarti*, had raised himself to power. This passage, therefore, is a guide to the date at which the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* assumed its present form.

³ *Vihatena kappâsenâ ti suphoṣitena kappâsena: Kâsika-vattham hi sukhumattâ telam na gaṇhati, tasmâ vihatena kappâsenâ ti âha*. 'As Benâres cloth, by reason of its fineness of texture, does not take the oil, he therefore says, "with *vihata* cotton wool," that is, with cotton wool that has been well forced asunder.' That *phoṣita* is here the participle of the causal verb, and not of the simple verb, follows of necessity from its being used as an explanation of *vihata*, 'torn to pieces.' The technical use of the word, as applied to cotton wool, has only been found in this passage. It usually means 'torn with grief.'

⁴ *Âyasâya tela-doniyâ*, where one would expect *âyasâya*, but my MS. of the *Dîgha Nikâya* confirms twice over here, and twice again below, § VI, 33, 35, the reading given by Childers. *Buddha-ghosa* says, *Âyasan ti suvannam, suvannamhi idha âyasan ti adhippeto*, but here again we should expect the second time to find *ayo* or *ayasam*. The meaning of the word is also not

oil vessel of iron¹. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a dâgaba² to the king of kings. This, Ânanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

‘And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ânanda, should they treat the remains of the Tathâgata. At the four cross roads a dâgaba should be erected to the Tathâgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

27. ‘These men, Ânanda, worthy of a dâgaba², are four in number. Which are the four?’

‘A Tathâgata, or Arahata-Buddha, is worthy of a dâgaba. A Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a dâgaba³.

quite clear. It no doubt was originally used for bronze, and only later for iron also, and at last exclusively of iron. As *kamsa* is already a common word for bronze in very early Buddhist Pâli texts, I think *âyasa* or *ayasa* must here mean ‘of iron.’ When Buddhaghosa says it is here a name for gold, we can only conclude that iron had become, in his time, a metal which he might fairly consider too base for the purpose proposed.

¹ Buddhaghosa has no note on *paṭikuggetvâ*; but from its use at *Gâtaka* I, 50, 29: 69, 23, it must, I think, have this meaning. I am not certain to what root it ought to be referred. I should mention that *pakkhipati* seems to me never to mean in Pâli, ‘to hurl forth into, to throw forth,’ but always ‘to place (slowly and carefully) into.’

² A solid mound or tumulus, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed. The dome of St. Paul’s as seen from the Thames Embankment gives a very good idea of one of the later Buddhist dâgabas. The Pâli word here and below is *Thûpa*.

³ A *Pakkeka-Buddha*, who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

A true hearer of the Tathâgata is worthy of a dâgaba. A king of kings is worthy of a dâgaba.

28. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a Tathâgata, an Arahât-Buddha, worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that Blessed One, of that Arahât-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a Tathâgata, an Arahât-Buddha, is worthy of a dâgaba.'

29. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a Paññâ-Buddha worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that Blessed One, of that Paññâ-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a Paññâ-Buddha is worthy of a dâgaba.

30. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahât-Buddha, worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that true hearer of the Blessed Arahât-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a true

hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahât-Buddha, is worthy of a dâgaba.

31. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a king of kings worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a king of kings is worthy of a dâgaba.

'These four, Ânanda, are the persons worthy of a dâgaba.'

32. 'Now the venerable Ânanda went into the Vihâra, and stood leaning against the lintel of the door¹, and weeping at the thought : "Alas ! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection². And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind !"'

33. Now the Blessed One called the brethren, and said : 'Where, then, brethren, is Ânanda ?'

The venerable Ânanda, Lord, has gone into the

¹ Kapisîsam. Buddhaghosa says, Kapisîsakan ti dvâra-bâha-koṭiyam thitam aggala-rukkham, 'a piece of wood fixed as a bolt at the top of the door posts.' The Sanskrit lexicographers give kapi-sîrsha in the sense of 'coping of a wall.' Compare Pâtimokkha, Pâṭittiya, No. 19.

The expression that Ânanda went 'into the Vihâra' at the end of a conversation represented as having taken place in the Sâla Grove, would seem to point to the fact that this episode originally stood in some other connection. Buddhaghosa attempts to explain away the discrepancy by saying that Vihâra here means *Mandala*.

² Ânanda had entered the Noble Path, but had not yet reached the end of it. He had not attained to Nirvâna.

Vihâra, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind!'

34. And the Blessed One called a certain brother, and said: 'Go now, brother, and call Ânanda in my name, and say, "Brother Ânanda, the Master calls for thee."'

'Even so, Lord!' said that brother, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ânanda: 'Brother Ânanda, the Master calls for thee.'

'Very well, brother,' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ânanda, as he sat there by his side: 'Enough, Ânanda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ânanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all

measure. For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies¹, and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ânanda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the great evils—from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance²!

36. ³ Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Whosoever, brethren, have been Arahât-Buddhas through the long ages of the past, there were servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ânanda has been to me. And whosoever, brethren, shall be Arahât-Buddhas in the long ages of the future, there shall be servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ânanda has been to me.

37. 'He is a wise man, brethren,—is Ânanda.

¹ Advayena, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or the absence of the object loved. When the Buddha is called in the Amara Kosha I, 1, 1, 9, *advaya-vâdin*, that must mean in a similar way, 'One whose teaching does not vary.'

² Literally, thou shalt become an Anâsava, that is, one who is free from the four Âsavas, all which are explained above in § I, 12, from which I have taken the details suggested to a Buddhist by the word used. The state of mind to which an Anâsava has reached is precisely the same, though looked at from a different point of view, as the state of mind expressed by the better known word *Nirvâna*.

³ What follows is repeated in the *Satipatthâna Vagga* of the *Samyutta Nikâya*; but in regard to Sâriputta (*Upâtissa*) and Moggallâna, and reading *sâvaka-yugam* for *upa//hâko*.

He knows when it is the right time for him to come and visit the Tathâgata, and when it is the right time for the brethren and sisters of the order, for devout men and devout women, for a king, or for a king's ministers, for other teachers or their disciples, to come and visit the Tathâgata.

38. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ânanda. Which are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

'If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

39. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of nobles, or Brahman, or heads of houses, or Samanas should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

40. 'Just so, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ânanda.

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the

order, or of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

‘ Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities that are in Ânanda.’

41. When he had thus spoken¹, the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One :

‘ Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township². For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as *Kampâ*, *Râgagaha*, *Sâvatthi*, *Sâketa*, *Kosambi*, and *Benâres*. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and Brâhmans and heads of houses, believers in the Tathâgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata³.’

¹ From here down to the end of section 44 is found also, nearly word for word, in the beginning of the *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta*, translated below ; compare also *Mahâ-Sudassana Gâtaka*, No. 95.

² *Kudda-nagarake ti patirûpake sambâdhe khuddaka-nagare: Uggâṅgala-nagarake ti visama-nagarake.* (S.V.fol. *thau*.) *Kudda*, if this explanation be right, seems to be merely an old and unusual form for *kshudra*, and the Burmese correction into *khudda* to be unnecessary : but I venture to think it is more likely to be=*kudya*, and to mean a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India, of wattel and daub. When Buddhaghosa explains *uggaṅgala* as ‘lawless,’ he is expressing his view that a town in the jungle is likely to be a heathen, pagan sort of place.

³ With reference to Childers’s note in his *Dictionary on mahâ-sâlâ*, with which every one must entirely agree, Buddhaghosa’s

42. 'Say not so, Ânanda! Say not so, Ânanda, that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ânanda, there was a king, by name Mahâ-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinârâ, Ânanda, was the royal city of king Mahâ-Sudassana, under the name of Kusâvatî, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth.

43. 'That royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food¹. Just, Ânanda, as the royal city of the gods, Âlakamandâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ânanda, was the royal city Kusâvatî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

44. 'Both by day and by night, Ânanda, the royal city Kusâvatî resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the

explanation of the word will be interesting as a proof (if proof be needed) that the Ceylon scholars are not always trustworthy. He says, Khattiya-mahâsâlâ ti khattiya-mahâsârâ sârapattâ mahâ-khattiyâ. Eso nayo sabbattha.

¹ The first three of these adjectives are applied at Gâtaka I, 29 (v. 212) to the religion of the Buddhas; and I think the right reading there must be *phîtam*, in accordance with the corrections in two MSS. as noted by Mr. Fausböll, and not *pîtam* as he has preferred to read. The whole set of epithets is often used of cities.

drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry, " Eat, drink, and be merry ¹ ! "

45. ' Go now, Ânanda, and enter into Kusinârâ, and inform the Mallas of Kusinârâ, saying, " This day, O Vâsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vâsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, ' In our own village did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours. ' " "

' Even so, Lord, ' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One ; and he robed himself, and taking his bowl², entered into Kusinârâ attended by another member of the order.

¹ This enumeration is found also at *Gâtaka*, p. 3, only that the conch shell is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven. The *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta* has in the corresponding passage, like the Burmese MS. noted here by Childers, conch instead of cymbal. My MS. reads cymbal here.

² *Nivâsetvâ patta-kîvaram âdâya atta-dutiyo*. *Buddhaghosa* has, naturally enough, no comment on this oft-recurring phrase. It cannot be meant that he put on only his under-garments, and carried his upper robe with him ; for then his shoulders would have been bare ; and it is quite against the rules to go into a village without all the robes having been put carefully on (*Pâtimokkha*, *Sekhiya* 1-3). I do not even understand how Ânanda, with due regard to the rules of the brotherhood (see *Pâtimokkha*, *Nisaggiya* 21-29), could have had a spare robe then with him. And *patta-kîvaram* can scarcely mean simply ' bowl-robe, ' referring to the length of cotton cloth in which the bowl was carried over the shoulder (' Buddhist Birth Stories, ' p. 71). ' With both his under-garments on, he entered Kusinârâ duly bowled and robed ' may be impossible English, but it probably correctly catches the

46. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinârâ were assembled in the council hall on some public affair¹.

And the venerable Ânanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinârâ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, 'This day, O Vâsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vâsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, "In our own village did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours."'

47. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ânanda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'

48. Then the Mallas, with their young men and

idea involved, though of course one (at least) of the under-cloths had been put on long before. See p. 122. A Thera never goes about in public alone, he is always accompanied by a Sâmaṇera.

¹ *Kenaḍid eva karanîyena*. Professor Pischel, in his edition of the Assalâyana Sutta (p. 1), prints this expression *kenaḍi deva-karanîyena*, and translates it (p. 28), 'for some religious purposes.' It seems to me that he has been misled by the commentary, which really presupposes the more correct division adopted by Childers.

maidens and their wives, being grieved and sad and afflicted at heart, went to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ânanda was.

49. Then the venerable Ânanda thought: 'If I allow the Mallas of Kusinârâ, one by one, to pay their respects to the Blessed One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinârâ will not have been presented to the Blessed One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinârâ to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Blessed One, saying, "Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One."''

50. And the venerable Ânanda caused the Mallas of Kusinârâ to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One.'

51. And after this manner the venerable Ânanda presented all the Mallas of Kusinârâ to the Blessed One in the first watch of the night.

52. Now at that time a mendicant named Subhadda, who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinârâ. And the mendicant Subhadda heard the news: 'This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.'

53. Then thought the mendicant Subhadda: 'This have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and

disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathâgatas appear in the world, the Arahât Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

54. Then the mendicant Subhadda went to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana of Kusi-nârâ, to the place where the venerable Ânanda was.

55. And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ânanda: 'Thus have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathâgatas appear in the world, the Arahât Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ânanda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!'

56. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ânanda said to the mendicant Subhadda: 'Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathâgata. The Blessed One is weary.'

57. And again the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]; and the third time the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply].

58. Now the Blessed One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ânanda with the mendicant Subhadda. And the Blessed One called the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'It is enough, Ânanda! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ânanda, may be allowed to see the Tathâgata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.'

59. Then the venerable Ânanda said to Subhadda, the mendicant: 'Enter in, friend Subhadda; for the Blessed One gives you leave.'

60. Then Subhadda, the mendicant, went in to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of civility, he took his seat on one side.) And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: 'The Brâhmanas by saintliness of life¹, Gotama, who

¹ *Samana-brâhmanâ*, which compound may possibly mean *Samanas* and *Brâhmanas* as it has usually been rendered, but I think not necessarily. Not one of those here specified were *Brâhmanas* by caste, as is apparent from the *Sumangala Vilâsinî* on the *Sâmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 114. Compare the use of *Kshatriya-brâhmano*; 'a soldier priest,' a *Kshatriya* who offered sacrifice; and of *Brâhmano*, absolutely, as an epithet of an *Arahat*. In the use of the word *samana* there seems to me to be a hopeless confusion between, a complete mingling of the meanings of, the two roots *sram* and *sam* (which, in Pâli, would both become *sam*). It connotes both asceticism and inward peace, and might best be rendered 'devotee,' were it not for the intellectual inferiority implied by that word in our language. A *Samana Brâhman* should therefore mean a man of any caste, who by his saintliness of life, by his renunciation of the world, and by his reputation as a religious thinker, had acquired the position of a quasi *Brâhman*, and

are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude—to wit, Pûrana Kassapa, Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkâyana of the Pakudha tree, Sañgaya the son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nigantha of the Nâtha clan—have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things? or have they not? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not¹?’

61. ‘Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Ânanda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the mendicant Subhadda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

62. And the Blessed One spake: ‘In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first or of the second or of the third or of the fourth degree².

was looked up to by the people in the same way as that in which they looked up to a Brâhman by caste. Compare further my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ vol. i. p. 260; and also Mr. Beal’s remarks in the Indian Antiquary for May, 1880; and Professor Max Müller’s note on Dhammapada, verse 265.

¹ Buddhaghosa has an exegetical note on *abbhaññamsu*, but passes over those celebrated Six Teachers in silence. The little that is thus far known of them will be discussed in another place.

² This refers to the four divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path. See above, chap. II, § 8, where their characters are described. The

And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is found, is found the man of true saintliness of the first and the second and the third and the fourth degree. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the noble eightfold path, and in it alone, Subhadda, is the man of true saintliness. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahats¹.

word translated 'man of true saintliness,' or 'true saint,' is in the text *Samazo*, on which see the note on page 105. I am at a loss how to render the word adequately here.

¹ Arahats are those who have reached *Nirvâna*, the 'supreme goal,' the 'highest fruit' of the Noble Eightfold Path. To live 'the Life that's Right' (*sammâ*) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be *sammâ*, round, right and perfect, normal and complete. To live right (*sammâ*) is therefore to have—1. Right views, free from superstition. 2. Right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest man. 3. Right speech, kindly, open, truthful. 4. Right conduct, in all concerns of life. 5. Right livelihood, bringing hurt or danger to no living thing. 6. Right perseverance, in all the other seven. 7. Right mindfulness, the watchful, active mind. 8. Right contemplation, earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life. In each of these the word right is *sammâ*, and the whole paragraph being on the Noble Path, the allusion is certainly to this central doctrine of the Buddhist Dhamma.

Buddhaghosa says that that *bhikkhu sammâ viharati*, who, having himself entered the Noble Path, leads his brother into it, and this is, no doubt, good Buddhism. But it is a practical application of the text, a theological exegesis, and not a philological explanation. Even so it seems to lay the stress too much on 'bereft,' and too little on 'Arahats.'

In the last words of the prose we seem to have a reminiscence of what were once verses, which may have run—

Suññâ pavâdâ samanehi aññe;

v
page 63
" 147
1471

‘But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really “saint” can be¹!

‘Yea, not of the first, nor of the second, nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of those who have reached the highest fruit.’

63. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: ‘Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!’

Ime ka sammâ vihareyyu bhikkhû,
Asuñño loko 'rahatehi assa.

¹ I have followed, though with some doubt, Childers's punctuation. Buddhaghosa refers padesa-vattî to samāno; and ito, not to padesa, but to magga, understood; and it is quite possible that this is the correct explanation. On samādhikāni see the comment at *Gâtaka* II, 383.

64. 'Whosoever, Subhadda, that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.'

65. 'If, Lord, whosoever that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the order!'

66. But the Blessed One called the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'As it is, Ānanda, receive Subhadda into the order!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

67. And Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Great is your gain, friend Ānanda, great is your good fortune, friend Ānanda, that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!'

68. So Subhadda, the mendicant, was received

into the higher grade of the order under the Blessed One; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And e'er long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life¹ for the sake of which men go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

69. So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahats; and he was the last disciple whom the Blessed One himself converted².

End of the Hiraññavatiya portion, being the
Fifth Portion for Recitation.

¹ That is, *Nirvâna*. Compare *Maṅgala Sutta* V, 11, and the *Dhammapada*, verses 180, 354, and above Chap. I, § 7.

² Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note: 'The Thero (that is, *Ānanda*), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body (*Takka-paññakā-kammaññānam*; see my "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 161), shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the "Three Refuges," and led him back to the Blessed One. The Blessed One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to him a subject for meditation (*kammaññānam*; see "Buddhist

Birth Stories," p. 147). He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahatsip, and with it the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (*Paṭi-sambhidā*). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Blessed One.'

According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (*Saṅghakammam*), as laid down in the Vinaya, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, "The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more!" But it is not thus, Ānanda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.'

2. 'Ānanda! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other—with the epithet, that is, of "Āvuso" (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title "Friend." But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as "Lord" or as "Venerable Sir."

3. 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts¹.'

4. 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Kāṇṇa.'

'But what, Lord, is the higher penalty?'

¹ In *Kulla Vagga XI*, 1, 9, 10, is related how the brotherhood formally considered the permission thus accorded to them, and resolved to adhere to all the precepts as laid down in the Buddha's lifetime. In his comment on this passage Buddhaghosa incidentally refers to a conversation on the subject between Nāgasena and Milinda Rāga, but makes no mention of the work known as *Milinda Pañha*. Compare Trenckner's edition of that work, p. 142.

‘Let *Khanna* say whatever he may like, Ānanda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him¹.’

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, “Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.”’

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. And again the second and the third time the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, “Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.”’

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

¹ Compare *Kulla Vagga* I, 25-31: IV, 14, 1: XI, 1, 12-14. *Khanna* is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper ‘esprit de corps’ that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed; he became humble: his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the ‘supreme goal’ of the Buddhist faith.

7. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

8. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way!'

9. 'It is out of the fulness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ānanda! But, Ānanda, the Tathāgata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way! For even the most backward, Ānanda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation¹.'

10. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"'

This was the last word of the Tathāgata!

11. Then the Blessed One entered into the first

¹ Compare above, Chap. II, § 7. By 'the most backward,' according to Buddhaghosa, the Blessed One referred to Ānanda, and he said this to encourage him.

stage of deep meditation¹. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of deep meditation he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present². And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away.

12. Then the venerable Ânanda said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'O my Lord, O Anuruddha, the Blessed One is dead!'

'Nay! brother Ânanda, the Blessed One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be!'

13. Then the Blessed One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to

¹ *GAâna*, the full text and an explanation of which will be found in the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-176.

² Compare above, Chap. III, §§ 37-42.

which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of deep meditation he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the last stage of deep meditation he immediately expired.

14. When the Blessed One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring : and the thunders of heaven burst forth.

15. When the Blessed One died, Brahmâ Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

‘ They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
Aside their complex form—that aggregation
Of mental and material qualities,
That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
Their fleeting individuality !
E’en as the teacher—being such a one,

Unequalled among all the men that are,
 Successor of the prophets of old time,
 Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear—
 Hath died!¹

16. When the Blessed One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

‘They’re transient all, each being’s parts and powers,
 Growth is their nature, and decay.
 They are produced, they are dissolved again :
 And then is best, when they have sunk to rest!²’

¹ Brahmâ, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines. The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the ‘aggregations’ (khandhâ) of mental and material qualities which give to each being (bhûto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality. Loka is here not the world in our sense, but the ‘locality’ in the Buddhist universe which such an individual occupies until it is dissolved. (Comp. Chap. II, §§ 14, 34.) Brahmâ appears therefore as a veritable Vibhaggavâdî.

² On this celebrated verse see below the Introduction to Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta. It must be the original of the first verse in the Chinese work, Fa Kheu Pi Hu (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 32), though it is there so changed that every clause has lost its point.

‘Whatever exists is without endurance.
 And hence the terms “flourishing” and “decaying.”
 A man is born, and then he dies.
 Oh, the happiness of escaping from this condition!’

The very meaning which is here the most essential connotation of saṅkhârâ is lost in the phrase ‘whatever exists.’ By a misapprehension of the, no doubt, difficult word Dhamma, which, however, never means ‘term,’ the second clause has lost its point. And by a grammatical blunder the third clause in the Chinese confines the doctrine, erroneously, to man. In a Chinese tale, called

17. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas :

‘When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvâṇa’s tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart !
All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o’er the pain of death.
E’en as a bright flame dies away, so was
His last deliverance from the bonds of life !’

18. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Ānanda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

‘Then was there terror !
Then stood the hair on end !
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died !’

Ngan shih niu, translated by Mr. Beal, in the *Indian Antiquary* for May, 1880, the following verses occur ; and they are possibly another reflection of this stanza :

‘All things that exist are transitory.
They must of necessity perish and disappear ;
Though joined together, there must be separation ;
Where there is life there must be death.’

¹ *Ketaso Vimokkho. Kenañi dhammena anâvarana-vimokho sabbaso apaññatti-bhâvûpagamo*, says Buddhaghosa ; that is, ‘the deliverance which is free from the restraint of each and every mental quality completely vanishing away’ (dhammâ being here = *saññâ* and *vedanâ* and *saṅkhârâ* ; see ‘*Buddhism*,’ pp. 91, 92). See also below, p. 153.

² In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons—the exalted God of the theologians ; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of

19¹. When the Blessed One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?'

20. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us².

each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahât; and the loving, childlike disciple.

¹ Nearly=V, 11-14; and below, VI, 39.

² *Uggâhâyanti*. I have followed the reading of my own MS., which is confirmed by the *Sumangala Vilâsinî* and the *Mâlâ-lankâra-vatthu*. *Viggâhâyanti*, which Childers reads, would be questionable Buddhism. The spirits do not become extinct; that is, not as a general rule, as would be implied by the absolute state-

‘But of what kind of spirits is the Lord, the venerable Anuruddha, thinking?’

21. ‘There are spirits, brother Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: “Too soon has the

ment, ‘Even the spirits, brethren, become extinct.’ It is no doubt true that all spirits, from the lowest to the highest, from the most insignificant fairy to the God of theological speculation, are regarded as temporary. But when they cease to exist as gods or spirits (*devatā*), they do not go out, they are not extinguished (*viggahāyanti*); they continue to exist in some other form. And though that other form would, from the European point of view, be a different being, as there would be no continuity of consciousness, no passage of a ‘soul’ from the one to the other; it would, from the Buddhist point of view, be the same being, as it would be the resultant effect of the same Karma. There would follow on the death of a *devatā*, not extinction, but a transmutation of force, a transmigration of character, a passing on, an inheritance of Karma. Only in the exceedingly rare case of an *anāgāmin*, of which an instance will be found above, Chap. II, § 7, could it be said that a spirit becomes extinct.

The expression ‘of worldly mind,’ here and above in V, 11, is in Pāli *paṭḥavi-saññiniyo*, an ambiguous phrase which has only been found in this connection. Buddhaghosa says merely, ‘because they made (*māpetvā*) an earth in heaven.’ This gloss again may be taken either in a figurative or in a literal sense; but, if not impossible, it is at least unlikely that the good commentator means calmly to state that the angels created a floor in the skies—for the greater convenience of tumbling! The word seems to me also to be opposed to *vītarāgā*, ‘free from passion,’ and I have therefore taken it in a spiritual sense. There is a third possibility, viz. that it is used in an intellectual sense, ‘having the idea of the world present to their mind;’ and this would be in accordance with the more usual use of *saññī*. But how easily, especially in Buddhism, the intellectual merges into the religious may be seen from such a phrase as *marana-saññīno*, used at Mahāvamsa 33 of the bhikkhus. Compare also above, III, 14.

Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!”

‘There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: “Too soon has the Blessed one died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!”

‘But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, “Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [that such a being should not be dissolved]?”’

22. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ānanda spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable Ānanda: ‘Go now, brother Ānanda, into Kusinârâ and inform the Mallas of Kusinârâ, saying, ‘The Blessed One, O Vâsetthas, is dead: do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinârâ with one of the brethren as an attendant.

23. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinârâ were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinârâ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, ‘The

Blessed One, O *Vâsetthas*, is dead ; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit !'

24. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable *Ânanda*, the *Mallas*, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought : ' Too soon has the Blessed One died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !'

25. Then the *Mallas* of *Kusinârâ* gave orders to their attendants, saying, ' Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in *Kusinârâ* !'

26. And the *Mallas* of *Kusinârâ* took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the *Upavattana*, to the *Sâla* Grove of the *Mallas*, where the body of the Blessed One lay. There they past the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes ; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon ¹.

¹ The dress of the *Mallas* consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth ; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap round the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together ; to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material ; and the only decoration, as simple as it

27. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ thought :

‘It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.’ And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they past the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

28. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinârâ thought :

‘Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!’

29. And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

30. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Anuruddha: ‘What, Lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention

is beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof, or stretched along the sides.

of bearing the body of the Blessed One, are unable to lift it up?’

‘It is because you, O *Vâsetthas*, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.’

31. ‘But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?’

‘Your purpose, O *Vâsetthas*, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, *Vâsetthas*, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,—paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,—let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called *Makuṭa-bandhana*, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.’

‘Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!’

32. Then immediately all *Kusinârâ* down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with *Mandârava* flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of *Kusinârâ* upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with dance and song and music, with garlands and with perfumes, they carried the

body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called *Makuta-bandhana*; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Blessed One¹.

33. ² Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Ânanda: 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of a Tathâgata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

'They wrap the body of a king of kings, *Vâsetthas*, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a *dâgaba* to the king of kings. This, *Vâsetthas*, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of the

¹ The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village.

² Compare Chap. V, §§ 25-30.

Tathâgata. At the four cross roads a dâgaba should be erected to the Tathâgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

34. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying, ‘Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas!’

35. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ wrapped the body of the Blessed One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth, —and so on till they had wrapped the body of the Blessed One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Blessed One.

36. Now at that time the venerable Mahâ Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pâvâ to Kusinârâ with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

37. Just at that time a certain naked ascetic who had picked up a Mandârava flower in Kusinârâ was coming along the high road to Pâvâ.

38. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to the naked ascetic:

‘O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?’

‘Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samāna Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandārava flower.’

39. And immediately of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: ‘Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: ‘Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that they should not be dissolved?’

40. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the order in his old age, was seated there in their company¹.

And Subhadda the old addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Enough, brethren! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samāna. We used to be annoyed by being told, “This beseems you, this beseems you not.” But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!’

¹ At p. xxvi of the Introduction to his edition of the Mahā Vagga, Dr. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above in Chap. V, §§ 52–68. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a young man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a Brâhman, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Añña Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Âtumâ.

41. But the venerable Mahâ Kassapa addressed the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!'

42. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

43. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'What, Lord, can be the reason, and what the cause, that four chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments, with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One, are unable to set it on fire?'

'It is because you, O Vâsetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

44. 'But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'The purpose of the spirits, O Vâsetthas, is this: That venerable brother Mahâ Kassapa is now journeying along the high road from Pâvâ to Kusinârâ with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred of the brethren. The funeral pile of

the Blessed One shall not catch fire, until the venerable Mahâ Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the sacred feet of the Blessed One.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!'

45. Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa went on to Makuza-bandhana of Kusinârâ, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pile of the Blessed One was. And when he had come up to it, he arranged his robe on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands he thrice walked reverently round the pile; and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

46. And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pile, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

47. And when the homage of the venerable Mahâ Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pile of the Blessed One caught fire of itself¹.

¹ It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms: 'Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offence given to the deceased, and requests a favourable mention of them in the next world.' (Manual of Buddhism, p. 348.)

The Buddhist bhikkhus in Siam and the great majority of those in Ceylon (the adherents of the Siyam-samâgama) always keep one shoulder uncovered. It is evident that the bhikkhus

48. Now as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen : and only the bones remained behind.

Just as one sees no soot or ash when glue or oil is burned ; so, as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen : and only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

49. And when the body of the Blessed One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One ; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters (beneath the earth), and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One. The Mallas of Kusinâra also brought water scented with all kinds of perfumes, and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One¹.

in Burma, and those in Ceylon who belong to the Amara-purasamâgama, are more in accordance with ancient custom in wearing the robe ordinarily over both shoulders.

¹ There is something very quaint in the way in which the faithful Mallas are here represented as bringing coals to Newcastle. The 'storehouse of the waters' is in Pâli *udaka-sâla*, on which Buddhaghosa has two theories : first, that the *Sâla* trees around shed down a miraculous rain from their trunks and branches and leaves ; and next, that the waters burst up from the earth and became as it were a diadem of crystal round the pyre. On the belief that water thus burst up miraculously through the earth, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 64, 67. If the reading be correct it is scarcely possible that *sâla* can here have anything to do with *Sâla* trees ; but the other interpretation is open to the objections

50. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ surrounded the bones of the Blessed One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

51. Now the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I too am of the soldier caste. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast¹!'

52. And the Likkhavis of Vesâli heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Likkhavis of Vesâli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

53. And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the

that sâla means an open hall rather than a storehouse, and that the belief in a 'storehouse of water' has not, as yet, been found elsewhere.

¹ The commentator gives a long account of Agâtasattu's proceedings on this occasion.

news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinâra. And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

54. And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinâra. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

55. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinâra. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

56. And the Brâhman of Vethadîpa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinâra. And the Brâhman of Vethadîpa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I am a Brâhman. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!'

57. And the Mallas of Pāvā heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Mallas of Pāvā sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

58. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinârâ spoke to the assembled brethren, saying, 'The Blessed One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One!'

59. When they had thus spoken, *Dona* the Brâhman addressed the assembled brethren, and said:

'Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.

Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.

Unseemly is it that over the division

Of the remains of him who was the best of
beings

Strife should arise, and wounds, and war!

Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite

In friendly harmony to make eight portions.

Wide spread let Thûpas rise in every land

That in the Enlightened One mankind may trust!'

60. 'Do thou then, O Brâhman, thyself divide the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division¹.'

'Be it so, sir!' said *Dona*, in assent, to the assem-

¹ Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.

bled brethren. And he divided the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them: 'Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.'

And they gave the vessel to *Dona* the Brâhman.

61. And the Moriyas of Pipphalivana heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Moriyas of Pipphalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying, 'There is no portion of the remains of the Blessed One left over. The remains of the Blessed One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

62. Then the king of Magadha, *Agâtasattu*, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a mound in *Râgagaha* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Likkhavis* of *Vesâli* made a mound in *Vesâli* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Bulis* of *Allakappa* made a mound in *Allakappa* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Koliyas* of *Râmagâma* made a mound in *Râmagâma* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And *Vetthadîpaka* the Brâhman made a mound in *Vetthadîpa* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of *Pâvâ* made a mound in *Pâvâ* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of *Kusinârâ* made a mound in *Kusinârâ* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And *Dona* the Brâhman made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt, and held a feast.

And the *Moriyas* of *Pipphalivana* made a mound over the embers, and held a feast.

Thus were there eight mounds [*Thûpas*] for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be¹.

[63. Eight measures of relics there were of him
of the far-seeing eye,
Of the best of the best of men. In India seven
are worshipped,
And one measure in *Râmagâma*, by the kings of
the serpent race.
One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in
Gandhâra's city,
One in the *Kâlinga* realm, and one more by the
Nâga race.

¹ Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by *Theras* in *Ceylon*. The additional verse found in the *Phayre MS.* was in the same way probably added in *Burma*.

Through their glory the bountiful earth is made
bright with offerings painless—
For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best
honoured by those who are honoured,
By gods and by Nâgas and kings, yea, thus by
the noblest of monarchs—
Bow down with clasped hands!
Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through
hundreds of ages!]

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

**DHAMMAKAKKAPPAVAT-
TANA-SUTTA.**

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THIS translation is made from a transcript of the text as found in the very beautiful Ceylon MS. on silver plates, now in the British Museum¹. The letters, which are perfectly formed, are cut into the silver; and the MS. has this peculiarity, that every sentence is repeated with a slight change in the collocation of the words. Thus the first sentence is given as follows:—

Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagavâ Bârânasiyam viharati Isipatane Migadâye. Me evam sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagavâ Bârânasiyam Isipatane Migadâye viharati.

As this repetition is merely carried out for the further security of the text it has not been followed in the translation.

This text belongs to the *Ânguttara Nikâya*. M. Léon Feer has lithographed the *Samyutta* treatment in his 'Textes tirés du Kandjour²,' together with the text of the corresponding passage in the *Lalita Vistara*, and the Tibetan translation from that poem. The Sanskrit text, so far as it runs parallel with our *Sutta*, will also be found in Rajendra Lal Mitra's edition of the *Lalita Vistara* (p. 540 and foll.) and the Tibetan text, with a French translation, in M. Foucaux's '*rGya Cher Rol Pa*.' Dr. Oldenberg has just published the *Vinaya* treatment contained in the *Mahâ Vagga* I, 6. It is the same word for word as our *Sutta* (except § 1, which is of course not found there). The *Samyutta* expands the idea of the portion numbered below §§ 9-20, having also similar paragraphs in reference to the *bhikkhus* themselves. The

¹ MS. Egerton, 794; bought from a bookseller named Rodel in 1839.

² *Livraison*, No. X.

Lalita Vistara differs a good deal in minor details, but is substantially the same as regards the Noble Truths, and the eight divisions of the Noble Path.

A translation of this Sutta, found among Mr. Gogerly's papers after his death, was published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society* for 1865: and the *Journal Asiatique* for 1870 contained a translation and full analysis by M. Léon Feer.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of this Sutta. There can be no reasonable doubt that the very ancient tradition accepted by all Buddhists as to the substance of the discourse is correct, and that we really have in it a summary of the words in which the great Indian thinker and reformer for the first time successfully promulgated his new ideas. And it presents to us in a few short and pithy sentences the very essence of that remarkable system which has had so profound an influence on the religious history of so large a portion of the human race.

The name given to it by the early Buddhists—the setting in motion onwards of the royal chariot-wheel of the supreme dominion of the Dhamma—means, as I have shown elsewhere¹, not 'the turning of the wheel of the law,' as it has been usually rendered; but 'the inauguration, or foundation, of the Kingdom of Righteousness.'

Is it possible that the praying wheels of Thibet have led to the misapprehension and mistranslation now so common? But who would explain a passage in the New Testament by a superstition current, say, in Spain in the twelfth century? And so when Mr. Da Cuiha thinks that the Dhamma is symbolised by the wheel, because 'Gotama ignored the beginning, and was uncertain as to the end²,' he seems to me to be following a vicious method of interpreting such figures of speech. It cannot be disputed that the term 'wheel' might have implied such an idea as he puts into it. But if we want to know what it did imply, we must be guided wholly by the previous use of the word at the

¹ 'Buddhism,' p. 45.

² 'Memoir on the Tooth Relic,' &c., p. 15.

time when it was first used in a figurative sense: and that previous use allows only of the interpretation given above. Perhaps, however, Mr. Da Cuñha is only copying (not very exactly) Mr. Alabaster, who has said, 'Buddha, as I have tried to show in other parts of this book, did not attempt to teach the beginning of existence, but assumed it as a rolling circle of causes or effects. This was his circle or wheel of the law¹.'

Mr. Alabaster therefore calls his very useful book on Siamese Buddhism, 'The Wheel of the Law';—an expression which he on the first page of his preface takes to be about equivalent to Buddhism. But his theory of the meaning of the term seems to be based upon a misunderstanding of a passage in the Siamese 'Life of Buddha,' which he there translates. At page 78 he renders his text, 'The Holy Wheel which the Law taught is plenteous in twelve ways,' and he explains this on p. 169 as referring to the twelve *Nidānas*, the chain of causes and effects. But the passage in the Siamese text is evidently a reminiscence of the 'twelffold manner' spoken of in the same connection in our *Sutta* (§ 21), and does not refer to the *Nidānas* at all.

A better comment on the word is the legend of the Treasure of the Wheel, which will be found below in the 'Book of the Great King of Glory²,' a passage which shows that this figure belonged to that circle of poetical imagery which the early Buddhists so often borrowed from the previous poets of Vedic literature to aid them in their attempts to describe the most important events in the life of their revered Teacher. And, like the day of Pentecost by the early Christians, this Inauguration of the Kingdom of Righteousness was rightly regarded by them as a turning-point in the history of their faith. We find this even in the closing sections of our *Sutta*; and in later times the poets of every Buddhist clime have vied one with another in endeavouring to express their sense of the importance of the occasion.

'The evening was like a lovely maiden; the stars

¹ 'Wheel of the Law,' p. 288.

² Chap. I, §§ 10-20.

were the pearls upon her neck; the dark clouds her braided hair; the deepening space her flowing robe. As a crown she had the heavens where the angels dwell; these three worlds were as her body; her eyes were the white lotus flowers which open to the rising moon; and her voice was as it were the humming of the bees. To do homage to the Buddha, and to hear the first preaching of his word, this lovely maiden came.' The angels (devas) throng to hear the discourse until the heavens are empty; and the sound of their approach is like the rain of a storm; all the worlds in which there are sentient beings are made void of life, so that the congregation assembled was in number infinite, but at the sound of the blast of the glorious trumpet of Sakka, the king of the gods, they became still as a waveless sea. And then each of the countless listeners thought that the sage was looking towards himself, and was speaking to him in his own tongue, though the language used was Māgadhi!

It is most curious that this last figure should be so closely analogous to the language used with respect to the corresponding event in the history of the Christian church: and I do not know the exact source from which Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 186) derives it. But I think it is highly improbable that there is any borrowing on the one side or on the other.

It cannot be denied that there is a real beauty of an Oriental kind in the various expressions which the Buddhists use; and that there was real ground for the enthusiasm which gave them birth. Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so even antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, and the hope for a future life. And we must not allow our estimate of the importance of the event to be influenced by our disagreement from the opinions put forth. Whether these be right or wrong, it was a turning-point in the religious history of man when a reformer, full of the most earnest moral purpose, and trained in all the intellectual culture

of his time, put forth deliberately, and with a knowledge of the opposing views, the doctrine of a salvation to be found here, in this life, in an inward change of heart, to be brought about by perseverance in a mere system of self-culture and of self-control.

That system, it will be seen, is called the Noble Path, and is divided into eight sections or divisions, each of which commences with the word *sammâ*—a word for which we have no real equivalent in English, though it has been rendered by such terms as 'right,' 'perfect,' and 'correct.' Our word 'right,' in some of its uses, would be a sufficiently adequate translation, but it is based on a different derivation, and connotes a set of ideas not alluded to by *sammâ*. If used as an adjective this word—signifying literally 'going with'—means either 'general, common,' or 'corresponding, mutual,' and as an adverb, 'commonly, usually, normally,' or 'fittingly, properly, correctly;' and hence, in a secondary sense, and with allusion to both these ideas, 'round, fit, and perfect, normal and complete.' When used to characterise such widely different things as language, livelihood, and belief, the meaning of the term is by no means difficult to grasp; but it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any single English word which in each case would convey its full force without importing also some extraneous idea. From a desire to follow closely the Pâli form of expression I had first in my manual of 'Buddhism' adopted the one word 'right' throughout the translation of the text; and I have kept to this below, though I feel that that word quite fails to give the force of the preposition *sam* (*सम-*, *con-*), which is the essential part of the Pâli *sammâ*. But I think the meaning of the Buddhist ideal, of the summary which is the most essential doctrine, the very pith of Buddhism, would be better brought out by a diversified rendering in the way I afterwards attempted in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* (No. CLVI); or, as above (p. 107), with the authorised interpretation appended. It would then run—

1. Right Views; free from superstition or delusion.
2. Right Aims; high, and worthy of the intelligent, earnest man.
3. Right Speech; kindly, open, truthful.
4. Right Conduct; peaceful, honest, pure.
5. Right Livelihood; bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.
6. Right Effort; in self-training, and in self-control.
7. Right Mindfulness; the active, watchful mind.
8. Right Contemplation; earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.

It is interesting to notice that Gogerly, who first rendered sammâ throughout by correct¹, afterwards adopted the other method²; and as these eight divisions of the perfect life are of such vital importance for a correct understanding of what Buddhism really was, I here add in parallel columns his two versions of the terms used :—

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Correct views (of truth). | Correct doctrines. |
| 2. Correct thoughts. | A clear perception (of their nature). |
| 3. Correct words. | Inflexible veracity. |
| 4. Correct conduct. | Purity of conduct. |
| 5. Correct (mode of obtaining a) livelihood. | A sinless occupation. |
| 6. Correct efforts. | Perseverance in duty. |
| 7. Correct meditation. | Holy meditation. |
| 8. Correct tranquillity. | Mental tranquillity. |

The varying expressions in these two lists are intended in all cases, (except perhaps the second,) to convey the same idea. The second division (sammâ-saṅkappo) is not really open to any doubt. Saṅkappo is will, volition, determination, desire; that exertion of the will in the various affairs of life which results from the feeling that a certain result will be desirable. The only variation in the meaning is that sometimes more stress is laid upon the implied exertion of the will, sometimes more stress upon the implied desire

¹ Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1845.

² Ibid. 1865.

which calls it into action. 'Motive' would be somewhat too impersonal, 'volition' too metaphysical a rendering; 'aims' or 'aspirations' seems to me to best express the sense intended in this passage.

In No. 7 (*sammâ-sati*) *sati* is literally 'memory,' but is used with reference to the constantly repeated phrase 'mindful and thoughtful' (*sato sampagâno*); and means that activity of mind and constant presence of mind which is one of the duties most frequently inculcated on the good Buddhist. Gogerly's rendering of the term should have been reserved for the last division (*sammâ-samâdhi*), that prolonged meditation on the deep mysteries of life, which is stated in the Great Decease¹ to be the necessary complement and accessory to intelligence and goodness. Reason and works are good in themselves, but they require to be made perfect by that *samâdhi* which in Buddhism corresponds to faith in Christianity.

This Buddhist ideal of the perfect life has an analogy most instructive from a historical point of view with the ideals of the last pagan thinkers in Europe before the rise of Christianity, and of the modern exponents of what has been called fervent atheism. When after many centuries of thought a pantheistic or monotheistic unity has been evolved out of the chaos of polytheism,—which is itself a modified animism or animistic polydæmonism,—there has always arisen at last a school to whom theological discussions have lost their interest, and who have sought for a new solution of the questions to which the theologies have given inconsistent answers, in a new system in which man was to work out here, on earth, his own salvation. It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the Agnostic philosopher of India, the Stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves.

¹ Chap. I, § 12, and often afterwards.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

DHAMMA-KAKKA-PPAVATTANA-SUTTA.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully-Enlightened One.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Benares, at the hermitage called Migadâya. And there the Blessed One addressed the company of the five Bhikkhus¹, and said :

2. 'There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world² ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and especially of sensuality—a low and pagan³ way (of seeking satisfaction) unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly-minded—

¹ These are the five mendicants who had waited on the Bodisat during his austerities, as described in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 88, 89. Their names are given on p. 113 of that book ; see below, the note on § 32.

² Pabbagito, one who has gone forth, who has renounced worldly things, a 'religious.'

³ Gamma, a word of the same derivation as, and corresponding meaning to, our word 'pagan.'

and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism (or self-mortification), which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

3. 'There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata¹—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna!

4. 'What is that middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna? Verily! it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

'Right views;
 Right aspirations;
 Right speech;
 Right conduct;
 Right livelihood;
 Right effort;
 Right mindfulness; and
 Right contemplation.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows under-

¹ The Tathâgata is an epithet of a Buddha. It is interpreted by Buddhaghosa, in the Samangala Vilâsinî, to mean that he came to earth for the same purposes, after having passed through the same training in former births, as all the supposed former Buddhas; and that, when he had so come, all his actions corresponded with theirs.

'Avoiding these two extremes' should perhaps be referred to the Tathâgata, but I prefer the above rendering.

standing, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâṇa!

5. 'Now¹ this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

'Birth is attended with pain², decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment (the conditions of individuality and their cause)³ are painful.

'This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

6. 'Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

'Verily, it is that thirst (or craving), causing the renewal of existence, accompanied by sensual delight, seeking satisfaction now here, now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for (a future) life, or the craving for success (in this present life)⁴.

¹ On the following 'four truths' compare Dhammapada, verse 191, and Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta II, 2, 3, and IV, 7, 8.

² Or 'is painful.'

³ Paññ' upâdânakkhandhâ. On the Khandhâ, or the material and mental aggregates which go to make up an individual, see my 'Buddhism,' Chap. III. Upâdâna, or 'grasping' is their source, and the uprooting of this upâdâna from the mind is Arahatsip.

One might express the central thought of this First Noble Truth in the language of the nineteenth century by saying that pain results from existence as an individual. It is the struggle to maintain one's individuality which produces pain—a most pregnant and far-reaching suggestion. See for a fuller exposition the Fortnightly Review for December, 1879.

⁴ 'The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life'

‘This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

7. ‘Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

‘Verily, it is the destruction, in which no passion remains, of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harbouring no longer of this thirst.

‘This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

8. ‘Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the way¹ which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily! it is this noble eightfold path²; that is to say:

correspond very exactly to the first and third of these three *taṇhās*. ‘The lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the pride of life,’ or ‘the lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the love of this present world,’ would be not inadequate renderings of all three.

The last two are in Pāli *bhava-taṇhā* and *vibhava-taṇhā*, on which Childers, on the authority of Vigēsīṇha, says: ‘The former applies to the *sassata-diṭṭhi*, and means a desire for an eternity of existence; the latter applies to the *uḷḷheda-diṭṭhi*, and means a desire for annihilation in the very first (the present) form of existence.’ *Sassata-diṭṭhi* may be called the ‘everlasting life heresy,’ and *uḷḷheda-diṭṭhi* the ‘let-us-eat-and-drink-for-to-morrow-we-die heresy.’ These two heresies, thus implicitly condemned, have very close analogies to theism and materialism.

Spence Hardy says (‘Manual of Buddhism,’ p. 496): ‘*Bhava-taṇhā* signifies the pertinacious love of existence induced by the supposition that transmigratory existence is not only eternal, but felicitous and desirable. *Vibhava-taṇhā* is the love of the present life, under the notion that existence will cease therewith, and that there is to be no future state.’

Vibhava in Sanskrit means, 1. development; 2. might, majesty, prosperity; and 3. property: but the technical Buddhist sense, as will be seen from the above, is something more than this.

¹ *Paṭipadā*.

² *Ariyo aṭṭaṅgiko Maggo*.

‘Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.

‘This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

9. ‘That this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye (to perceive it), there arose the knowledge (of its nature), there arose the understanding (of its cause), there arose the wisdom (to guide in the path of tranquillity), there arose the light (to dispel darkness from it)¹.

10. ‘And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should comprehend that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

11. ‘And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had comprehended that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there

¹ The words in parentheses have been added by Gogerly, doubtless from some comment not accessible to me; and I have included them also, but in parentheses, as they seem to complete the ideas actually involved in the text.

arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

12. 'That this was the noble truth concerning the origin of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye; but there arose within me the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

13. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

14. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

15. 'That this, O Bhikkhus, was the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

16. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should fully realise the destruction of sorrow though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

17. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully realised the destruction of sorrow, though the noble

truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

18. 'That this was the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

19. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

20. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

21. 'So long, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelve-fold manner—so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brâhmanas, or of gods or men.

22. 'But as soon, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge

and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truths, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of *Samanas* and *Brâhmans*, or of gods or men.

23. 'And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovable is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me!'

24. Thus spake the Blessed One. The company of the five *Bhikkhus*, glad at heart, exalted the words of the Blessed One. And when the discourse had been uttered, there arose within the venerable *Kondañña* the eye of truth, spotless, and without a stain, (and he saw that) whatsoever has an origin, in that is also inherent the necessity of coming to an end¹.

25. And when the royal chariot wheel of the truth had thus been set rolling onwards by the Blessed One, the gods of the earth gave forth a shout, saying :

'In *Benâres*, at the hermitage of the *Migadâya*, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any *Samana* or *Brâhman*, not by any god,

¹ It is the perception of this fact which is the *Dhammakakkhu*, the Eye of Truth, or the Eye for Qualities as it might be rendered with reference to the meaning of *Dhamma* in the words that follow.

They are in Pâli *yam kiñci samudaya-dhammam, sabbam tam nirodha-dhammam*, literally, 'whatever has the quality of beginning, that has the quality of ceasing.'

not by any Brahma or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!'

26. And when they heard the shout of the gods of the earth, the attendant gods of the four great kings¹ (the guardian angels of the four quarters of the globe) gave forth a shout, saying :

'In Benâres, at the hermitage of the Migadâya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samana or Brâhman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!'

27. [And thus as the gods in each of the heavens heard the shout of the inhabitants of the heaven beneath, they took up the cry until the gods in the highest heaven of heavens] gave forth the shout, saying :

'In Benâres, at the hermitage of the Migadâya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samana or Brâhman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back²!'

¹ Their names are given in the Mahâ Samaya Sutta in Grimblot's 'Sept Suttas Palis.'

² The text repeats § 26 for each of the heavens ; and the gods thus enumerated are as follows, beginning with Bhumma Devâ in § 25 :

1. Bhumma Devâ.
2. Katumahârâgika Devâ.
3. Yama Devâ.
4. Tusita Devâ.
5. Nimmânarati Devâ.
6. Paranimmitavasavatti Devâ.
7. Brahmakâyika Devâ.

See the Mahâ Samaya Sutta in Grimblot's 'Sept Suttas Palis,' and

28. And thus, in an instant, a second, a moment, the sound went up even to the world of Brahmâ : and this great ten-thousand-world-system quaked and trembled and was shaken violently, and an immeasurable bright light appeared in the universe, beyond even the power of the gods !

29. Then did the Blessed One give utterance to this exclamation of joy : ‘Kondañña hath realised it. Kondañña hath realised it!’ And so the venerable Kondañña acquired the name of Aññâta-Kondañña (‘the Kondañña who realised’)¹.

End of the Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta.

compare Professor Max Müller’s note in ‘Buddhaghosha’s Parables,’ p. xxxiii, and Hardy in the ‘Manual of Buddhism,’ p. 25.

¹ The Mahâ Vagga completes the narrative as follows : ‘And then the venerable Aññâta-Kondañña having seen the truth, having arrived at the truth, having known the truth, having penetrated the truth, having past beyond doubt, having laid aside uncertainty, having attained to confidence, and being dependent on no one beside himself for knowledge of the religion of the teacher, spake thus to the Blessed One :

“May I become, O my Lord, a novice under the Blessed One, may I receive full ordination !”

“Welcome, O brother !” said the Blessed One, “the truth has been well laid down. Practice holiness to the complete suppression of sorrow !”

‘And that was the ordination of the Venerable One.’

The other four, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahânâma, and Assagi, were converted on the following days, according to the ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 113.

It is there also said that ‘myriads of the angels (devas) had been converted simultaneously with Kondanya.’

TEVIGGA-SUTTANTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE TEVIGGA SUTTA.

THIS is the twelfth and last Sutta in the first division of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which is called the *Sīlakkhandha Vaggo*, because the whole of its twelve Dialogues deal, from one point of view or another, with *Sīla*, or Right Conduct.

There is another Sutta sometimes called by the same name, No. 21 in the Middle Fifty of the *Magghima Nikāya*: but it has nothing, except the name, in common with the present. It is called *Tevigga Sutta* merely because Gotama is there described by the complimentary title of *Tevigga*, 'Wise in the Vedas;' and its full name is the *Tevigga-vakkhagotta-sutta*¹.

I have made the present translation from a text constituted from three MSS.,—my own MS. of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, referred to as D; the Turnour MS. of the same in the Indian Office, referred to as T; both in Sinhalese characters: and the Phayre MS. in the same place, in Burmese characters, referred to as P.

In this book we have Right Conduct used as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem* for the conversion of two earnest young Brāhmins.

They ask which is the true path to a state of union (in the next birth) with God. After arguing, in a kind of Socratic dialogue, that on their own showing, on the

¹ It may be noted, in passing, that the substance of it recurs as the *Vakkhagotta Samyutta* in the *Samyutta Nikāya*.

basis of facts they themselves admitted, the Brāhmins could have no real knowledge of their God, Gotama maintains that union with a God whom they admitted to be pure and holy must be unattainable by men impure and sinful and self-righteous, however great their knowledge of the Vedas. And he then lays down, not without occasional beauty of language, that system of Right Conduct, which must be the only direct way to a real union with God.

One would think perhaps that such a Sutta might be adapted, without very great difficulty, for use as a missionary tract, so closely does it remind us of the argument of many a sermon on the text, 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven!' And it is true that the *Teviggâ*—the men of special knowledge in the three Vedas—correspond exactly in most essential particulars with the Scribes and Pharisees of the New Testament. They were the official preservers by repeating, as the Scribes were by copying, the sacred books; and they were the recognised interpreters, and the sole custodians of the traditional interpretation—which too often explained away the real meaning—of those books. It follows that as the law in both cases was included in the sacred books, it was they who, in both cases, were the real lawgivers, and practically the only lawyers. And as almost all learning was confined to, or in close connection with the sacred books, the *Teviggâ* were the chief *Pandits*, as the Scribes were the 'Doctors of the Law.' Like the Pharisees, too, the Brāhmins laid claim to peculiar sanctity; and many of them in the pride of their education, their birth, and their wealth, looked down with self-righteous scorn on the masses of the people. And while, on the other hand, the Brāhmins further resembled the Scribes and Pharisees in that many of them were justly deserving of the respect in which they were held; it is only the undeserving who, in both cases, are intended to be condemned.

But whatever interpretation of the 'kingdom of heaven'

the reader may adopt, it must be very different from anything the Sutta can mean by 'a state of union with Brahmâ.' It is not easy to say what opinion is really imputed to the young Brâhmans before their conversion. It is probably meant that they were seeking a way by which their Self should become identified, after death, with Brahman; a way by which they could escape from the immortality of transmigration, from existence altogether as separate individuals¹. And in holding out a hope of union with Brahmâ as a result of the practice of universal love², the Buddha is most probably intended to mean 'a union with Brahmâ' in the Buddhist sense—that is to say, a temporary companionship as a separate being with the Buddhist Brahmâ, to be enjoyed by a new individual not consciously identical with its predecessor. It is just possible that the argumentum ad hominem should be extended to this part of the Sutta; and that the statement in III, 1 should be taken to mean, 'This (universal love) is the only way to that kind of union with your own Brahmâ which you desire.' But such a yielding to heretical opinion at the close of his own exposition of the truth would scarcely be imputed to a Buddha.

Just as during the time of the early Christians, in the way which Archbishop Trench has so instructively pointed out, it was not men only who received a new birth and a new baptism, but old words and terms of common use were also infused with a new spirit; so the Indian reformer, while clothing his new system in the current phraseology, infused a different and in many cases a higher meaning into the old expressions.

Thus, for instance, *Tevigga* (Sanskrit *Traividya*) meant either knowledge of the Three Vedas, or as an adjective, a Brâhman possessed of that knowledge; and then, as a noun of multitude, such an assembly of those Brâhmans

¹ Compare Professor Max Müller's Preface to the Sacred Books of the East, vol. i. p. xxx.

² See Chapter III, §§ 1, 2.

as is described in the first sections of our Sutta. As there were many Brâhmans who had not that knowledge, the word naturally came to imply a person worthy of the respect due to special learning, and was used as a complimentary title, not very different from our Doctor. It is preserved as an epithet of Arahats in the Buddhist writings, but as meaning one possessed of the knowledge of a fundamental threefold doctrine of Buddhism, the doctrine of the impermanency, the inherent pain, and the absence of any abiding principle (any Self) in the confections or component things¹. That is to say, the knowledge of the Vedas was replaced by a knowledge of the real character of the deceptive and evanescent phenomena by which we are encircled, and of which we form a part.

So also with regard to Brahmâ. The name was retained, but the idea was entirely changed. The course of religious belief had passed among the Indian section of the Âryan tribes through the usual stages of animism and polytheism to a kind of pantheism peculiar to India, in which Brahman was held to be a first cause, the highest self, emotionless, infinite, absolute. As the Buddhist system was constructed without any use of the previous idea of a separate soul, or self, or ghost, or spirit, supposed to exist inside the human body, this woven chain of previous speculation had as little importance for it as theological discussions have for positivism. But Buddhism fell into what to the positivist would be the unpardonable sin—perhaps inevitable at the time and place of its youth—of continuing to express a belief in the external spirits, big and little, of the then Hindu pantheon.

They were preserved very much in the previous order of precedence, and were all—except Mâra, the Evil One, and his personal following, and a few others—supposed to be passably good Buddhists. They were not feared any more; they were patronized as a kind of fairies, usually beneficent,

¹ See *Kulla Vagga* VI, 6, 2, = *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 217; *Mahâvamsa*, p. 79; *Dîpavamsa* XV, 80 (where the Arahats are women); and on 'confections' below, in the Introduction to the 'Book of the Great King of Glory.'

though always more or less foolish and ignorant. They were of course not worshipped any more, for they were much less worthy of reverence than any wise and good man. And they were not eternal,—all of them, even the very best or highest, being liable, like all things and all other creatures, to dissolution. If they had behaved well they were then reborn under happy outward conditions, and might even look forward to being some day born as men, so that they could attain to the supreme goal of the Buddhist faith, to that bliss which passeth not away,—the *Nirvâna* of a perfect life in *Arahatship*.

The duty of a Buddhist who had entered the Noble Path towards these light and airy shapes—for to such vain things had the great gods fallen—was the same as his duty towards every fellow creature; pity for his ignorance, sympathy with his weakness, equanimity (the absence of fear or malice, or the sense of any differing or opposing interest), and the constant feeling of a deep and lasting love, all pervading, grown great, and beyond measure.

No exception was made in the case of *Brahmâ*. He, like every other creature that had life, was evanescent, was bound by the chain of existence, the result of ignorance, and could only find salvation by walking along the Noble Eightfold Path. It must be remembered that the *Brahmâ* of modern times, the God of the ardent theism of some of the best of the later Hindus, had not then come into existence: that conception was one effect of the influence of Mohammadan and Christian thought upon Hindu minds. And it would be useless to conjecture how the Buddhist theory might have been modified by contact with that ideal.

While regarded however as essentially of the same class as all other external spirits, *Brahmâ* was still regarded as a superior spirit, as a very devout Buddhist, and as a kind of king among the angels. The *Brahmâ* of this world system, who was living in Gotama's time, and who is living now, acquired his present exalted position from his virtue in a previous birth as a *Bhikkhu* named *Sahaka* in the time when *Kassapa Buddha's* religion flourished

upon earth¹. According to the author of the *Gâtaka* commentary, he assisted at the future Buddha's birth²; and twice afterwards he rendered service to the Bodisat just before the great conflict with Mâra³. And when after the victory the Blessed One hesitated whether it would be of any use to tell to others the truth he had found, it was Brahmâ who appeared and besought him to proclaim the truth⁴. Brahmâ Sahampati was the first to give utterance to the universal sorrow which followed on the death of the Buddha⁵; and at a critical period in the later history of the Buddhist church he is represented to have descended from heaven, and to have appeared to the Thera Sâlha, to confirm his wavering faith⁶.

These instances will show the high character ascribed to the Brahmâ of the world system in which we live; and in each of the infinite world systems which are scattered through space there is supposed to be a like finite, temporary, virtuous Brahmâ sitting as king over the most exalted of the angel hosts.

It must be evident that it follows, without the possibility of question, that the early Buddhists cannot with any accuracy be described as 'monotheists,' and it is much to be regretted that even cultured and scholarly writers still speak of them as such, and can suggest that the independent monotheism of the later Jews can be paralleled by a supposed monotheism among the Buddhists⁷.

And even if the idea of Brahmâ were at all the same as the idea of God, a union with this Brahmâ would mean a merely temporary life as an angel in the Brahmâ heaven—such a life as is represented below to have been the result of the noble life and noble thoughts of the Great King

¹ Teste a comment quoted by Childers, Dict. p. 227.

² 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 66.

³ Ibid. pp. 92, 97.

⁴ Ibid. p. 111. Related already in the *Mahâ Vagga* I, 2; 6, 7.

⁵ Book of the Great Decease, Chapter VI, § 14.

⁶ *Mahâvamsa*, p. 17.

⁷ 'Their (the Jews') monotheism was perhaps independently evolved; but the Buddhists at least showed a contemporary monotheism.' Mr. Huth, in 'Life &c. of Buckle,' p. 238.

of Glory. But this was not the supreme goal of the Buddhist faith; and the angel, though the same person as the king, from the Buddhist point of view (as resulting from, and carrying on, the same Karma), would be a different person from the king, according to the Christian point of view; for there is no mention of the passage of a soul from the earth to heaven, no conscious identity, no continuing memory.

We may draw, from the above, two conclusions. Firstly, that the use of a word in Sanskrit authors is but very little guide to the meaning of the corresponding word in the Pāli Buddhist scriptures whenever the word has reference to an idea of a religious character.

And, secondly, that very little reliance can be placed, without careful investigation, on a resemblance—however close at first sight—between a passage in the Pāli Piṭakas and a passage in the New Testament.

It is true that many passages in these two literatures can be easily shown to have a similar tendency. But when some writers on the basis of such similarities proceed to argue that there must have been some historical connection between the two, and that the New Testament, as the later, must be the borrower, I venture to think that they are wrong. There does not seem to me to be the slightest evidence of any historical connection between them; and whenever the resemblance is a real one—and it often turns out to be really least when it first seems to be greatest, and really greatest when it first seems least—it is due, not to any borrowing on the one side or on the other, but solely to the similarity of the conditions under which the two movements grew.

This does not of course apply to the later literature of the two religions; and it ought not to detract from the very great value and interest of the parallels which may be adduced from the earlier books. If we wish to understand what it was that gave such life and force to the stupendous movement which is called Buddhism, we cannot refrain from comparing it—not only in the points

in which it agrees with it, but also in the points in which it differs from it—with our own faith. I trust I have not been wrong in making use occasionally of this method, though the absence of any historical connection between the New Testament and the Pâli Piṭakas has always seemed to me so clear, that it would be unnecessary to mention it. But when a reviewer who has been kind enough to appreciate, I am afraid too highly, what he calls my 'service in giving, for the first time, a thoroughly human, acceptable, and coherent' account of the 'life of Buddha,' and of the 'simple groundwork of his religion' has gone on to conclude that the parallels I had thus adduced are 'an unanswerable indication of the obligations of the New Testament to Buddhism,' I must ask to be allowed to enter a protest against an inference which seems to me to be against the rules of sound historical criticism.

ON KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS.

TEVIGGA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1. This have I heard. At one time when the Blessed One was journeying through Kosala with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred brethren, he came to the Brâhman village in Kosala which is called Manasâkaṭa. And there at Manasâkaṭa the Blessed One stayed in the mango grove, on the bank of the river Aṅṅiravatī, to the south of Manasâkaṭa¹.

2. Now at that time many very distinguished and wealthy Brâhmanas were staying at Manasâkaṭa—to wit, Kaṅki the Brâhman, Târukkha the Brâhman, Pokkharasâti the Brâhman, Gâṇussoni the Brâhman, Todeyya the Brâhman, and other very distinguished and wealthy Brâhmanas².

¹ Burnouf, in a long note at 'Lotus,' &c., p. 491, already attempted to show that the river Aṅṅiravatī is the same as the modern Rapti, which he supposed to be a corruption of the latter part of the longer name. Hiouen Tsang mentions a river A-chi-lo-fa-ti, which is doubtless the same. It is evidently the river on which stood the town of Sâvatthi, and near to which lay the Geta-vana monastery (see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 331); and it must therefore, in accordance with Burnouf's conjecture, be the Rapti, which is the Sanskrit Irâvatī. The Phayre Burmese MS. has almost always Aṅṅiravatī.

² Buddhaghosa says that

Kaṅki lived at Opasâda,
Târukkha lived at Ikṅṅhagala,

3. Now a conversation sprung up between Vâsettha and Bhâradvâga, when they were taking exercise (after their bath) and walking up and down in thoughtful mood, as to which was the true path, and which the false¹.

4. The young Brâhman Vâsettha spake thus :

‘This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ²—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Pokkarasâti.’

5. The young Brâhman Bhâradvâga spake thus :

Pokkharasâdi (sic MS.) lived at Ukkattha,
Gânussoni lived at Sâvatthi, and
Todeyya lived at Tudigâma.

There is some difference in the MSS. as to the spelling of these names : T. reads *Kaṅkī* ; P. T. and D. *Pokkharasâti* (Sanskrit *Paushkarasâdi*) ; P. *Gânuyoni*, T. *Gânussoni*, D. *Gânusoni* ; P. *Toreyya*, and Burnouf *Nodeyya* (which is possibly merely a misreading). *Gânusoni* was converted by the Bhaya-bherava Sutta ; and I think it very probable that the other names are also those of subsequent converts.

Buddhaghosa adds that because *Manasâkâṭa* was a pleasant place the Brâhman had built huts there on the bank of the river and fenced them in, and used to go and stay there from time to time to repeat their mantras.

¹ *Gaṅghâvihâram anuṅgaṅkamantânam anuviṅkarantânam*. On the first word see *Gâtaka* II, 272 (and comp. II, 240). *Kaṅkamati* is to walk up and down thinking. I have added ‘after their bath’ from Buddhaghosa, who says that this must be understood to have taken place when, after learning by heart and repeating all day, they went down in the evening to the river-side to bathe, and then walked up and down on the sand.

² *Brahma-sahavyatâya*. The first part of the compound is masculine (see below, § 12), but the Buddhists probably included under the name, when put into the mouth of Brâhman, all that the Brâhman included under both *Brahmâ* and *Brahman*. The Buddhist archangel or god *Brahmâ* is different from both, being part of an entirely different system of thought.

‘This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmag—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Târukka.’

6. But neither was the young Brahman Vâsettha able to convince the young Brahman Bhâradvâga, nor was the young Brahman Bhâradvâga able to convince the young Brahman Vâsettha.

7. Then the young Brahman Vâsettha said to the young Brahman Bhâradvâga :

‘That Samana Gotama, Bhâradvâga, of the Sakya clan, who left the Sakya tribe to adopt the religious life, is now staying at Manasâkata, in the mango grove, on the bank of the river Akiravatt, to the south of Manasâkata. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad, that he is said to be “a fully enlightened one, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha¹.” Come, then, Bhâradvâga, let us go to the place where the Samana Gotama is; and when we have come there, let us ask the Samana Gotama touching this matter. What the Samana Gotama shall declare unto us, that let us bear in mind.’

‘Very well, my friend!’ said the young Brahman Bhâradvâga, in assent, to the young Brahman Vâsettha.

8. Then the young Brahman Vâsettha and the young Brahman Bhâradvâga went on to the place where the Blessed One was.

¹ See below, § 46.

And when they had come there, they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and sat down beside him.

And while they were thus seated the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* said to the Blessed One :

‘As we, Gotama, were taking exercise and walking up and down, there sprung up a conversation between us on which was the true path and which the false. I said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Pokkarasâti.”

‘Bhâradvâga said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Târukkha.”

‘Regarding this matter, Gotama, there is a strife, a dispute, a difference of opinion between us.’

9. ‘So you say, *Vâsettha*, that you said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Pokkarasâti.”

‘While Bhâradvâga said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Târukkha.”

‘Wherein, then, O *Vâsettha*, is there a strife, a dispute, a difference of opinion between you¹?’

10. ‘Concerning the true path and the false, Gotama. Various Brâhmans, Gotama, teach various paths—the Addhariya Brâhmans, the Tittiriya Brâhmans, the *Khandoka* Brâhmans, the *Khandava* Brâhmans, the Brahmakariya Brâhmans². Are all those saving paths? Are they all paths which will lead him, who acts according to them, into a state of union with Brahmagâ?’

‘Just, Gotama, as near a village or a town there are many and various paths³, yet they all meet together in the village—just in that way are all the various paths taught by various Brâhmans—the Addhariya Brâhmans, the Tittiriya Brâhmans, the *Khandoka* Brâhmans, the *Khandava* Brâhmans, the Brahmakariya Brâhmans. Are all these saving paths? Are they all paths which will lead him, who acts according to them, into a state of union with Brahmagâ?’

11. ‘Do you say that they all lead aright, *Vâsettha*?’

‘I say so, Gotama.’

‘Do you really say that they all lead aright, *Vâsettha*?’

‘So I say, Gotama.’

¹ This is either mildly sarcastic—as much as to say, ‘that is six to one, and half a dozen to the other’—or is intended to lead on *Vâsettha* to confess still more directly the fact that the different theologians held inconsistent opinions.

² P. here Atthariyâ, but below Addhariyâ (Sans. Adhvaryu); D. Tittiriya, T. Tattiriya, P. apparently Tittiriya (Sans. Taittiriya); D. *Khandâva*, T. P. omit (? Sans. *Khandasa*); all three MSS. *Khandoka* (Sans. *Khandoga*); P. Bavhadigâ here and below *Kavhadigâ* for Brahmakariyâ (? Sans. Brahmakârî). See ‘Lotus,’ p. 493.

³ Maggâni, which is noteworthy as a curious change of gender.

12. 'But then, *Vâsettha*, is there a single one of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas who has ever seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama.'

'But is there then, *Vâsettha*, a single one of the teachers of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas who has seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

'But is there then, *Vâsettha*, a single one of the pupils of the teachers of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas who has seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

'But is there then, *Vâsettha*, a single one of the Brâhmans up to the seventh generation who has seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

13. 'Well then, *Vâsettha*, those ancient *Rishis* of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, the authors of the verses, the utterers of the verses, whose ancient form of words so chaunted, uttered, or composed, the Brâhmans of to-day chaunt over again or repeat; intoning or reciting exactly as has been intoned or recited—to wit, *Atthaka*, *Vâmaka*, *Vâmadeva*, *Vessâmitta*, *Yamataggi*, *Ângirasa*, *Bhâradvâga*, *Vâsettha*, *Kassapa*, and *Bhagu*¹—did even they speak thus, saying: "We know it, we have seen it, where Brahmâ is, whence Brahmâ is, whither Brahmâ is?"'

'Not so, Gotama!'

14. 'Then you say, *Vâsettha* [that not one of the Brâhmans, or of their teachers, or of their pupils, even up to the seventh generation, has ever seen Brahmâ face to face. And that even the *Rishis* of

¹ See *Mahâ Vagga* VI, 35, 2.

old, the authors and utterers of the verses, of the ancient form of words which the Brâhmans of to-day so carefully intone and recite precisely as they have been handed down—even they did not pretend to know or to have seen where or whence or whither Brahmâ is]¹. So that the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas have forsooth said thus: “What we know not, what we have not seen, to a state of union with that we can show the way, and can say: ‘This is the straight path, this is the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ!’”

‘Now what think you, Vâsettha? Does it not follow, this being so, that the talk of the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?’

‘In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!’

15. ‘Verily, Vâsettha, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence!’

‘Just, Vâsettha, as when a string of blind men are clinging one to the other², neither can the foremost

¹ In the text §§ 12, 13 are repeated word for word.

² Andhavenî paramparam samsattâ. The Phayre MS. has replaced venî by pavēnî, after the constant custom of the Burmese MSS. to improve away unusual or difficult expressions. Buddhaghosa explains andhaveni by andhapaveni, and tells a tale of a wicked wight, who meeting a company of blind men, told them of a certain village wherein plenty of good food was to be had. When they besought him for hire to lead them there, he took the money, made one blind man catch hold of his stick, the next of that one, and so on, and then led them on till they came to a wilderness. There he deserted them, and they all—still

see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see—just even so, methinks, *Vâsettha*, is the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas but blind talk: the first sees not, the middle one sees not, nor can the latest see. The talk then of these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas turns out to be ridiculous, mere words, a vain and empty thing!’

16. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Can the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas—like other, ordinary, folk—see the sun and the moon as they pray to, and praise, and worship them, turning round with clasped hands towards the place whence they rise and where they set?’

‘Certainly, Gotama, they [can]¹.’

17. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? The Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, who can very well—like other, ordinary, folk—see the sun and the moon as they pray to, and praise, and worship them, turning round with clasped hands to the place whence they rise and where they set—are those Brâhmans, versed in the Three Vedas, able to point out the way to a state of union with the sun or the moon, saying: “This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, to a state of union with the sun or the moon?”’

‘Certainly not, Gotama!’

18. “So you say, *Vâsettha*, that the Brâhmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that

holding each the other, and vainly, and with tears, seeking both their guide and the path—came to a miserable end!

¹ The words of the question are repeated in the text in this and the following answers. It must be remembered, for these sections, that the sun and moon were Gods just as much as *Brahmâ*.

which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahmâ]. And you further say that even the *Rishis* of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahmâ is. Yet these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen !]¹ Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk ?'

'In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!'

19. 'Very good, *Vâsettha*. Verily then, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence.

'Just, *Vâsettha*, as if a man should say, "How I long for, how I love the most beautiful woman in this land!"

'And people should ask him, "Well! good friend! this most beautiful woman in the land whom you thus love and long for, do you know whether that beautiful woman is a noble lady or a Brâhman woman, or of the trader class, or a *Sûdra*?"

'But when so asked he should answer "No."

'And when people should ask him, "Well! good

¹ The text repeats at length the words of §§ 12, 13, 14.

friend! this most beautiful woman in all the land, whom you so love and long for, do you know what the name of that most beautiful woman is, or what is her family name, whether she be tall or short, dark or of medium complexion, black or fair, or in what village or town or city she dwells?"

'But when so asked he should answer "No."

'And then people should say to him, "So then, good friend, whom you know not, neither have seen, her do you love and long for?"

'And then when so asked he should answer "Yes."

'Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would it not turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, it would turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk!'

20. 'And just even so, *Vâsettha*, though you say that the Brâhmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahman]. And you further say that even the *Rishis* of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahman is. Yet these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that

the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk !'

'Very good, *Vâsettha*. Verily then, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence.'

21. 'Just, *Vâsettha*, as if a man should make a staircase in the place where four roads cross, to mount up into a mansion. And people should say to him, "Well, good friend, this mansion, to mount up into which you are making this staircase, do you know whether it is in the east, or in the south, or in the west, or in the north? whether it is high or low or of medium size?'

'And when so asked he should answer "No."'

'And people should say to him, "But then, good friend, you are making a staircase to mount up into something—taking it for a mansion—which, all the while, you know not, neither have seen!"'

'And when so asked he should answer "Yes."'

'Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would it not turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, it would turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk !'

22. 'And just even so, *Vâsettha*, though you say that the Brâhmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahmag]. And you further say that even the *Rishis* of old, [whose

words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahmâ is. Yet these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk?’

‘In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!’

23. ‘Very good, *Vâsettha*. Verily then, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such condition of things has no existence.’

24. ‘Again, *Vâsettha*, if this river *Akiravati* were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing¹. And a man with business on the other

¹ *Samatittikâ kâkapeyyâ*, a stock phrase used of a river in flood time. Buddhaghosa says, *Samatittikâ ti samaharitatâ* (sic ? *samâharitâ*): *kâkapeyyâ ti yatthakatthañi tîre tñitena kâkena sakkâ pâtuñ ti kâkapeyyâ*, which does not seem to me to solve the question as to the origin and history of these difficult terms. With respect to the right form of *samatittikâ* it should be noticed that the northern Buddhist spelling is *samatîrthakâ* (*Sukhavatîvyûha*, ed. Max Müller in J. R. A. S. for 1880, p. 182), and that both Childers and Oldenberg have read *samatitthikâ* in the Burmese MSS. of *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I*, 33 = *Mahâ Vagga VI*, 28. Now the difference in Burmese letters between *tt* and *tth* (ဧ and ဧ) is so very small that the copyists frequently write one for the other; and even in good MSS. where the two are not confounded, it is sometimes difficult to tell which is really meant. When talking of rivers the mention of *tittas* seems so appro-

side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And he, standing on this bank, should invoke the further bank, and say, "Come hither, O further bank ! come over to this side !"

priate that a copyist, and especially a Burmese copyist, would naturally read a doubtful combination as *tth* ; so that even if all Burmese MSS. spell this word with *tth* (which is by no means certain), very little reliance should be placed upon the fact. On the other hand, the distinction in Sinhalese between *tt* and *tth* is very marked (ඌ and ඌ), and the Sinhalese MSS. all read *tt*. I think therefore that Childers was right in finally adopting *samatittikâ* as the correct Pâli form. In the numerous words in which Buddhist Sanskrit has a form differing in a way which sets philological rules at defiance from the corresponding Pâli form, Childers thought (see Dict. p. xi, where the list of words might be greatly extended) that the Sanskrit was always derived from the Pâli, and the Sanskrit writers had merely blundered. I venture, with great diffidence, to doubt this. It seems more likely that, at least in many instances, both Pâli and Sanskrit were alike derived from a previous Prâkrit form, and that in differently interpreting a difficult word, both Sanskrit and Pâli authors made mistakes. That may be the case here ; and it is almost certain that the original word had nothing to do with *tīrtha*. How easily this idea could be adopted we see from the fact that Childers when first editing the MSS. (in the J. R. A. S. for 1874), and when he had only Sinhalese MSS. then before him, altered their reading into *samatittikâ*, and put this form into his Dictionary ; though he afterwards (in the separate edition), and after noting that reading in the Phayre MS., chose the other. But what, after all, does 'having equal or level *tīrthas* or landing-places' mean, when spoken of a river ? Comp. *Samatittikam bhuṅgāmi* (Mil. 213, 214) ; *Sabbato tittam pokkharanim* (Gât. I, 339, text *tittam*) ; and *Samatittiko telapatto* (ibid. 393, text 'iyo, but see p. 400). The root perhaps is *TR/P*.

*Kâka*peyya, according to Buddhaghosa, would mean 'crow-drinkable.' Crows do not drink on the wing ; and they could stand to drink either when a river actually overflowed its banks and formed shallows on the adjoining land ; or when in the hot season it had formed shallows in its own bed. 'Crow-drinkable' might mean therefore just as well 'shallow' as 'overflowing.' Had the word originally anything to do with *kâka* after all ?

‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would the further bank of the river *Akiravatt*, by reason of that man’s invoking and praying and hoping and praising, come over to this side?’

‘Certainly not, *Gotama*!’

— 25. ‘In just the same way, *Vâsettha*, do the *Brâhmans* versed in the Three Vedas—omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a *Brâhman*, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men not *Brâhmans*—say thus: “*Indra* we call upon, *Soma* we call upon, *Varuṇa* we call upon, *Îsâna* we call upon, *Paṅgâpati* we call upon, *Brahmâ* we call upon, *Mahiddhi* we call upon, *Yama* we call upon¹!” Verily, *Vâsettha*, that those *Brâhmans* versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a *Brâhman*, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men not *Brâhmans*—(that they, by reason of their invoking and praying and hoping and praising, should, after death and when the body is dissolved, become united with *Brahmâ*)—verily such a condition of things has no existence!’

26. ‘Just, *Vâsettha*, as if this river *Akiravati* were full, even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And he, on this bank, were to be bound tightly, with his arms behind his back, by a strong

¹ The Sinhalese MSS. omit *Mahiddhi* and *Yama*, but repeat the verb ‘we call upon’ three times after *Brahmâ*. It is possible that the Burmese copyist has wrongly inserted them to remove the strangeness of this repetition. The comment is silent.

chain. Now what think you, *Vâsettha*, would that man be able to get over from this bank of the river *Akiravattî* to the further bank?’

‘Certainly not, Gotama!’

27. ‘In the same way, *Vâsettha*, there are five things leading to lust, which are called in the Discipline of the Noble One a “chain” and a “bond.”’

‘What are the five?’

‘Forms perceptible to the eye; desirable, agreeable, pleasant, attractive forms, that are accompanied by lust and cause delight. Sounds of the same kind perceptible to the ear. Odours of the same kind perceptible to the nose. Tastes of the same kind perceptible to the tongue. Substances of the same kind perceptible to the body by touch. These five things predisposing to passion are called in the Discipline of the Noble One a “chain” and a “bond.” And these five things predisposing to lust, *Vâsettha*, do the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas cling to, they are infatuated by them, guilty of them, see not the danger of them, know not how unreliable they are, and so enjoy them.

28. ‘And verily, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brâhman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brâhmans—clinging to these five things predisposing to passion, infatuated by them, guilty of them, seeing not their danger, knowing not their unreliability, and so enjoying them—that these Brâhmans should after death, on the dissolution of the body, become united to Brahman—such a condition of things has no existence.’

29. 'Again, *Vâsettha*, if this river *Akiravati* were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And if he covering himself up, even to his head, were to lie down, on this bank, to sleep.

'Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would that man be able to get over from this bank of the river *Akiravati* to the further bank?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

30. 'And in the same way, *Vâsettha*, there are these five hindrances, in the Discipline of the Noble One, which are called "veils¹," and are called "hindrances²," and are called "obstacles³," and are called "entanglements⁴."

'Which are the five?'

'The hindrance of lustful desire,
The hindrance of malice,
The hindrance of sloth and idleness,
The hindrance of pride and self-righteousness,
The hindrance of doubt.

'These are the five hindrances, *Vâsettha*, which, in the Discipline of the Noble One, are called veils, and are called hindrances, and are called obstacles, and are called entanglements.

31. 'Now with these five hindrances, *Vâsettha*, the Brâhmins versed in the Three Vedas are veiled, hindered, obstructed, and entangled.

32. 'And verily, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmins versed

¹ *Âvaranâ*.

² *Nivaranâ*.

³ All three MSS. *onahâ*. S. V. reads *onaddham* in the text, and explains it by *onahâ*.

⁴ All three MSS. *pariyonahâ*. S. V. reads *pariyoddham* in the text, and explains it by *pariyonahâ*.

in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brâhman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brâhmans—veiled, hindered, obstructed, and entangled by these Five Hindrances—that these Brâhmans should after death, on the dissolution of the body, become united to Brahmâ—such a condition of things has no existence.’

33. ‘Now what think you, Vâsettha, and what have you heard from the Brâhmans aged and well-stricken in years, when the learners and teachers are talking together? Is Brahmâ in possession of wives and wealth, or is he not ¹?’

‘He is not, Gotama.’

‘Is his mind full of anger, or free from anger?’

‘Free from anger, Gotama.’

‘Is his mind full of malice, or free from malice?’

‘Free from malice, Gotama.’

‘Is his mind depraved, or pure ²?’

‘It is pure, Gotama.’

‘Has he self-mastery, or has he not ³?’

‘He has, Gotama.’

34. ‘Now what think you, Vâsettha, are the

¹ Sapariggaho vâ Brahmâ apariggaho vâ ti. Buddhaghosa says on Vâsettha’s reply, ‘Kâmakâhandassa abhâvato itthi-pariggaheno apariggaho,’ thus restricting the ‘possession’ to women, with especial reference to the first ‘hindrance;’ but the word in the text, though doubtless alluding to possession of women in particular, includes more. Compare, on the general idea of the passage, the English expression ‘no encumbrances.’

² Asaṅkiliṭṭha-kitto. That is, says Buddhaghosa, ‘free from mental sloth and idleness, self-righteousness, and pride.’

³ Vasavattî vâ avasavattî vâ. Buddhaghosa says, in explanation of the answer: ‘By the absence of doubt he has his mind under control’ (vase vatteti).

Brâhmans versed in the Vedas in the possession of wives and wealth, or are they not ?'

'They are, Gotama.'

'Have they anger in their hearts, or have they not?'

'They have, Gotama.'

'Do they bear malice, or do they not?'

'They do, Gotama.'

'Are they pure in heart, or are they not?'

'They are not, Gotama.'

'Have they self-mastery, or have they not?'

'They have not, Gotama.'

35. 'Then you say, *Vâsettha*, that the Brâhmans are in possession of wives and wealth, and that Brahmâ is not. Can there, then, be agreement and likeness between the Brâhmans with their wives and property, and Brahmâ, who has none of these things?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

36. 'Very good, *Vâsettha*. But, verily, that these Brâhmans versed in the Vedas, who live married and wealthy should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahmâ, who has none of these things—such a condition of things has no existence.'

37. 'Then you say, too, *Vâsettha*, that the Brâhmans bear anger and malice in their hearts, and are sinful and uncontrolled, whilst Brahmâ is free from anger and malice, and sinless, and has self-mastery. Now can there, then, be concord and likeness between the Brâhmans and Brahmâ?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

38. 'Very good, *Vâsettha*. That these Brâhmans versed in the Vedas and yet bearing anger and malice, in their hearts, sinful, and uncontrolled,

should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united to Brahmâ, who is free from anger and malice, sinless, and has self-mastery—such a condition of things has no existence.’

39. ‘So that thus then, *Vâsettha*, the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, while they sit down (in confidence), are sinking down (in the mire)¹; and so sinking they are arriving only at despair, thinking the while that they are crossing over into some happier land.

‘Therefore is it that the threefold wisdom of the Brâhmans, wise in their Three Vedas, is called a waterless desert, their threefold wisdom is called a pathless jungle, their threefold wisdom is called destruction!’

40. When he had thus spoken, the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* said to the Blessed One :

‘It has been told me, Gotama, that the *Samana* Gotama knows the way to the state of union with Brahmâ.

41. ‘What do you think, *Vâsettha*, is not *Manasâkâta* near to this spot, not distant from this spot?’

‘Just so, Gotama. *Manasâkâta* is near to, is not far from here.

42. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*, suppose there were a man born in *Manasâkâta*, and people should

¹ *Âsîditva samsîdanti*. I have no doubt the commentator is right in his explanation of these figurative expressions. Confident in their knowledge of the Vedas, and in their practice of Vedic ceremonies, they neglect higher things; and so, sinking into sin and superstition, ‘they are arriving only at despair, thinking the while that they are crossing over into some happier land.’

ask him, who never till that time had left *Manasākata*, which was the way to *Manasākata*. Would that man, born and brought up in *Manasākata*, be in any doubt or difficulty?’

‘Certainly not, Gotama! And why? If the man had been born and brought up in *Manasākata*, every road that leads to *Manasākata* would be perfectly familiar to him.’

43. ‘That man, *Vâsettha*, born and brought up at *Manasākata* might, if he were asked the way to *Manasākata*, fall into doubt and difficulty, but to the *Tathâgata*, when asked touching the path which leads to the world of *Brahmâ*, there can be neither doubt nor difficulty. For *Brahmâ*, I know, *Vâsettha*, and the world of *Brahmâ*, and the path which leadeth unto it. Yea, I know it even as one who has entered the *Brahmâ* world, and has been born within it!’

44. When he had thus spoken, *Vâsettha* the young *Brâhman* said to the Blessed One :

‘So has it been told me, Gotama, even that the *Samana* Gotama knows the way to a state of union with *Brahmâ*. It is well! Let the venerable Gotama be pleased to show us the way to a state of union with *Brahmâ*, let the venerable Gotama save the *Brâhman* race!’

45. ‘Listen then, *Vâsettha*, and give ear attentively, and I will speak!’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said the young *Brâhman* *Vâsettha*, in assent, to the Blessed One.

46. Then the Blessed One spake, and said:

‘¹ Know, *Vâsettha*, that¹ (from time to time) a

¹ From here down to the end of p. 200 is a repetition word for

Tathâgata is born into the world, a fully Enlightened One, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a Blessed Buddha¹. He, by himself, thoroughly understands, and sees, as it were, face to face this universe—the world below with all its spirits, and the worlds above, of Mâra and of Brahmâ—and all creatures, Samanas and Brâhmanas, gods and men, and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he proclaim both in its letter and in its spirit, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation: the higher life doth he make known, in all its purity and in all its perfectness.

47. 'A householder (gahapati), or one of his children, or a man of inferior birth in any class, listens to that truth². On hearing the truth he has faith in the Tathâgata, and when he has acquired that faith he thus considers with himself:

“Full of hindrances is household life, a path defiled by passion: free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all worldly things. How difficult is it for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection! Let me then cut off my hair and beard, let me clothe myself in the

word of Sâmañña Phala Sutta, pp. 133 and following; including the passages there parallel to those in Subha Sutta, p. 157, and in Brahma-gâla Sutta, pp. 5-16.

¹ See above, § 7.

² The point is, that the acceptance of this 'Doctrine and Discipline' is open to all, not of course that Brâhmanas never accept it.

orange-coloured robes, and let me go forth from a household life into the homeless state!"

48. 'Then before long, forsaking his portion of wealth, be it great or be it small; forsaking his circle of relatives, be they many or be they few, he cuts off his hair and beard, he clothes himself in the orange-coloured robes, and he goes forth from the household life into the homeless state.

49. 'When he has thus become a recluse he passes a life self-restrained according to the rules of the Pâtimokkha; uprightness is his delight, and he sees danger in the least of those things he should avoid; he adopts and trains himself in the precepts; he encompasses himself with holiness in word and deed; he sustains his life by means that are quite pure; good is his conduct, guarded the door of his senses; mindful and self-possessed, he is altogether happy!¹'

¹ The argument is resumed after the Three Sîlas, or Descriptions of Conduct—a text, doubtless older than the Suttas in which it occurs, setting forth the distinguishing moral characteristics of a member of the Order.

The First Sîla is an expansion of the Ten Precepts ('Buddhism,' p. 160), but omitting the fifth, against the use of intoxicating drinks. The Second Sîla is a further expansion of the first and then of the last four, and finally of the fourth Precept. The Third Sîla is directed against auguries, divinations, prophecies, astrology, quackery, ritualism, and the worship of Gods (including Brahmâ).

These Three Sîlas may perhaps have been inserted in the Sutta as a kind of counterpoise to the Three Vedas. Our Sutta really reads better without them; but they are interesting in themselves, and the third is especially valuable as evidence of ancient customs and beliefs.

CHAPTER II.

THE SHORT PARAGRAPHS ON CONDUCT.

THE KŪLA SĪLAM¹.

1. 'Now wherein, *Vâsettha*, is his conduct good?'

'Herein, O *Vâsettha*, that putting away the murder of that which lives, he abstains from destroying life. The cudgel and the sword he lays aside; and, full of modesty and pity, he is compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life!

'This is the kind of goodness that he has.

2. 'Putting away the theft of that which is not his, he abstains from taking anything not given. He takes only what is given, therewith is he content, and he passes his life in honesty and in purity of heart!

'This, too, is the kind of goodness that he has.

3. 'Putting away in chastity, he lives a life of chastity and purity, averse to the low habit of sexual intercourse.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)²

¹ There is no division into actual chapters in the original, but it is convenient to arrange the following enumeration of moral precepts separately, as they occur in various suttas in the same order; and are always divided into the three divisions of Lower, Medium, and Higher Morality.

² The clause 'this, too, is the kind of goodness that he has' is repeated in the text after each section. The clause, which differs

4. 'Putting away lying, he abstains from speaking falsehood. He speaks truth, from the truth he never swerves; faithful and trustworthy, he injures not his fellow man by deceit.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. 'Putting away slander, he abstains from calumny. What he hears here he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel against the people here: what he hears elsewhere he repeats not here to raise a quarrel against the people there. Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peace-maker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. 'Putting away bitterness of speech, he abstains from harsh language. Whatever word is humane, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people—such are the words he speaks.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Putting away foolish talk, he abstains from vain conversation. In season he speaks; he speaks that which is; he speaks fact; he utters good doctrine; he utters good discipline; he speaks, and at the right time, that which redounds to profit, is well-grounded, is well-defined, and is full of wisdom.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

8. 'He refrains from injuring any herb or any creature. He takes but one meal a day; abstaining

in the different suttas in which this enumeration of Buddhist morality is found, is distinct from the enumeration itself, and, like the opening reference to *Vâsettha*, characteristic only of the particular Sutta.

from food at night time, or at the wrong time. He abstains from dancing, singing, music, and theatrical shows. He abstains from wearing, using, or adorning himself with garlands, and scents, and unguents, and he abstains from lofty couches and large beds.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

9. ‘He abstains from the getting of silver or gold. He abstains from the getting of grain uncooked. He abstains from the getting of flesh that is raw. He abstains from the getting of any woman or girl. He abstains from the getting of bondmen or bondwomen. He abstains from the getting of sheep or goats. He abstains from the getting of fowls or swine. He abstains from the getting of elephants, cattle, horses, and mares. He abstains from the getting of fields or lands.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

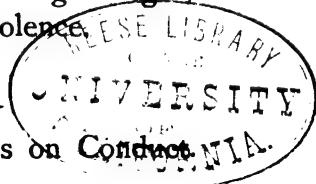
10. ‘He refrains from carrying out those commissions on which messengers can be sent. He refrains from buying and selling. He abstains from tricks with false weights, alloyed metals, or false measures. He abstains from bribery, cheating, fraud, and crooked ways.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

11. ‘He refrains from maiming, killing, imprisoning, highway robbery, plundering villages, or obtaining money by threats of violence.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)’

End of the Short Paragraphs on Conduct.



THE MIDDLE PARAGRAPHS ON CONDUCT.

THE MAGGHIMA SÎLAM.

1. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to injuring plants or vegetables: that is to say, the germs arising from roots, the germs arising from trunks of trees, the germs arising from joints, the germs arising from buds, or the germs arising from seeds. He, on the other hand, refrains from injuring such plants or animals.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

2. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to storing up property: that is to say, meat, drink, clothes, equipages, beds, perfumes, and grain. He, on the other hand, refrains from storing up such property.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

3. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to witnessing public spectacles: that is to say, dancing, singing, concerts, theatrical representations, recitations, instrumental music, funeral ceremonies, drummings, balls, gymnastics, tumblings, feasts in honour of the dead, combats between elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks, and quails, cudgel playing, boxing, wrestling, fencing, musters, marching, and reviews of troops. He, on the other hand, refrains from such public spectacles.

‘ This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. ‘ Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to occupying their time with games detrimental to their progress in virtue : that is to say, with a board of sixty-four squares, or of one hundred squares ; tossing up ; hopping over diagrams formed on the ground ; removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder ; dicing ; trap-ball ; sketching rude figures ; tossing balls ; blowing trumpets ; ploughing matches ; tumbling ; forming mimic windmills ; guessing at measures ; chariot races ; archery ; shooting marbles from the fingers ; guessing other people’s thoughts ; and mimicking other people’s acts. He, on the other hand, refrains from such games detrimental to virtue.

‘ This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. ‘ Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of elevated and ornamented couches or things to recline upon : that is to say, of large couches ; ornamented beds ; coverlets with long fleece ; embroidered counterpanes ; woollen coverlets, plain or worked with thick flowers ; cotton coverlets, worked with knots, or dyed with figures of animals ; fleecy carpets ; carpets inwrought with gold or with silk ; far-spreading carpets ; rich elephant housings, trappings, or harness ; rugs for chariots ; skins of the tiger or antelope ; and pillows or cushions ornamented with gold lace or embroidery. He, on the other hand, refrains from the use of such elevated or ornamented couches or things to recline upon.

‘ This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of articles for the adornment of their persons: that is to say, unguents; fragrant oils; perfumed baths; shampooings; mirrors; anti-mony for the eyebrows and eyelashes; flowers; cosmetics; dentifrices; bracelets; diadems; handsome walking-sticks; tiaras; swords; umbrellas; embroidered slippers; fillets; jewelry; fans of the buffalo tail; and long white garments. He, on the other hand, refrains from the use of such articles for the adornment of the person.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to mean talk: that is to say, tales of kings, of robbers, or of ministers of state; tales of arms, of war, of terror; conversation respecting meats, drinks, clothes, couches, garlands, perfumes, relationships, equipages, streets, villages, towns, cities, provinces, women, warriors, demigods; fortune-telling; hidden treasures in jars; ghost stories; empty tales; disasters by sea; accidents on shore; things which are, and things which are not. He, on the other hand, refrains from such mean conversation.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

8. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to wrangling: that is to say, to saying, "You are ignorant of this doctrine and discipline, but I understand them!" "What do you know of doctrine or discipline?" "You are heterodox, but I am orthodox!" "My discourse is profitable, but yours is worthless!" "That which you should speak

first you speak last, and that which you should speak last you speak first!" "What you have long studied I have completely overturned!" "Your errors are made quite plain!" "You are disgraced!" "Go away and escape from this disputation; or if not, extricate yourself from your difficulties!" He, on the other hand, refrains from such wrangling.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

9. 'Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to performing the servile duties of a go-between: that is to say, between kings, ministers of state, soldiers, Brāhmins, people of property, or young men, who say, "Come here!" "Go there!" "Take this to such a place!" "Bring that here!" But he refrains from such servile duties of a messenger.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

10. 'Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to hypocrisy: that is to say, they speak much; they make high professions; they disparage others; and they are continually thirsting after gain. But he refrains from such hypocritical craft.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)'

End of the Middle Paragraphs on Conduct.

THE LONG PARAGRAPHS ON CONDUCT.

THE MAHÂ SÎLAM.

1. 'Or whereas some *Samana*-Brâhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices as these: that is to say, by divination from marks on the body; by auguries; by the interpretation of prognostics, of dreams, and of omens, good or bad; by divinations from the manner in which cloth and other such things have been bitten by rats; by sacrifices to the god of fire, offerings of *Dabba* grass, offerings with a ladle, offerings of husks, of bran, of rice, of clarified butter, of oil, and of liquids ejected from the mouth; and by bloody sacrifices; by teaching spells for preserving the body, for determining lucky sites, for protecting fields, for luck in war, against ghosts and goblins, to secure good harvests, to cure snake bites, to serve as antidotes for poison, and to cure bites of scorpions or rats; by divination, by the flight of hawks, or by the croaking of ravens; by guessing at length of life; by teaching spells to ward off wounds; and by pretended knowledge of the language of beasts.—

'He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

2. 'Or whereas some *Samana*-Brâhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying

practices as these: that is to say, by explaining the good and bad points in jewels, sticks, garments, swords, arrows, bows, weapons of war, women, men, youths, maidens, male and female slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowl, snipe, iguanas, long-eared creatures, turtle, and deer.—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

3. ‘Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by foretelling future events, as these :

“There will be a sortie by the king.” “There will not be a sortie by the king.” “The king within the city will attack.” “The king outside the city will retreat.” “The king within the city will gain the victory.” “The king outside the city will be defeated.” “The king outside the city will be the conqueror.” “The king inside the city will be vanquished.” Thus prophesying to this one victory and to that one defeat.—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. ‘Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by predicting—

“There will be an eclipse of the moon.” “There will be an eclipse of the sun.” “There will be an eclipse of a planet.” “The sun and the moon will be in conjunction.” “The sun and the moon will be in

opposition." "The planets will be in conjunction." "The planets will be in opposition." "There will be falling meteors, and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere." "There will be earthquakes, thunderbolts, and forked lightnings." "The rising and setting of the sun, moon, or planets will be cloudy or clear." And then: "The eclipse of the moon will have such and such a result." "The eclipse of the sun will have such and such a result." "The eclipse of the moon will have such and such a result." "The sun and the moon being in conjunction will have such and such a result." "The sun and the moon being in opposition will have such and such a result." "The planets being in conjunction will have such and such a result." "The planets being in opposition will have such and such a result." "The falling meteors and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere will have such and such a result." "The earthquakes, thunderbolts, and forked lightnings will have such and such a result." "The rising and setting of the sun, moon, or planets, cloudy or clear, will have such and such a result."

'He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. 'Or whereas some Samāna-Brāhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by predicting—

"There will be an abundant rainfall." "There will be a deficient rainfall." "There will be an abundant harvest." "There will be famine." "There will be tranquillity." "There will be disturbances." "The season will be sickly." "The season will be healthy."

Or by drawing deeds, making up accounts, giving pills, making verses, or arguing points of casuistry—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. ‘Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these : that is to say, by giving advice touching the taking in marriage, or the giving in marriage ; the forming of alliances, or the dissolution of connections ; the calling in property, or the laying of it out. By teaching spells to procure prosperity, or to cause adversity to others ; to remove sterility ; to produce dumbness, locked-jaw, deformity, or deafness. By obtaining oracular responses by the aid of a mirror, or from a young girl, or from a god. By worshipping the sun, or by worshipping Brahmâ ; by spitting fire out of their mouths, or by laying hands on people’s heads—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. ‘Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these : that is to say, by teaching the ritual for making vows and performing them ; for blessing fields ; for imparting virility and rendering impotent ; for choosing the site of a house ; for performing a house-warming. By teaching forms of words to be used when cleansing the mouth, when bathing, and when making offerings to the god of

fire. By prescribing medicines to produce vomiting or purging, or to remove obstructions in the higher or lower intestines, or to relieve head-ache. By preparing oils for the ear, collyriums, catholicons, antimony, and cooling drinks. By practising cautery, midwifery, or the use of root decoctions or salves—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)’

End of the Long Paragraphs on Conduct.

CHAPTER III.

1. ¹ 'And he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love, and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure.

2. 'Just, *Vâsettha*, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions; even so of all things that have shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt love.

'Verily this, *Vâsettha*, is the way to a state of union with Brahmâ.

3. 'And he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of pity, sympathy, and equanimity, and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of pity, sympathy, and equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure.

4. 'Just, *Vâsettha*, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions; even so of all things that have

¹ This paragraph occurs frequently; see, *inter alia*, below, *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta* II, 8. It will be seen from 'Buddhism,' pp. 170, 171, that these meditations play a great part in later Buddhism, and occupy very much the place that prayer takes in Christianity. A fifth, the meditation on Impurity, has been added, at what time I do not know, before the last. All five are practised in Siam (Alabaster, 'Wheel of the Law,' p. 168).

shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt pity, sympathy, and equanimity.

‘Verily this, *Vâsettha*, is the way to a state of union with *Brahmâ*.’

5. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*, will the *Bhikkhu*¹ who lives thus be in possession of women and of wealth, or will he not?’

‘He will not, Gotama!’

‘Will he be full of anger, or free from anger?’

‘He will be free from anger, Gotama!’

‘Will his mind be full of malice, or free from malice?’

‘Free from malice, Gotama!’

‘Will his mind be sinful, or pure?’

‘It will be pure, Gotama!’

‘Will he have self-mastery, or will he not?’

‘Surely he will, Gotama!’

6. ‘Then you say, *Vâsettha*, that the *Bhikkhu* is free from household cares, and that *Brahmâ* is free from household cares. Is there then agreement and likeness between the *Bhikkhu* and *Brahmâ*?’

‘There is, Gotama!’

7. ‘Very good, *Vâsettha*. Then in sooth, *Vâsettha*, that the *Bhikkhu* who is free from household cares should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with *Brahmâ*, who is the same—such a condition of things is every way possible!

8. ‘And so you say, *Vâsettha*, that the *Bhikkhu* is free from anger, and free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself; and that *Brahmâ* is

¹ Or ‘Member of our Order.’ See the note on *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* I, 6.

free from anger, and free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself. Then in sooth, *Vâsettha*, that the Bhikkhu who is free from anger, free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahmâ, who is the same—such a condition of things is every way possible!’

9. When he had thus spoken, the young Brâhmans *Vâsettha* and *Bhâradvâga* addressed the Blessed One, and said :

‘Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to us, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And we, even we, betake ourselves, Lord, to the Blessed One as our refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept us as disciples, as true believers, from this day forth, as long as life endures!’

End of the *Tevigga Suttanta*.

ÂKANĀKHEYYA-SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ÂKANĀKHEYVA SUTTA.

JUST as the *Tevigga Sutta* is an *argumentum ad hominem* to the man wise in the Vedas, and seeking through that knowledge for union with the Deity, urging him to adopt rather the Buddhist method of a life of righteousness here on earth ; so the present Sutta is a similar argument addressed to the seeker after the various things specified in its different sections. If he should desire any of these things then let him live the life of uprightness as set out in the opening section, and cultivate the intelligent earnestness and spiritual insight described in the refrain.

The two combined amount, as would naturally be expected, to the *Nirvāṇa* of a perfect life in *Arahatship*—the supreme goal not only of every good Buddhist, but of every good Buddhist argument. As applied in the earlier sections it is only a re-statement of a familiar doctrine ; as applied in the later sections it has the additional interest of showing us the answer of early Buddhism to the mystics, as the *Tevigga* shows us its answer to the theologians. And in the answer we find the details of some curious beliefs which existed in India when Buddhism arose, and which in after times, and especially in the northern church, had so disastrous an effect upon it.

With regard to the reality of these mystical powers our Sutta gives an uncertain sound ; leaving, however, an impression rather in its favour. The argument is equally good either way, but the author of the Sutta is so engrossed with *Arahatship* that he does not stay to say

whether he regards the belief in the powers referred to as a delusion or not. I have no doubt that he really believed in their theoretical possibility, which is elsewhere also in the Pāli Piṭakas accepted or implied; though the practical effect of the belief has greatly varied among Buddhists in different times and countries. In the southern church, which adhered more closely to the simple doctrines of early Buddhism, these beliefs have been relegated to the region of legend and fairy tale; in the northern church there have been found, from time to time, believers who attached to them a practical importance. There is a useful analogy between the expressions used in 1 Samuel xxviii, and those in the latter part of our Suttas; and between the general position of witchcraft in the history of Christianity, and of these beliefs in the history of Buddhism; but it would take too long to carry out the comparison and contrast in detail here, and with due regard to the necessary limitations under which the comparison should be made. The analogy only reaches to their history, and to their relative importance in the religious systems with which they were connected; the two sets of belief themselves are fundamentally different, the Indian beliefs being much more nearly allied to modern spiritualism and mesmerism.

We have a curious instance of the way in which such legends grow in a parallel passage of the earlier and later lives of Gotama as accepted by orthodox Buddhists. In the Mahā Vagga¹ it is said that during the first watch of the night following on Gotama's victory over the Evil One, he fixed his mind upon the Chain of Causation, during the second watch he did the same, and during the third watch he did the same—the only difference in the narrative being the verses with which in each of the three watches the meditation closed.

In the life of Gotama prefixed to the Gātakas², the simplicity of this account is improved away by saying that

¹ I, 1, 2-6.

² Gātika I, 75, translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 102.

in the first watch he acquired the knowledge of Past Births (Pubbe-nivâsa-nâna, described in our § 17), in the second the knowledge of Present Births (Dibba-*kakkhu*, described in our § 19), and only in the third the knowledge of the Chain of Causation (*Patikâ-samuppâda*). It is curious that in the corresponding passage of the northern Buddhist Sanskrit poem, the *Lalita Vistara*¹, we find precisely the same tradition, which must therefore have been current in both northern and southern churches before the fifth century of our era.

I think it is quite possible that at that time it had become part of the Buddhist theory that every Arahāt possessed this supernatural insight; and as Gotama was supposed by the authors of these two later works to have acquired Arahātship by his victory over the Evil One, it naturally seemed to them proper to say that he then also acquired these particular powers. It is clear that even in the time when the *Piṭakas* were put into their present form it was considered that the Buddha had acquired them², and that they could be acquired by less exalted persons³. In the later literature several instances are given of particular persons who possessed one or other of them in a greater or less degree; but it is instructive to notice that these are always persons who lived long before the time of the writer who records the instances.

The early Buddhist doctrine as to witchcraft, astrology, omens, auguries, sacrifices, prophecies, and the like, will be found in the *Mahā Sīla* (above, pp. 196–200), and in the *Third Fetter* (below, p. 222).

¹ Calcutta edition, pp. 440–448.

² See, for instance, the *Tevigga-vakkhagotta Sutta*.

³ *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, pp. 144–154.

IF HE SHOULD DESIRE—

ĀKAṆKHEYYA-SUTTA.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Sāvatti in Anātha Pindika's park.

There the Blessed One addressed the Brethren, and said, 'Bhikkhus.' 'Yea, Lord!' said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then spake the Blessed One:

2. 'Continue, Brethren, in the practice of Right Conduct¹, adhering to the Rules of the Order²; continue enclosed by the restraint of the Rules of the Order, devoted to uprightness in life³; train yourselves according to the Precepts⁴, taking them upon you in the sense of the danger in the least offence.

3. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to become beloved, popular, respected among his fellow-disciples, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within⁵, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation⁶, let him look through things⁷, let him be much alone!'

¹ Sīla.

² Pātimokkhā.

³ Ākārakoṭṭarā. Comp. Teviga Sutta I, 49.

⁴ Sikkhāpadesu. The Buddhist Decalogue (given in 'Buddhism,' p. 160).

⁵ Agghattam keto samatham.

⁶ Ghāna.

⁷ Vipassanā: it is always used, in contrast to samatha

4. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to receive the requisites—clothing, food, lodging, and medicine, and other necessities for the sick—let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

5. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that to those people among whom he receives the requisites—clothing, food, lodging, and medicine, and other necessities for the sick—that charity of theirs should redound to great fruit and great advantage, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

6. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that those relatives of his, of one blood with him, dead and gone, who think of him with believing heart should find therein great fruit and great advantage¹, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

7. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that he

(note 5), of insight into objective phenomena. These three qualities are constantly referred to as parts of Arahatsip. The Rev. David da Silva makes *vipassanā* identical with the sevenfold perception (*saññā*, mentioned as conditions of the welfare of a community in the Book of the Great Decease, Chap. I, § 10).

¹ Even after death those who remember the Buddha, the Truth, or the Order with believing heart can reap spiritual advantage. Compare the Dhammapada commentary, p. 97.

should be victorious over discontent and lust¹, that discontent should never overpower him, that he should master and subdue any discontent that had sprung up within him, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

8. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that he should be victorious over (spiritual) danger and dismay, that neither danger nor dismay should ever overcome him, that he should master and subdue every danger and dismay, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

9. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to realise the hopes of those spiritual men who live in the bliss which comes, even in this present world, from the four *Ghânas*, should he desire not to fall into the pains and difficulties (which they avoid), let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone² !'

10. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to reach with his body and remain in those stages of deliverance which are incorporeal, and pass beyond

¹ Aratiratisaho. Arati is the disinclination to fulfil the duties of a *Samāna*, discontent with the restrictions of the Order.

² The bliss here referred to, and described in detail below, *Mahā-Sudassana Sutta*, Chap. III, is the 'ecstasy of contemplation' referred to in the refrain.

phenomena¹, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

11. ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the complete destruction of the three Bonds to become converted, to be no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and to be assured of final salvation², let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

12. ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the complete destruction of the three Bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion, to become a Sakadâgâmin, and (thus) on his first return to this world to make an end of sorrow, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

13. ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the complete destruction of the five Bonds which bind people to this earth, to become an inheritor of the highest heavens³, there to pass entirely away, thence

¹ These are the eight Vimokkhâ, a list of which occurs in the Great Decease, Chap. III, §§ 33-42.

² On this and the two following sections compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta II, 7, and on the Bonds or Fetters below, p. 222.

³ Opapâtika. This is another of those words which, from their connoting Buddhist ideas unknown in Europe, are really untranslatable. It means a being who springs into existence without the intervention of parents, and therefore, as it were,

never to return, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!

14.¹ 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to exercise one by one each of the different Iddhis, being one to become multiform, being multiform to become one; to become visible, or to become invisible; to go without being stopped to the further side of a wall, or a fence, or a mountain, as if through air; to penetrate up and down through solid ground, as if through water; to walk on the water without dividing it, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on wing; to touch and feel with the hand even the sun and the moon, mighty and powerful though they be; and to reach in the body even up to the heaven of Brahmâ; let him then fulfil all righteous-

uncaused, and seeming to appear by chance. All the higher devas (angels or gods) are opapâtika, there being no sex or birth in the highest heavens; and it is with especial allusion to this that the word is here used. There is of course from the Buddhist point of view (which admits of nothing without a cause) a very sufficient cause for the sudden appearance of an opapâtika in heaven, viz. the karma of a being who has past away somewhere else; but the Buddhist theory necessitated the choice of an expression which would give no countenance to the (heretical) idea of a soul flying away after the death of its body from one world to another.

In the expression 'which bind people to this world,' by world is meant the Rûpa-loka, or world of form, which include all those parts of the universe whose inhabitants have an outward form and are subject to lusts.

¹ With this paragraph compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta III, 14, and Sâmañña Phala Sutta, p. 145.

ness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

15.¹ 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to hear with clear and heavenly ear, surpassing that of men, sounds both human and celestial, whether far or near, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

16.² 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to comprehend by his own heart the hearts of other beings and of other men; to discern the passionate mind to be passionate, and the calm mind calm; the angry mind to be angry, and the peaceable peaceable; the deluded mind to be deluded, and the wise mind wise; the concentrated thoughts to be concentrated, and the scattered to be scattered; the lofty mind to be lofty, and the narrow mind narrow; the sublime thoughts to be sublime, and the mean to be mean; the steadfast mind to be steadfast, and the wavering to be wavering; the free mind to be free, and the enslaved mind to be enslaved; let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

17. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to be able to call to mind his various temporary states in days gone by; such as one birth, two births,

¹ With this paragraph compare *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 146.

² Compare *M. P. S. I*, 16, and *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 147.

three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred or a thousand, or a hundred thousand births¹; his births in many an æon of destruction, in many an æon of renovation, in many an æon of both destruction and renovation²; (so as to be able to say), “In that place such was my name, such my family, such my caste³, such my subsistence, such my experience of comfort or of pain, and such the limit of my life; and when I passed from thence, I took form again in that other place where my name was so and so, such my family, such my caste, such my subsistence, such my experience of comfort or of joy, and such my term of life; and when I fell from thence, I took form in such and such a place⁴;” —should he desire thus to call to mind his temporary states in days gone by in all their modes and all their details let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

18.⁵ ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to see with pure and heavenly vision, surpassing that of

¹ The *Lalita Vistara* (p. 442) characteristically carries this enumeration further up into innumerable *koṭis* and *niyutas* of births.

² This is based on the Buddhist theory of the periodical destruction and renovation of the universe, each of which takes countless years to be accomplished.

³ *Vanna*, colour.

⁴ The text of this clause recurs nearly word for word in the *Brahma-gāla Sutta*, pp. 17-21; and in the *Lalita Vistara*, Chap. XXII, p. 442; and exactly in the *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 148.

⁵ This paragraph recurs in the *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 150, and in nearly the same words in the *Lalita Vistara*, Chap. XXII.

men, beings as they pass from one state of existence and take form in others ; beings base or noble, good-looking or ill-favoured, happy or miserable, according to the karma they inherit—(if he should desire to be able to say), “ These beings, reverend sirs, by their bad conduct in action, by their bad conduct in word, by their bad conduct in thought, by their speaking evil of the Noble Ones¹, by their adhesion to false doctrine, or by their acquiring the karma of false doctrine², have been reborn, on the dissolution of the body after death, in some unhappy state of suffering or woe³. ” “ These beings, reverend sirs, by their good conduct in action, by their good conduct in word, by their good conduct in thought, by their not speaking evil of the Noble Ones, by their adhesion to right doctrine, by their acquiring the karma of right doctrine, have been reborn, on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy state in heaven ; ”—should he desire thus to see with pure and heavenly vision, surpassing that of men, beings as they thus pass from one state of existence and take form in others ; beings base or noble, good-looking or ill-favoured, happy or miserable, according to the karma they inherit ; let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs

¹ This is a collective term, meaning Buddhas, Paṭṭhaka Buddhas, Arahats, Anâgâmins, Sakadâgâmins, and Sotâpannas ; that is, those who are walking in the Noble Eightfold Path.

² The Pâli is *miḥḥâ-* (and below *sammâ-*) *diṭṭhi-kamma-samâdâna* ; the Lalita Vistara, whose other expressions are identical with the Pâli, has, very strangely, *mithyâ-* (and below *samyag-*) *diṭṭhi-karma-dharma-samâdâna*.

³ See note on M. P. S., Chap. I, § 23.

from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

19.¹ 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the destruction of the great evils (*Āsava*s²), by himself, and even in this very world, to know and realise and attain to Arahatsip, to emancipation of heart, and emancipation of mind, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

20. 'Continue therefore, Brethren, in the practice of Right Conduct, adhering to the Rules of the Order; continue enclosed by the restraint of the Rules of the Order, devoted to uprightness in life; train yourselves according to the Precepts, taking them upon you in the sense of the danger in the least offence. For to this end alone has all, that has been said, been said !'

21. Thus spake the Blessed One. And those Brethren, delighted in heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the *Ākaṅkheyya Sutta*.

¹ Compare *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 151; *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* II, 7; and *Lalita Vistara*, Chap. XXII, p. 442.

² Sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance.

KETOKHILA-SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

KETOKHILA SUTTĀ.

THE following translation has been made from a text, based on the Turnour and Phayre MSS. in the India Office, of which Dr. Morris was kind enough to allow me the use. The Suttas in the *Magghima Nikāya* are usually distinguished by the way in which a single thought or one or two allied thoughts are stated shortly at the commencement, and are then elaborated and repeated through a number of consecutive and carefully-balanced paragraphs arranged in a literary form that would now be considered monotonous and tiresome in the extreme. The repetitions in the Suttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya* are no doubt equally artificial, but the train of reasoning being longer and more varied, there is always the hope of a change in the form, or of a new departure in the thought, to sustain the reader's flagging interest.

The argument of this Sutta may be shortly stated thus. The means by which freedom from barrenness and bondage of heart can be reached are zeal and determined effort. But that zeal will be crippled in its struggle against barrenness by want of confidence in the teacher, his doctrine, his order, or his system of self-culture, and by want of concord with the brethren. And that zeal will be crippled in its struggle against bondage by sensuality, by sloth, or by a craving after a future life in any of its various forms. If the disciple be strenuously diligent in the struggle against these things he need not fear or doubt, he will never fail, but will assuredly reach even to the supreme security of Arahatsip.

When I first read this Sutta I was irresistibly reminded of that passage in the New Testament where the exhortation to the disciple, 'giving all diligence' to add to his faith

virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, and brotherly kindness, is followed by the figure that these things will make him to be 'neither barren nor unfruitful;' and closes with the promise that if he do these things, giving diligence to make his calling and election sure, he shall never fall, but shall enter into that everlasting kingdom which is the supreme goal of the Christian life.

The analogy is sufficiently close to throw considerable light upon our Sutta, but it touches only the barrenness. The bondage is specially Buddhistic, and is allied with the doctrine of the *Sanyoganas*, or fetters, which the pilgrim along the Noble Path has to break before he can reach the full fruit of Arahatsip. It should be compared also with the fivefold bond mentioned in the *Tevigga Sutta*, Chap. I, §§ 26-28, the word there used being *bandhanam*, as against *vinibandhanam* here, and the fivefold bond being a fivefold division of our first bondage.

The ten fetters are—

1. The delusion of self (*sakkâya-ditthi*).
2. Doubt (*vicikicchâ*).
3. Reliance on the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (*silabbata-parâmâsa*).
4. The bodily lusts or passions (*kâma*).
5. Hatred, ill-feeling (*patigha*).
6. Desire for a future life in the worlds of form (*rûparâga*).
7. Desire for a future life in the formless worlds (*arûparâga*).
8. Pride (*mâno*).
9. Self-righteousness (*uddhaṭṭhâ*).
10. Ignorance (*aviggâ*).

Here the 4th fetter is correlative to our first bondage; the 6th fetter to our 2nd and 3rd bondage; and part of the 3rd fetter to our 5th bondage.

The 2nd, 3rd, and 5th bondage are in fact but a new way of stating the fundamental Buddhist doctrine that good must be pursued without any ulterior motive; and that that man is not spiritually free in whom there is still the least hankering after any future life beyond the grave.

BARRENNESS AND BONDAGE.

KETOKHILA-SUTTA.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling at Sāvatti, in the park of Anātha Pindika.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, saying, 'Brethren!'

'Yea, Lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One spake:

2. 'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not quite become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness¹, has not altogether broken through the five kinds of mental bondage²—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to the full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline³—that can in no wise be!'

3. 'And who has not become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness?'

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother

¹ *Pañka ketokhilâ.*

² *Pañka ketaso vinibandhâ.*

³ *Dhamma-vinaye.* On the disputed question as to whether this compound is a *Dvanda* or not, see Dr. Oldenberg, *Mahâ Vagga*, p. x. M. Léon Feer ('*Études Bouddhiques*,' p. 203) has taken it as *Tatpurusha*; and it would be hazardous to say that it is never used as such. Here I think it is a *Dvanda*.

doubts in the Teacher (Satthâ), is uncertain regarding him, has not confidence in him, and has not faith in him; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this first spiritual barrenness.

4. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother doubts in the System of Belief (Dhamma), is uncertain regarding it, has not confidence in it, has not faith in it; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this second spiritual barrenness.

5. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has doubt in the Brotherhood (Saṅgha), is uncertain about it, has no confidence in it, has no faith in it; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this third spiritual barrenness.

6. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has doubt in the System of Self-culture (Sikkhâ), is uncertain about it, has no confidence in it, has no faith in it; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this fourth spiritual barrenness.

7. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother is angry with his fellow-disciples, discontented with

them, excited against them, barren towards them, the mind of the brother, O Bhikkhus, thus angry with his fellow-disciples, discontented with them, excited against them, barren towards them does not incline towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this fifth spiritual barrenness.

‘It is such a one, O Bhikkhus, who is not free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness.’

8. ‘And who has not broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage?’

‘In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for lusts (kāme), has not got rid of the desire after lusts, has not got rid of the attraction to lusts, has not got rid of the thirst for lusts, has not got rid of the fever of lust, has not got rid of the craving after lusts.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not got rid of the passion for lusts, has not got rid of the desire after lusts, has not got rid of the attraction to lusts, has not got rid of the thirst for lusts, has not got rid of the fever of lust, has not got rid of the craving after lusts, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this first spiritual bondage.

9. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for a body¹ (kāye),

¹ It is possible that kāya may be used here in a technical sense, as the group or aggregate of qualities, apart from form, which go

has not got rid of the desire after a body, has not got rid of the attraction to a body, has not got rid of the thirst for a body, has not got rid of the fever of a body, has not got rid of the craving after a body.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not got rid of the passion for a body, has not got rid of the desire after a body, has not got rid of the attraction to a body, has not got rid of the thirst for a body, has not got rid of the fever of a body, has not got rid of the craving after a body, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this second spiritual bondage.

10. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for a form (*rûpe*), has not got rid of the desire after a form, has not got rid of the attraction to a form, has not got rid of the thirst for a form, has not got rid of the fever of a form, has not got rid of the craving after a form.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not got rid of the passion for a form, has not got rid of the desire after a form, has not got rid of the attraction to a form, has not got rid of the thirst for a form, has not got rid of the fever of a form, has not got rid of the craving after a form, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this third spiritual bondage.

to make up an individual. This paragraph would then correspond to the 7th *Samyogana*.

11. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, a brother may have eaten enough and to satiety, and begins to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth.

'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, when he has eaten enough and to satiety, begins to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this fourth spiritual bondage.

12. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, a brother may have adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts¹, and thinking to himself: "By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!"—

'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, may have adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts, and thinking to himself: "By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!" his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this fifth spiritual bondage.

'It is such a one, O Bhikkhus, who has not broken through the five kinds of mental bondage.

¹ *Aññataram deva-nikāyam*. Compare Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Chap. I, § 11, Chap. II, § 9.

13. 'And whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not quite become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness, has not altogether broken through the five kinds of mental bondage—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to the full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline—that can in no wise be!

14. 'But whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has become quite free from the five kinds of mental barrenness, has altogether broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline—that can well be!'

15. 'And who has become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness?'

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not doubt in the Teacher (Satthâ), is not uncertain regarding him, has confidence in him, and has faith in him; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this first spiritual barrenness.

16. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not doubt in the System of Belief (Dhamma), is not uncertain regarding it, has confidence in it, and has faith in it; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this second spiritual barrenness.

17. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother

does not doubt in the Brotherhood (Saṅgha), is not uncertain about it, has confidence in it, and has faith in it; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this third spiritual barrenness.

18. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not doubt in the System of Self-culture (Sikkhâ), is not uncertain about it, has confidence in it, and has faith in it; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fourth spiritual barrenness.

19. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother is not angry with his fellow-disciples, is not discontented with them, is not excited against them, is not barren towards them, the mind of the brother, O Bhikkhus, who is thus not angry with his fellow-disciples, not discontented with them, not excited against them, not barren towards them, does incline toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fifth spiritual barrenness.’

20. ‘And who has broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage?’

‘In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has got rid of the passion after lusts (kāme), has got rid of the desire after lusts, has got rid of the attraction to lusts, has got rid of the thirst for

lusts, has got rid of the fever of lust, has got rid of the craving after lusts.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has got rid of the passion after lusts, has got rid of the desire after lusts, has got rid of the attraction to lusts, has got rid of the thirst for lusts, has got rid of the fever of lust, has got rid of the craving after lusts, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this first spiritual bondage.

21. ‘And, further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has got rid of the passion after a body (kāye), has got rid of the desire after a body, has got rid of the attraction to a body, has got rid of the thirst for a body, has got rid of the fever of a body, has got rid of the craving after a body.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has got rid of the passion after a body, has got rid of the desire after a body, has got rid of the attraction to a body, has got rid of the thirst for a body, has got rid of the fever of a body, has got rid of the craving after a body, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this second spiritual bondage

22. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has got rid of the passion for a form (rūpe); has got rid of the desire after a form, has got rid of the attraction to a form, has got rid of the thirst for a form, has got rid of the fever of a form, has got rid of the craving after a form.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has got rid of the passion for a form, has got rid of the desire after a form, has got rid of the attraction to a form, has got rid of the thirst for a form, has got rid of the fever of a form, has got rid of the craving after a form, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this third spiritual bondage.

23. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not, having eaten enough and to satiety, begin to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth.

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, does not, having eaten enough and to satiety, begin to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fourth spiritual bondage¹.

24. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts, thinking to himself: “By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!”—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not

¹ In this section, and in section 11, I have rendered *sukha* by ease, and not by happiness, as I think the former is always its more exact meaning in such passages.

adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts, thinking to himself: "By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!" his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fifth spiritual bondage.

'It is such a one, O Bhikkhus, who has broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage.

25. 'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has become quite free from the five kinds of mental barrenness, has altogether broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline—that can well be!

26. 'He practises the (first) road to saintship¹, which is accompanied by the union of the will to acquire it with earnest contemplation, and with the struggle against sin. He practises the (second) road to saintship, which is accompanied by the union of exertion with earnest contemplation, and with the struggle against sin. He practises the (third) road to saintship, which is accompanied by the union of thought with earnest contemplation, and with the struggle against sin. He practises the (fourth) road to saintship, which is accompanied by the union of investigation with earnest con-

¹ Iddhipâdam. Here Iddhi must be (spiritual) welfare.

templation and the struggle against sin¹,—and strong determination too as a fifth.

27. 'The brother, O Bhikkhus, thus endowed with fifteenfold determination² becomes destined to come forth into the light, capable of the higher wisdom, sure of attaining to the supreme security³.

28. 'Just, O Bhikkhus, as when a hen has eight or ten or twelve eggs, and the hen has properly brooded over them, properly sat upon them, properly sat herself round them, however much such a wish may arise on her heart as this, "O would that my little chickens should break open the egg-shell with the points of their claws, or with their beaks, and come forth into the light in safety!" yet all the while those little chickens are sure to break the egg-shell with the points of their claws, or with their beaks, and to come forth into the light in safety.

29. 'Just even so, a brother thus endowed with fifteenfold determination is sure to come forth into the light, sure to reach up to the higher wisdom, sure to attain to the supreme security⁴!'

¹ The text of this section, so far, will be found in Childers's dictionary, sub voce Iddhipâdo.

² That is, the four Iddhipâdas, and Usso/hi, each multiplied by three.

³ Anuttarassa Yogakkhemassa; that is, Nirvâna. Compare Dhammapada, ver. 23 and p. 180.

⁴ The tertium quid of the parable is the absolute certainty of the event which will follow on the hen having duly and diligently followed the law of her instinct, even though she, meanwhile, in her ignorance, be full of doubt and desire. The certainty of the delivery of a woman with child is not unfrequently used as a symbol of what can be absolutely depended upon. So of 'the word of the glorious Buddhas,' which endureth for ever, in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 18. I have attempted to imitate the play in the text upon the two words for the 'coming forth into the light,'

30. Thus spake the Blessed One. And those Brethren, delighted in heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the Sutta, the sixth, on barrenness and bondage.

figuratively and literally, of the disciple and of the little chicken. The first is in Pâli bhabbo abhinibbidâya (from vid), the latter is aho vata . . . sotthinâ abhinibbhiggeyyan (from bhid). On sammâ-paribhavitâni, here applied to the *andâni*, see above, Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, Chap. I, § 12, note.

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA-
SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHĀ-SUDASSANA SUTTA.

THE following translation is made from a text based on three MSS. from the same sources as those referred to at the commencement of the *Tevigga Sutta*, and referred to in my notes by the same letters.

This Sutta follows in the *Dīgha Nikāya* immediately after the Book of the Great Decease, and is based on the same legend as the *Mahā-Sudassana Gāṭaka*, No. 95 in Mr. Fausböll's edition. As the latter differs in several important particulars from our Sutta, it is probably not taken directly from it, but is merely derived from the same source. To facilitate comparison between the two I add here a translation of the *Gāṭaka*, which has not been reached as yet in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' and which is very short.

The part enclosed in brackets [] is the comment, which was probably written in Ceylon in the fifth century of our era, and I have included that part of the comment which is explanatory of the words in the verse, as it is of more than usual interest. There is every reason to believe, for the reasons given in the Introduction to the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' that the stories themselves belong to a very early period in the history of Buddhism; and we may be sure that if this particular story had been abstracted by the author of the commentary from our Sutta, he would not have ventured to introduce such serious changes into what he regarded as sacred writ.

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA GĀTAKA.

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY.

[‘How transient are all component things.’ This the Master told when lying on his death-couch, concerning that word of Ānanda the Thera, when he said, ‘Do not, O Blessed One, die in this little town,’ and so on.

When the Tathāgata was at the *Getavana*¹ he thought ‘the Thera Sāriputta, who was born at Nālagāma, has died, on the day of the full moon in the month of Kattika, in that very village²; and Mahā Moggallāna in the latter, the dark half of that same month. As my two chief disciples are thus dead, I too will pass away at Kusinārā.’ Thereupon he proceeded straight on to that place, and lay down on the Uttara-sīsaka couch, between the twin Sāla trees, never to rise again.

Then the venerable Ānanda besought him, saying, ‘Let

¹ It is not easy with our present materials to reconcile the apparently conflicting statements with regard to the Buddha’s last journey. According to the *Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu* this refers here to a residence at the *Getavana*, which took place between the end of § 30 in Chap. II, in the Book of the Great Decease, and the beginning of § 31. It will be noticed that § 31 speaks of ‘the monastery,’ which is apparently an undesigned confirmation of this tradition. (Such undesigned circumstances, however really undesigned, are very far, of course, from proving the actual truth of the tradition. They would only show that it was older than the time when the works in which they occur were put into their present shape.)

Mr. Fausböll, by his punctuation, includes these words in the following thought ascribed to the Blessed One, but I think they only describe the time at which the thought is supposed to have arisen.

² Or perhaps ‘at Varaka.’ I do not understand the word *varaka*, which has puzzled Mr. Fausböll. The modern name of the village, afterwards the site of the famous Buddhist university of Nālanda, is Baragaon. The full-moon day in Kattika is the 1st of December. An account of the death of Sāriputta will be found in the *Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu* (Bigandet, ‘Legend,’ &c., 3rd ed., II, 1-25), and of the murder of Moggallāna by the *Niganthas* in the *Dhammapada* commentary (Fausböll, p. 298 seq.), of which Spence Hardy’s account (‘Manual of Buddhism,’ p. 338) is nearly a translation; and Bigandet’s account (loc. cit. pp. 25-27) is an abridgment.

not the Blessed One die in this little township¹, in this little town in the jungle, in this branch township. Let the Blessed One die in one of the other great cities, such as Rāgagaha, and the rest !'

But the Master answered, ' Say not, Ānanda, that this is a little township, a little town in the jungle, a branch township. I was dwelling formerly in this town at the time when I was Sudassana, the king of kings ; and then it was a great city, surrounded by a jewelled rampart, twelve leagues in length !'

And at the request of the Thera, he, telling the tale, uttered the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta.]

Now on that occasion when Queen Subhaddā saw Mahā Sudassana, when he had come down out of the Palace of Righteousness, and was lying down, not far off, on the appropriate couch, spread out in the grove of the seven kinds of gems, and when she said : ' Thine, O king, are these four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief is the royal city of Kusavāṭi. Quicken thy desire after these !'

Then replied Mahā Sudassana, ' Speak not thus, O queen ! but exhort me rather, saying, " Cast away desire for these, long not after them !"'

And when she asked, ' Why so, O king ?' ' To-day my time is come, and I shall die !' was his reply³.

Then the weeping queen, wiping her eyes, brought herself with difficulty and distress to address him accordingly. And having spoken, she wept, and lamented ; and the other four and eighty thousand women wept too, and lamented ; and of the attendant courtiers not one could restrain himself, but all also wept.

But the Bodisat stopped them all, saying, ' Enough my friends ! Be still !' And he exhorted the queen, saying, ' Neither do thou, O queen, weep : neither do thou lament. For even unto a grain of sesamum fruit there is no such

¹ Khuddaka-nagarake. See the note on Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, ver. 60.

² Both these speeches are different from those given on the same occasion in the Sutta below.

³ This question and answer are not in the Sutta.

thing as a compound which is permanent! All are transient, all have the inherent quality of dissolution!¹

And when he had so said, he further uttered this stanza:

‘How transient are all component things!

Growth is their nature and decay:

They are produced, they are dissolved again:

And then is best,—when they have sunk to rest!¹

[In these verses the words ‘How transient are all component things!’ mean ‘Dear lady, Subhaddâ, where-soever and by whatsoever causes made or come together, compounds²,—that is, all those things which possess the essential constituents (whether material or mental) of existing things³,—all these compounds are impermanence itself. For of these form⁴ is impermanent, reason⁵ is impermanent, the (mental) eye⁶ is impermanent, and qualities⁷ are impermanent. And whatever treasure there be, whether conscious or unconscious, that is transitory. Understand therefore “How transient are all component things!”

‘And why? “Growth is their nature and decay.” These, all, have the inherent quality of coming into (individual) existence, and have also the inherent quality of growing old; or (in other words) their very nature is to come into existence and to be broken up. Therefore should it be understood that they are impermanent.

‘And since they are impermanent, when “they are produced, they are dissolved again.” Having come into existence, having reached a state⁸, they are surely dissolved. For all these things come into existence, taking an individual form; and are dissolved, being broken up. To them as soon as there is birth, there is what is called a state; as soon as there is a state, there is what is called

¹ All this is omitted in the Sutta. It is true the verse occurs there, but it is placed in the Sutta in the mouth of the Teacher, after the account of Mahâ Sudassana’s death.

The last clause is literally, ‘Blessed is their cessation,’ where the word for cessation, *upasamo*, is derived from the word *sam*, ‘to be calm, to be quiet,’ and means cessation by sinking into rest. Compare below.

² *Saṅkhârâ*.

³ *Khandâyatanâdayo*.

⁴ *Rûpam*.

⁵ *Viññānam*.

⁶ *Kakkhum*.

⁷ *Dhammâ*.

⁸ *Thiti*.

disintegration¹. For to the unborn there is no such thing as state, and there is no such thing as a state which is without disintegration. Thus are all compounds, having attained to the three characteristic marks (of impermanency, pain, and want of any abiding principle²), subject, in this way and in that way, to dissolution. All these component things therefore, without exception, are impermanent, momentary³, despicable, unstable, disintegrating, trembling, quaking, unlasting, sure to depart⁴, only for a time⁵, and without substance;—as temporary⁶ as a 'phantom, as the mirage, or as foam!

'How then in these, dear lady Subhaddâ, is there any sign of ease? Understand rather that "then is best, when they have sunk to rest;" but their sinking to rest, their cessation, comes from the cessation of the whole round (of life), and is the same as Nirvâna. That and this are one⁶. And hence there is no such thing as ease.']

And when Mahâ Sudassana had thus brought his discourse to a point with the ambrosial great Nirvâna, he made exhortation also to the rest of the great multitude, saying, 'Give gifts! Observe the precepts! Keep the sacred days⁷!' and became an inheritor of the world of the gods.

[When the Master had concluded this lesson in the truth, he summed up the Gâtaka, saying, 'She who was then Subhaddâ the queen was the mother of Râhula, the great adviser was Râhula, the rest of the retinue the Buddha's retinue, and Mahâ Sudassana I myself.']

¹ Bhaṅgo.

² *Anekkam, dukkham, anattam*. See Gâtaka I, 275; and, on the last, Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 10, and Mahâ Vagga I, vi, 38-47.

³ *Khamikâ*. See Oldenberg's note on Dîpavamsa I, 53.

⁴ *Pâyâtâ*, literally 'departed.' The forms *payâti* and *payâto*, given by Childers, should be corrected into *pâyâti* and *pâyâto*. See Gâtaka I, 146.

⁵ *Tâvakâlikâ*. See Gâtaka I, 121, where the word is used of a cart let out on hire for a time only.

⁶ *Tad ev ekam ekam*, which is not altogether without ambiguity.

⁷ This paragraph, too, is omitted in the Sutta.

The word translated 'component things' or 'compounds' in this Gâtaka is saṅkhârâ, literally confections, from kar, 'to do,' and sam, 'together.' It is a word very frequently used in Buddhist writings, and a word consequently of many different connotations; and there is, of course, no exactly corresponding word in English. 'Production' would often be very nearly correct, although it fails entirely to give the force of the preposition sam; but a greater objection to that word is the fact that it is generally used, not of things that have come into being of themselves, but of things that have been produced by some one else. It suggests, if it does not imply, a producer; which is contrary to the whole spirit of the Buddhist passages in which the word saṅkhârâ occurs. In this important respect the word 'compound' is a much more accurate translation, though it lays somewhat too much stress on the sam.

The term Confections (to coin a rendering) is sometimes used, as in the first line of these verses (as used in this connection), to denote all things which have been brought together, made up, by pre-existing causes; and in this sense it includes, as the commentator here points out, all those material or mental qualities which unite to form an individual, a separate thing or being, whether conscious or unconscious.

It is more usually used, with special reference to their origin from pre-existing causes, and with allusion to the wider class denoted by the same word, of the mental confections only, of all sentient beings generally, or of man alone. In this sense it forms by itself one of the five classes or aggregates (khandhâ) into which the material and mental qualities of each separate individual are divided in Buddhist writings—the class of dispositions, capabilities, and all that goes together to make what we call character. This class has naturally enough been again divided and subdivided; and a full list of the Confections in this sense, as now acknowledged by orthodox Buddhists, will be found in my manual 'Buddhism.' At the time when the Pâli Piṭakas reached their present form, no such elaborate list of Confections in detail seems to have been made; but the

general sense of the word was, as is quite clear from the passages in which it occurs, the idea which these details together convey. It is this second and more usual meaning of the term which is more especially emphasised in the concluding verse of the above stanza.

I have ventured to dwell so far on the word Confections, because the commentator here says that the cessation of these Confections is the same thing as *Nirvâna*; and the question of *Nirvâna* engrosses so large a share of the attention of those who are interested in Buddhism.

Whether it is entitled to do so is open to serious question. The Buddhist salvation was held to consist in a change of heart, a modification of personal character, to be attained to in this world, and forming the subject of Gotama's first discourse, 'The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness'.¹ When looked at from different points of view this state of mind was denoted, in the very numerous passages in which it is mentioned or referred to, under a great variety of different names or epithets, suggestive of the different points of view from which it could be regarded. The term *Nibbâna*, or *Nirvâna*, is only one of those epithets; and it is a most significant fact, to which I would invite especial attention, that it is an epithet comparatively very seldom employed in the Pâli *Piṭakas* themselves. It is to the state of mind itself, the salvation which every Arahāt has reached while yet alive, in a word, to Arahātship, that importance ought to be attached, rather than to that particular connotation of it suggested by the word *Nirvâna*.

One of the many ideas involved in Arahātship was the absolute dissolution of individuality. Gotama, whether rightly or wrongly is here of no importance, held that freedom from pain, absolute ease, happiness, was incompatible with existence as a distinct individual (whether animal, god, or man). The cessation of the Confections, so far from being a thing to be dreaded, was the inevitable result of the emancipation of heart and mind in Arahātship.

¹ The *Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta*, translated below.

But it was not a thing to be desired, and could not, in fact, be brought about apart from all the other things involved in Arahatsip. The formation of these Confections ceases in Nirvâna, and in Nirvâna alone; and when the poet declares that their cessation is blessed, he is saying the same thing as if he had said 'Nirvâna is blessed¹.'

Turning now to the Sutta itself, we find that the portion of the legend omitted in the *Gâtaka* throws an unexpected light upon the tale; for it commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahâ Sudassana, and reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more nor less than a spiritualist's sun-myth.

It cannot be disputed that the sun-myth theory has become greatly discredited, and with reason, by having been used too carelessly and freely as an explanation of religious legends of different times and countries which have really no historical connection with the earlier awe and reverence inspired by the sun. The very mention of the word sun-myth is apt to call forth a smile of incredulity, and the undubitable truth which is the basis of the theory has not sufficed to protect it from the shafts of ridicule. The 'Book of the Great King of Glory' seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied.

It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on a sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun, or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic. A large proportion of its contents has nothing at all to do with the worship of the sun; and even that which has, had not, in

¹ In this respect it should be noticed that the very word here used for cessation, *upasamo*, is used as one among a string of epithets of Arahatsip at *Dhamma-takka-ppavattana Sutta*, § 3, = *Gâtaka* I, 97, and again in *Dhamma-pada*, verses 368, 381. In this last passage the whole of the phrase in the last verse in our stanza recurs in the accusative case as an equivalent to Arahatsip, and the comma inserted by Mr. Fausböll between *sañkhârûpasamam* and *sukham* is, in both verses, unnecessary.

the mind of the author, when the book was put together. Whether indebted to a sun-myth or not, it is therefore perfectly true and valid evidence of the religious belief of the people among whom it was current; and no more shows that the Buddhists were unconscious sun worshippers than the story of Samson, under any theory of its possible origin, would prove the same of the Jews.

What we really have is a kind of wonderful fairy tale, a gorgeous poem, in which an attempt is made to describe in set terms the greatest possible glory and majesty of the greatest possible king, in order to show that all is vanity, save only righteousness—just such a poem as a Jewish prophet might have written of Solomon in all his glory. It would have been most strange, perhaps impossible, for the author to refrain from using the language of the only poets he knew, who had used their boldly figurative language in an attempt to describe the appearance of the sun.

To trace back all the rhetorical phrases of our Sutta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns would be an interesting task of historical philology, though it would throw more light upon Buddhist forms of speech than upon Buddhist forms of belief. In M. Senart's valuable work, '*La Légende du Bouddha*,' he has already done this with regard to the seven treasures (mentioned in the early part of the Sutta) on the basis of the corresponding passage in the later Buddhist Sanskrit poem called the *Lalita Vistara*. The description of the royal city and of its wondrous Palace of Righteousness have been probably originated by the author, though on the same lines; and it reminds one irresistibly, in many of its expressions, of the similar, but simpler and more beautiful poem in which a Jewish author, some three centuries afterwards, described the heavenly Jerusalem.

When the Northern Buddhists, long afterwards, had smothered the simple teaching of the founder of their religion under the subtleties of theological and metaphysical speculation, and had forgotten all about the Noble Path, their goal was no longer a change of heart in the Arhatship to be reached on earth, but a life of happiness, under a change of outward condition, in a heaven of bliss

beyond the skies. One of the most popular books among the Buddhists of China and Japan is a description of this heavenly paradise of theirs, called the Sukhâvatî-vyûha, the 'Book of the Happy Country,' the Sanskrit text of which has been just published by Professor Max Müller in the volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for the present year. It is instructive to find that several of the expressions used are word for word the same as the corresponding phrases in the 'Book of the Great King of Glory.'

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY¹.

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Kusinârâ in the Upavattana, the Sâla grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sâla trees, at the time of his death.

2. Now the venerable Ânanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One :

² 'Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as *Kampâ*, *Râgagaha*, *Sâvatthi*, *Sâketa*, *Kosambi*, and *Benâres*. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and Brâhmans and heads of houses, believers in the Tathâgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata.'

3. 'Say not so, Ânanda ! Say not so, Ânanda,

¹ Sudassana means 'beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,' and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.

² From here down to the end of the next section is found also, nearly word for word, in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, above, pp. 99, 100. Compare also Mahâ-Sudassana Gâtaka, No. 95.

that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ânanda, there was a king, by name Mahâ-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshatriya¹, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinârâ, Ânanda, was the royal city of king Mahâ-Sudassana, under the name of Kusâvatî², and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ânanda, as the royal city of the gods, Âkamdâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ânanda, was the royal city Kusâvatî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ânanda, the royal city Kusâvatî resounded

¹ Khattiyo muddhâvasitto, which does not occur in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, the Mahâpadhâna Sutta, the Lakkhana Sutta, and other places where this stock description of a *Kakkavatti* is found. It is omitted also in the Lalita Vistara. The Burmese Phayre MS. of the India Office reads here muddâbhisitto, but this is an unnecessary correction. So the name of the Hindu caste mentioned in the Sahyâdri Khanda of the Skanda Purâna is spelt both ways. The epithet is probably inserted here from § 12 below.

² Kusâvatî was the name of a famous city mentioned as the capital of Southern Kusala in post-Buddhistic Sanskrit plays and epic poems. In the Mahâbhârata it is called Kusavatî. It is said to have been so named after Kusa, son of Râma, by whom it was built; and it is also called Kurasthali.

with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry, "Eat, drink, and be merry"¹

4. 'The royal city Kusāvattī, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems'²

¹ This enumeration is found also at *Gātaka*, p. 3, only that the *chank* is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven.

² Beryl, agate, and coral are doubtful renderings of Pāli names of precious substances, the exact meaning of which has been discussed on the very slender evidence available (and hence, it seems to me, with very little certain result) by Burnouf in the '*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*,' pp. 319–321; and Professor Max Müller has a further note in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, p. 178. The Pāli words here are in the first column:

1. Sovannamayo,	Suvarṇasya;
2. Rūpimayo,	Rūpasya;
3. Ve/uriyamayo,	Vaidūryasya;
4. Phalikamayo,	Sphaṭikasya;
5. Lohitaṇkamayo,	Lohitamuktasya;
6. Masāragallamayo,	Asmagarbhasya;
7. Sabbaratanamayo,	Musāragalvasya;

those in the second being taken from the *Sukhavatīvyūha* in the passage corresponding to § 6 below. It is quite possible that the writers of these passages used the rarer words only as names of precious substances, without attaching any clearly distinct meaning to each (compare *Rev.* xxi. 19–21). The Pāli author seems to have been hard put to it to find enough names to fill up the sacred number seven; just as in the 'Seven Jewels' of the *Dhamma*, the sacred number seven is reached by giving to one jewel two distinct names (*Paññā* indriyāṇi = *pañña* balāṇi). At *Kulla Vagga IX*, 1, 4 we find the following enumeration of

5. 'To the royal city Kusâvati, Ânanda, there were Four Gates. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. At each gate seven pillars were fixed; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

6. 'The royal city Kusâvati, Ânanda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

7. 'And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

8. ¹'And when those rows of palm trees, Ânanda,

rata~~n~~as as found in the ocean, though only Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 are really produced there:

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mutta. | 6. Pavâlam. |
| 2. Mani. | 7. Ragatam. |
| 3. Veḷuriyo. | 8. Gâtârûpam. |
| 4. Saṅkho. | 9. Lohitaṅko. |
| 5. Silâ. | 10. Masâragallam. |

¹ This section and § 9 should be compared with one in the *Sukhavatîvyûha*, translated by Professor Max Müller as follows (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, p. 170):

'And again, O Śāriputra, when those rows of palm trees and

were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

‘Just, Ānanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

9. ‘And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

10. ‘The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvellous Powers.’

‘What are those seven?’

11. ¹ ‘In the first place, Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day², on the day of

strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sāriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand koṇis of sounds, when played by Āryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds; a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm trees and strings of bells moved by the wind.

‘And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly.’

Compare also below, § 81, and *Gātaka* I, 32.

¹ The following enumeration is found word for word in several other Pāli Suttas, and occurs also, in almost identical terms, in the *Lalita Vistara* (Calcutta edition, pp. 14–19).

² Uposatha, a weekly sacred day; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Comp. § 21.

the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel¹, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

12. 'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought:

"This saying have I heard, 'When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete — that king becomes a king of kings invincible.' May I, then, become a king of kings invincible²."

13. 'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said:

"Roll onward, O my Lord, the Wheel! O my Lord, go forth and overcome!"

14. 'Then the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory³, and with him his

¹ *Kakka-ratanam*, where the *kakka* is the disk of the sun.

² *Kakkavattirâgâ*.

³ *Atha kho kakka-ratanam puratthimam disam pavatti anvad eva râgâ Mahâsudassano, &c.* Here *anvad* must be the Sanskrit *anvañk*. The *Lalita Vistara* has *anveti* in the corresponding passage, and the (Phayre Burmese) MS. here reads *anud eva*. The verb in the second clause must be supplied, as

army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men. And in whatever place, Ânanda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

15. 'Then, Ânanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said:

"Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!"

16. 'Thus spake the Great King of Glory:

"Ye shall slay no living thing.

"Ye shall not take that which has not been given.

"Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires.

"Ye shall speak no lie.

"Ye shall drink no maddening drink.

"Ye shall eat as ye have eaten¹."

17. 'Then, Ânanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

18. 'But the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again, and rolled onward to the region of the South [and there all happened as had hap-

is the case in the one or two other passages where I have met with this phrase.

¹ *Yathâbhattam bhuñgatha*. Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, 'Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats.' If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of the Âmagandha Sutta, quoted in 'Buddhism,' p. 131.

pened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East].

19. 'Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer o'er the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusâvatî and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

20. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.

21. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure¹, all white, sevenfold firm², wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Elephant-King, whose name was "The Changes of the Moon³."

22. 'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought :

¹ Hatthi-ratana.

² Satta-ppatittho, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies 'exceeding firm,' the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

³ Uposatho. In the *Lalita Vistara* its name is 'Wisdom' (Bodhi). Uposatha is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes—first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was therefore a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered 'Sabbath.'

“Auspicious were it to ride upon that Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!”

23. ‘Then, Ânanda, the wondrous Elephant—like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

24. ‘When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusâvatî¹.

25. ‘Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

26. ‘Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure², all white with a black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Charger-King, whose name was “Thunder-cloud”³.”

27. ‘When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought :

“Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled!”

28. ‘Then, Ânanda, the wondrous Horse—like

¹ Compare on this and § 29 my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 85, where a similar phrase is used of Kanthaka.

² Assa-ratanam.

³ Valâhako. Compare the Valâhassa Gâtaka (Fausböll, No. 196, called in the Burmese MS. Valâhakassa Gâtaka), of which the Chinese story translated by Mr. Beal at pp. 332–340 of his ‘Romantic History,’ &c., is an expanded and altered version. In the Valâhaka Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikâya the spirits of the skies are divided into Uṇha-valâhakâ Devâ, Sîta-valâhakâ Devâ, Abbha-valâhakâ Devâ, Vâta-valâhakâ Devâ, and Vassa-valâhakâ Devâ, that is, the cloud-spirits of cold, heat, air, wind, and rain respectively.

a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

29. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusâvatî.

30. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

31. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure¹. That Gem was the Ve/uriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

32. 'The splendour, Ânanda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

33. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

34. 'And then too, Ânanda, all the dwellers in the villages, round about, set about their daily work, thinking, "The daylight hath appeared."

35. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

36. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure², graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion; neither

¹ Mani-ratanam.

² Itthi-ratanam.

very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim; neither very dark, nor very fair; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods¹.

37. 'The touch too, Ānanda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool: in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

38. 'That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, and ~~and~~ ^{and} him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order ^{so} to act as to give him pleasure.

39. 'That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory—how much less then could she be so with the body!

40. 'Such, Ānanda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

41. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared unto the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer², possessed, through good deeds done in a

¹ The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

² *Gahapati-ratanaṃ*. The word *gahapati* has been hitherto usually rendered 'householder,' but this may often, and would certainly here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The *gahapati* was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the *pater familias*. So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the *Rig-veda* the *grīhapati*, the *pater familias*,

former birth, of a marvellous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

42. 'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :

' "Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with."

43. ' Then, as before, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward :

' "I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold !"

' "Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks."

' "It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold."

44. 'Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar

of the human race. Thence it is often used in opposition to *brāhmaṇa* very much as we might use 'yeoman' in opposition to 'clerk' (*Gātaka* I, 83, and below, § 53); and the two combined are used in opposition to people of other ranks and callings held to be less honourable than that of clerk or yeoman (*Gātaka* I, 218). In this respect the term *gahapati* is nearly equivalent, though from a different point of view, to the *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* of the Hindu caste division; but the compound *brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā* as a collective term comes to be about equivalent to 'priests and laymen' (see, for instance, below, § 53, and *Mahā Vagga* I, 22; 3, 4, &c.) Then again the *gahapati* is distinct from the subordinate members of the family, who had not the control and management of the common property (*Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, 133, = *Tevigga Sutta* I, 47); and it is this implication of the term that is emphasised in the text. *Buddhaghosa* uses, as an explanatory phrase, the words *setthi-gahapati*. See further the passages quoted in the index to the *Kulla Vagga* (p. 354).

full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory :

“ Is that enough, O Great King ? Have I done enough, O Great King ? ”

‘ And the Great King of Glory replied :

“ It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer ! ”

45. ‘ Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ânanda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

46. ‘ Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser¹, learned, clever, and wise ; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

47. ‘ He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :

“ Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will be thy guide.”

48. ‘ Such, Ânanda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

‘ The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

49. ‘ Now further, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvellous Gifts².’

‘ What are the Four Marvellous Gifts ? ’

¹ *Parinâyaka-ratanam*. Buddhaghosa says that he was the eldest son of the king ; but this is probably a mere putting back into the Sutta of a later idea derived from the summary in the *Gâtaka*. The *Lalita Vistara* makes him a general.

² *Katûhi iddhîhi*. Here again, as elsewhere, it will be noticed that there is nothing supernatural about these four Iddhis. See

50. 'In the first place, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this First Marvellous Gift.

51. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this Second Marvellous Gift.

52. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men¹.

the notes above on the 'Book of the Great Decease,' I, 1; III, 2. They are merely attributes accompanying or forming part of the majesty (iddhi) of the *Kakkavatti*.

¹ *Samavepâkinyâ gahaniyâ samannâgato nâtisâtâya nâkkunhâya*. The same thing is said of *Raṭṭhapâla* in the *Raṭṭhapâla Sutta*, where Gogerly renders the whole passage, 'Raṭṭhapâla is healthy, free from pain, having a good digestion and appetite, being troubled with no excess of either heat or cold' (*Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1847-1848, p. 98). The *gahani* is a supposed particular organ or function situate at the junction of the stomach and intestines. *Moggallâna* explains it, *udare tu tathâ pâkanalasmim gahani* (*Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ*, 972), where *Subhûti's* Sinhalese version is 'kukshi, pâkâgni,' and his English version, 'the belly, the internal fire which promotes digestion.' *Buddhaghosa* explains *samavipâkiyâ kam-magâ-tego-dhâtuyâ*, and adds, 'If a man's food is dissolved the moment he has eaten it, or if it remains like a lump, he has not the *samavepâkini gahani*, but he who has appetite (*bhatta-kkhando*) when the time for food comes round again, he has the *samavepâkini gahani*,'—which is delightfully naïve.

‘The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Third Marvellous Gift.

53. ‘And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with Brāhmans and with laymen alike¹. Just, Ānanda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ānanda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with Brāhmans and with laymen alike. And just, Ānanda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ānanda, were Brāhmans and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

54. ‘Once, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure ground. There, Ānanda, the Brāhmans and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

“O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time!”

‘But the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, addressed his charioteer, and said:

“Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people (Brāhmans and laymen) for a longer time!”

55. ‘This was the Fourth Marvellous Gift, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

56. ‘These are the Four Marvellous Gifts, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

57. ‘Now to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought:

“Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds

¹ Brāhmaṇa-gaḥapatikāṇaṃ. See the note on § 41.

in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow lengths."

' Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

58. ' And those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

59. ' And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

60. ' And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ānanda, a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold¹.

¹ Pokkharani, the word translated Lotus-pond, is an artificial pool or small lake for water plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anurâdhapuru in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings. The balustrades, cross bars, figure head, and railing are in Pâli thambhâ, sūñiyo, unhîsam, and vedikâ, of the exact meaning of which I am not quite confident. They do not occur in the description

61. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :

"Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people—to wit, blue water lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water lilies."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory had flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people—to wit, blue water lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water lilies.

62. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :

"Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory placed bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time.

63. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :

"Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for

of the Lotus-lakes in Sukhavatī. General Cunningham says that the cross bars of the Buddhist railings are called *sūtiyo* in the inscriptions at Bharhut (The Stupa of Bharhut, p. 127). Buddha-ghosa, who is good enough to tell us the exact number of the ponds—to wit, 84,000, has no explanation of these words, merely saying that of the two *vedikās* one was at the limit of the *ṭīles* and one at the limit of the *pariveṇa*. The phrases in the text are repeated below, §§ 73–87, of the Palace of Righteousness.

those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want."

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who needed it, couches for the tired, wives for those who wanted wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.

64. 'Now, Ânanda, the people (Brâhmans and laymen) went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said :

"This abundant wealth, O King, have we brought here for the use of the King of Kings. Let the King accept it of us!"

"I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you!"

65. 'When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying :

"It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory."

66. 'Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said :

"A mansion would we build for thee, O King!"

"Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

67. 'Now, Ânanda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that

were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god¹, and said:

“Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness’².”

68. “Even so, Lord!” said Vissakamma, in assent, Ânanda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

69. ‘Then, Ânanda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory:

“I would create for thee, O King, a mansion—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness!’”

‘Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

70. ‘So Vissakamma the god, Ânanda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion—a palace to be called “Righteousness.”

71. ‘The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

72. ‘The ground-floor, Ânanda, of the Palace of Righteousness³, in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

¹ Vissakammam devaputtam, where devaputtam means not ‘son of a god,’ but ‘belonging to, born into the class of, the gods.’

² Dhammam nâma Pâsâdam.

³ Dhammassa pâsâdassa vatthum.

73. 'To the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

74. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

75. 'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The staircase of crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

76. 'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

'At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of gold.

'At the door of the silver chamber there stood a palm tree of gold; and its trunk was of gold, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

‘At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm tree of crystal; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

‘At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm tree of beryl; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.

77. ‘Now there occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

“Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex¹, under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day.”

‘Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

78. ‘The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was surrounded by a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its figure head of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its figure head of gold².

79. ‘The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver.

¹ Mahâvyûhassa ku/âgârassa dvâre. The ‘Great Complex’ contains a double allusion, in the same spirit in which the whole legend has been worked out: 1. To the Great Complex as a name of the Sun-God regarded as a unity of the four mythological deities, Vasudeva, Saṅkarshana, Pragumna, and Aniruddha; and 2. To the Great Complex as a name of a particular kind of deep religious meditation or speculation.

² See above, § 60, and the note on § 54.

The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

80. 'And when those networks of bells, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ânanda, when those networks of bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

81. 'And whoever, Ânanda, in the royal city Kusâvatî were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.

82. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. Just, Ânanda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes,—just so, Ânanda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes.

83. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

"Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of 'Righteousness.'"

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of "Righteousness."

84. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

85. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

86. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

87. 'Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold.

88. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

89. 'And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the silver palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl,

and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

90. 'And when those rows of palm trees, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating,—just even so, Ânanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

91. 'And whoever, Ânanda¹, in the royal city Kusâvatt were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

92. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Samanas who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the Brâhmans who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness.'

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ This paragraph is perhaps repeated by mistake ; but it is scarcely less in harmony with its context at § 8 than it is here. It is more probable that § 92 followed, originally, immediately after § 82, with the Lotus-lake clause omitted,

CHAPTER II.

1. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, this thought to the Great King of Glory :

“Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great?”

2. 'And then occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :

“Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great,—that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control¹.”

3. 'Now the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex ; and when he had come there he stood at the door, and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion :

“Stay here, O thoughts of lust !

“Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will !

“Stay here, O thoughts of hatred !

“Thus far only, O thoughts of lust !

“Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will !

“Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred !”

4. 'And when, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory had entered the chamber of the Great Complex,

¹ I have here translated kamma by 'previous character' and by 'quality.' The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been, to preserve in the translation the technical term kamma, which is explained at some length in 'Buddhism,' pp. 99-106.

and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First *Ghâna*,—a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

5. 'By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into, and remained in, the Second *Ghâna*,—a state of joy and ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

6. 'By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body that ease which the noble ones announce, saying, "The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease," and thus he entered into, and remained in, the Third *Ghâna*.

7. 'By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth *Ghâna*,—a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain¹.

8. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his mind pervade

¹ The above paragraphs are an endeavour to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spiritual experience.

one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

9. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

10. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

11. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Equanimity¹; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

¹ These are the four Appamaññâs or infinite feelings, also called (e.g. below, § II, 36) the four Brahma-vihâras. They are here very appropriately represented to follow immediately after

12. 'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusâvatt :

'Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness :

'Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex :

'Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions :

'Four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief :

'Four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief :

the state of feeling described in the *Ghânas*; but they ought to be the constant companions of a good Buddhist (see *Khaggavisâna Sutta* 8; and compare also *Tevigga Sutta* III, 7; *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 246; and the *Araka Gâtaka*, No. 169).

‘Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief:

‘Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

‘Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze:

‘Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

‘Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served¹.

13. ‘Now at that time, Ānanda, the four and eighty thousand state elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

14. ‘And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory:

“These eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!”

15. ‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

“O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in

¹ Most of the trappings and cloths here mentioned are the same as those referred to in the *Magghima Sīla*, §§ 5, 6, 7 recurring in the *Tevigga Sutta*, and in the *Brahmagāla Sutta*. The whole paragraph is four times repeated below, §§ 29, 31, 33, 37.

alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

"Even so, Lord!" said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

16. 'From that time forth, Ānanda, the elephants came in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.

17. 'Now, Ānanda, after the lapse of many years, of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory¹ this thought:

"'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory."

18. 'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem:

"Arise now, dress your hair, and clad yourselves in fresh raiment. 'Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory. Let us go and visit the Great King of Glory!"

19. "Even so, Lady!" said the women of the harem, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

20. 'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

"Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. 'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory."

¹ Subhaddā Devī. Subhadda, 'glorious, magnificent,' is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhistic Hindu literature.

21. "Even so, O Queen!" said the Great Adviser, Ânanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words :

"The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit."

22. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and lent against the side of the door.

23. 'When, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought :

"What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean?"

24. 'And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory :

"Stop there, O Queen ! Enter not!"

25. 'Then the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, said to one of his attendants :

"Arise, good man ! take the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm trees which is all of gold."

26. "Even so, Lord!" said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm trees which was all of gold.

27. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.

28. 'Then, Ânanda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:

"How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory! How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the Great King of Glory is dead¹!"

29. 'And she said to the Great King of Glory:

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusâvati. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise,

¹ The rather curious connexion between these clauses is worthy of notice in comparison with the legend of the 'Transfiguration' just before the Buddha's death (above, pp. 80-82).

O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thunder-cloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the

sand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!”

34. ‘Then immediately, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ānanda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy,

four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvattī. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thunder-cloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called “the Changes of the Moon,” was chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which “Thunder-cloud,” the king of horses, was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called “the Flag of Victory” was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.

38. 'Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ānanda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the royal city of Kusāvati.

'Of those four and eighty thousand palaces too, Ānanda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

'Of those four and eighty thousand chambers too, Ānanda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Of those four and eighty thousand divans too, Ānanda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy—to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandal wood.

'Of those four and eighty thousand state elephants too, Ānanda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of elephants, "the Changes of the Moon."

'Of those four and eighty thousand horses too, Ānanda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of horses, "the Thunder-cloud."

'Of those four and eighty thousand chariots too, Ānanda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the chariot called "the Flag of Victory."

'Of those four and eighty thousand wives too, Ānanda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me—to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velāmikānti.

'Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel too, Ānanda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore—to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand dishes too, Ânanda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.

39. ‘See, Ânanda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ânanda, are component things; thus transitory, Ânanda, are component things; thus untrustworthy, Ânanda, are component things. In-somuch, Ânanda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things!

40. ‘Now I call to mind, Ânanda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of his people, the possessor of the seven royal treasures—that was the seventh time.

41. ‘But I behold not any spot, Ânanda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mâra, nor in the world of Brahmâ,—no, not among the race of Samanas or Brâhmans, of gods or men,—where the Tathâgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body¹.

¹ The whole of this conversation between the Great King of Glory and the Queen is very much shorter in the *Gâtaka*, the enumeration of the possessions of the Great King being omitted (except the first clause referring to the four and eighty thousand cities), and clauses 34–38, 40, and 41 being also left out, § 39 and the concluding being placed in the mouth of the King immediately after § 33. This may be perhaps partly explained by the narrative style in which the *Gâtakas* are composed—a style incompatible

42. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:

‘How transient are all component things!
 Growth is their nature and decay:
 They are produced, they are dissolved again:
 And then is best, when they have sunk to rest!’¹

End of the Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta.

with the repetitions of the Suttas, and confined to the facts of the story.

But I think that no one can read this Sutta in comparison with the short passage found in the Book of the Great Decease (above, pp. 99-101) without feeling that the latter is the more original of the two, and that the legend had not, when the Book of the Great Decease was composed, attained to its present extended form.

We seem therefore really to have three stages of the legend before us, and though the *Gâtaka* story was actually put into its present shape at a known date (the fifth century of our era) long after the latest possible date for the Book of the Great King of Glory, it has probably preserved for us a reminiscence of what the legend was at the time when the Book of the Great Decease was composed.

¹ On this celebrated verse, see the note at Mahâparinibbâna Sutta VI, 16, where it is put into the mouth of Sakka, the king of the gods, and the discussion in the Introduction to this Sutta.

SABBÂSAVA-SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SABBÂSAVA SUTTA.

DR. MORRIS, who had borrowed the Phayre and Turnour MSS. of the *Magghima Nikâya* from the India Office Library, has been good enough to transcribe the text of this Sutta for me.

I had hoped from the Rev. David da Silva's analysis of the Sutta in the *Ceylon Friend* for 1872, that it would determine the exact meaning of the difficult word *Âsava* as used in the theory of Arahatsip, and in the important passage (the Faith, Reason, and Works paragraph) repeated so often in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*. It will be seen that this is scarcely the case, but as it does throw light on the ideas wrapped up in the word, and contains a very interesting passage¹ on the especial value attached in Buddhism to the mental habit we should now call agnosticism, I have adhered to the intention of including it in this volume.

The word *Âsava* seems in this Sutta to be used in a general sense,—not confined only to the *Âsavas* of sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance, but including the more various defilements or imperfections of mind, out of which those especial defilements will proceed.

Incidentally reference is made to the well-known Buddhist doctrine, that the right thing is to seek after the *Nirvâna* of a perfect life in Arahatsip, and not to trouble and confuse oneself by the discussion of speculative questions as to past or future existence, or even as to the

¹ §§ 9, 10.

presence within the body of a soul. Buddhism is not only independent of the theory of soul, but regards the consideration of that theory as worse than profitless, as the source of manifold delusions and superstitions. Practically this comes, however, to much the same thing as the denial of the existence of the soul; just as agnosticism is, at best, but an earnest and modest sort of atheism. And we have seen above that *anatta* *m*, the absence of a soul or self as abiding principle, is one of the three parts of Buddhist wisdom (*viggā*)¹ and of Buddhist perception (*saññā*)². The reconciliation of these two doctrines, of the agnosticism and of the denial, is, I think, that the absence of soul is only predicated of those five Aggregates of parts and powers to which a good Buddhist should confine his attention. These alone he should consider; and he does wrong to care whether beyond and beside them a soul has, or has not, any real existence.

I may add that the importance of the *Āsavas* appears from the fact that elsewhere the knowledge of them, of their origin, of their cessation, and of the way that leads to their cessation is placed on the road to Arahatsip immediately after, and parallel to, the knowledge of Suffering, of its origin, of its cessation, and of the way that leads to its cessation—the knowledge, that is, of the four Noble Truths³.

The *Āsavas* there meant are sensuality, individuality (or life), and ignorance; and the expressions 'to him who knows, to him who sees' (*gānato passato*) are used there much in the same way as they are in our § 3. Perhaps this was the passage which Burnouf had in his mind when he wrongly said⁴ that he had found in the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* an enumeration of three classes of *Āsavas*, whereas that *Sutta* always divides them into four classes.

I am unable to suggest any good translation of the term itself—simple though it is. It means literally 'a running or flowing,' or (thence) 'a leak;' but as that figure is not

¹ See above, p. 162.

² *Samaññā Phala Sutta*, p. 152.

³ See above, p. 9.

⁴ *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 823.

used in English in a spiritual sense, it is necessary to choose some other figure; and it is not easy to find one that is appropriate. 'Sin' would be very misleading, the Christian idea of sin being inconsistent with Buddhist ethics. A 'fault' in the geological use of the word comes somewhat nearer. 'Imperfection' is too long, and for 'stain' the Pāli has a different word¹. In the Book of the Great Decease I have chosen 'evil;' here I leave the word untranslated.

¹ Rago. See the verses translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 164.

ALL THE ÂSAVAS.

SABBÂSAVA-SUTTA.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Sâvatthi, at the *Getavana*, in Anâtha *Pindîka*'s park.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said, 'Bhikkhus.'

'Yea, Lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One spake :

2. 'I will teach you, O brethren, the lesson of the subjugation of all the Âsavas. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One spake :

'I say that there is destruction of the Âsavas, brethren, to him who knows, to him who sees ; not to him who knows not, to him who sees not. And what do I say, brethren, is the destruction of the Âsavas to him who knows, to him who sees ? It is (a matter of) wise consideration, and of foolish consideration.

3. 'In him, brethren, who considers unwisely, Âsavas which have not arisen spring up, and Âsavas which have arisen are increased. In him, brethren, who considers wisely, Âsavas which have not arisen

spring not up, and Āsavas which have arisen do not increase.

4. 'There are Āsavas which should be abandoned, brethren, by insight, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by subjugation, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by right use, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by endurance, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by avoidance, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by removal, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by cultivation.

5. 'And which, brethren, are the Āsavas which should be abandoned by insight¹ ?

'In the first place, brethren, the ignorant unconverted man, who perceives not the Noble Ones, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to the doctrine of the noble ones ; who perceives not good men, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to the doctrine of good men ; he neither understands what things ought to be considered, nor what things ought not to be considered ; the things that ought not to be considered, those he considers ; and the things that ought to be considered, those he does not consider.

6. 'And which, brethren, are those things which he should not consider, which he nevertheless considers ?

'There are things which, when a man considers them, the Āsava of Lust springs up within him, which had not sprung up before ; and the Āsava of Lust, which had sprung up, grows great ; the Āsava of

¹ Dassanā.

Life springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, grows great; the Âsava of Ignorance springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, grows great.

‘These are the things which ought not to be considered, things which he considers.

7. ‘And which, brethren, are those things which should be considered, which he nevertheless does not consider?

‘There are things, brethren, which, when a man considers them, the Âsava of Lust, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Âsava of Lust, which had sprung up, is put away; the Âsava of Life, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, is put away; the Âsava of Ignorance, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, is put away.

‘These are the things which ought to be considered, things which he does not consider.

8. ‘It is by his consideration of those things, which ought not to be considered; and by his non-consideration of those things, which ought to be considered, that Âsavas arise within him which had not sprung up; and Âsavas which had sprung up, grow great.’

9. ‘Unwisely doth he consider thus:

“‘Have I existed during the ages that are past, or have I not? What was I during the ages that are past? How was I during the ages that are

past? Having been what, what did I become in the ages that are past? Shall I exist during the ages of the future, or shall I not? What shall I be during the ages of the future? How shall I be during the ages of the future? Having been what, what shall I become during the ages of the future?"

'Or he debates within himself as to the present: "Do I after all exist, or am I not? How am I? This is a being; whence now did it come, and whither will it go?"

10. 'In him, thus unwisely considering, there springs up one or other of the six (absurd) notions¹.

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "I have a self!"

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "I have not a self!"

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "By my self, I am conscious of my self!"

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "By myself I am conscious of my non-self!"

'Or, again, he gets the notion, "This soul of mine can be perceived, it has experienced the result of good and evil actions committed here and there: now this soul of mine is permanent, lasting, eternal, has the inherent quality of never changing, and will continue for ever and ever!"

11. 'This, brethren, is called the walking in delusion, the jungle of delusion², the wilderness of delusion, the puppet show of delusion, the writhing of delusion, the fetter of delusion.

12. 'Bound, brethren, with this fetter of delusion,

¹ *Khannam diṭṭhīnam*.

² *Diṭṭhi-gaṇanam*, with allusion, doubtless, if the reading is correct, to *gaṇanam*.

the ignorant unconverted man becomes not freed from birth, decay, and death, from sorrows, lamentations, pains, and griefs, and from expedients¹—he does not become free, I say, from pain.

13. 'But the wise man, brethren, the disciple walking in the Noble Path, who perceives the noble ones; who comprehends, and is trained according to, the doctrine of the Noble Ones; who perceives good men, who comprehends, and is trained according to, the doctrine of good men; he understands both what things ought to be considered, and what things ought not to be considered—and thus understanding, the things that ought to be considered those he considers; and the things that ought not to be considered, those he does not consider.

14. 'And which, brethren, are those things which ought not to be considered, and which he does not consider?

'There are things which, when a man considers them, the Âsava of Lust springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Lust, which had sprung up, grows great; the Âsava of Life springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, grows great; the Âsava of Ignorance springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, grows great.

'These are the things which ought not to be considered, things which he considers.

¹ That is, the practice of rites and ceremonies and the worship of Gods.

15. 'And which, brethren, are those things which should be considered, and which he does consider ?

'There are things, brethren, which, when a man considers them, the Âsava of Lust, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him ; and the Âsava of Lust, which had sprung up, is put away ; the Âsava of Life, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him ; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, is put away ; the Âsava of Ignorance, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him ; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, is put away.

'These are the things which ought to be considered, things which he does not consider.

16. 'It is by his not considering those things which ought to be considered, and by his considering those things which ought not to be considered, that Âsavas which had not sprung up within him spring not up, and Âsavas which had sprung up are put away.

17. 'He considers, "This is suffering." He considers, "This is the origin of suffering." He considers, "This is the cessation of suffering." He considers, "This is the way which leads to the cessation of suffering." And from him, thus considering, the three fetters fall away—the delusion of self, hesitation, and the dependence on rites and ceremonies.

'These are the Âsavas, brethren, which are to be abandoned by insight.

18. 'And which are the Âsavas to be abandoned by subjugation (samvarâ) ?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting,

remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Sight. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of sight Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of sight the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

19. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Hearing. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of hearing Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of hearing the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

20. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Smell. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of smell Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of smell the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

21. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Taste. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of taste Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of taste the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

22. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Touch. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of touch Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of touch the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

23. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Mind. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of mind Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of mind the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by subjugation.

24. 'And which are the Âsavas to be abandoned by right use¹?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, makes use of his robes for the purpose only of warding off the cold, of warding off the heat, of warding off the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes; and of covering his nakedness².

25. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of alms, not for sport or sensual enjoyment, not for adorning or beautifying himself, but solely to sustain the body in life, to prevent its being injured, to aid himself in the practice of a holy life—thinking the while, "Thus shall I overcome the old pain, and shall incur no new; and everywhere shall I be at ease, and free from blame."

26. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of an abode; only to ward off cold, to ward off heat, to ward off the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes; only to avoid the dangers of the climate, and to secure the delight of privacy.

¹ Pañisevanâ.

² Compare Dickson's *Kammavâtâ*, p. 7, where the reading, however, is wrong.

27. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of medicine and other necessities for the sick ; only to ward off the pain that causes injury, and to preserve his health.

28. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man not making such right use, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress ; to the man making such right use, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by right use.

29. 'And which, brethren, are the Âsavas to be abandoned by endurance¹?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, is patient under cold and heat, under hunger and thirst, under the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes ; he is enduring under abusive words, under bodily suffering, under pains however sharp, rough, severe, unpleasant, disagreeable, and destructive even to life.

30. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who endureth not, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress ; to him who endures, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by endurance.

31. 'And which, brethren, are the Âsavas to be abandoned by avoidance²?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu wisely reflecting, avoids a rogue elephant, he avoids a furious horse, he avoids a wild bull, he avoids a mad dog, a snake, a stump in the path, a thorny bramble, a pit, a precipice, a dirty tank or pool. When tempted to

¹ Adhivâsanâ.

² Parivagganâ.

sit in a place where one should not sit, or to walk where one should not walk, or to cultivate the acquaintance of bad companions, he is skilled to shun the evil: and wisely reflecting he avoids that, as a place whereon one should not sit, that, as a place wherein one should not walk, those men, as companions that are bad.

32. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who avoideth not, Āsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who avoids, the Āsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Āsavas to be abandoned by avoidance.

33. 'And which, brethren, are the Āsavas to be abandoned by removal¹?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, when there has sprung up within him a lustful thought, that he endureth not, he puts it away, he removes it, he destroys it, he makes it not to be; when there has sprung up within him an angry thought, a malicious thought, some sinful, wrong disposition, that he endureth not, he puts it away, he removes it, he destroys it, he makes it not to be.

34. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who removeth not, Āsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who removes, the Āsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Āsavas to be abandoned by removal.

35. 'And which, brethren, are the Āsavas to be abandoned by cultivation²?

¹ Vinodanâ.

² Bhâvanâ.

‘¹ Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Mindfulness, dependent on seclusion, dependent on passionlessness, dependent on the utter ecstasy of contemplation, resulting in the passing off of thoughtlessness.

36. ‘He cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Search after Truth, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Energy, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Joy, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Peace, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Earnest Contemplation, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Equanimity—each dependent on seclusion, dependent on passionlessness, dependent on the utter ecstasy of contemplation, resulting in the passing off of thoughtlessness.

37. ‘For whereas, brethren, to the man who cultivateth not, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who cultivates, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

‘These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by cultivation.

38. ‘And then when a Bhikkhu has by insight put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by insight, and by subjugation has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by subjugation, and by right use has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by right use, and by endurance has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by endurance, and by avoidance has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by avoidance,

¹ Compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 9.

and by removal has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by removal, and by cultivation has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by cultivation—that Bhikkhu, brethren, remains shut in by the subjugation of the Âsavas, he has destroyed that Craving Thirst, by thorough penetration of mind he has rolled away every Fetter, and he has made an end of Pain.’

39. Thus spake the Blessed One; and those Bhikkhus, glad at heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the Sabbâsava Sutta.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 23, 24. The 'nobles' (khattiyas) should come before the 'Brâhmans,' as in III, 21, and in the Teviggâ Sutta I, 19. The sentiment of I, 24 recurs in a passage given by Mr. Beal from the Chinese in the 'Indian Antiquary,' IV, 96.
- II, 31. 'Went out from the monastery' (vihâra). There is no mention of a vihâra in the previous sections. The following conversation seems therefore to have been originally recorded in some other connection.
 - III, 20. Add at the end, 'These, Ânanda, are the eight causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.'
 - V, 10 (note p. 88). The passage here quoted from Buddhaghosa, about angels on the point of a gimlet, recurs in the Aṅguttara Nikâya, Duka Nipâta.
 - V, 52. The words 'who was not a believer' should be in brackets. They are inserted to give the full force of the word paribbâgako, as the translation 'mendicant' might convey the impression that Subhadda was a Buddhist mendicant.
 - VI, 26. Compare Gâtaka I, 60, line 17.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . .		क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ك	𐤀	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .		ख	𐬖	𐬖	کھ	کھ	𐤁	kh	
3 Media	g	. . .		ग	𐬗	𐬗	گ	گ	𐤂	g	
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .		घ	𐬘	𐬘	گھ	گھ	𐤃	gh	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .					ق	ق	𐤄	q	
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	. . .		ङ	{ 𐬙 (ng) } { 𐬚 (ñ) }						
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .		ह	𐬛	𐬛	ه	ه	𐤅	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	. . .					و	و	𐤆		
9 " asper faucalis	ʿh	. . .					ه	ه	𐤇		
10 " lenis faucalis	ʿh	. . .					ه	ه	𐤈		
11 " asper fricatus		ʿh					ه	ه	𐤉		
12 " lenis fricatus		ʿh					ه	ه	𐤊		
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	. . .		क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ک	𐤀	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	. . .		ख	𐬖	𐬖	کھ	کھ	𐤁	kh	
15 Media	g	. . .		ग	𐬗	𐬗	گ	گ	𐤂	g	
16 " aspirata	gh	. . .		घ	𐬘	𐬘	گھ	گھ	𐤃	gh	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . .		ङ	𐬙	𐬙	ن	ن	𐤄	ñ	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Fehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬚 𐬚𐬚 𐬚𐬚𐬚 init.	و	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬚𐬚	...	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬥	...	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬥𐬥	...	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata	d	...	TH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media	dh	...	...	द	𐬥𐬥	...	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬥	...	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬥𐬥	...	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1	l	...	...	...	𐬥𐬥𐬥	...	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬥	...	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	s (ʃ)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	39 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	40 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	41 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	42 Tenuissima	
43 Semivocalis	r	43 Nasalis	m
44 " fricata	r	44 Semivocalis	w
45 " diacritica	R	45 " aspirata	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	46 Spiritus asper	f
47 " lenis	zh	47 " lenis	v
		48 Anusvāra	
		49 Visarga	

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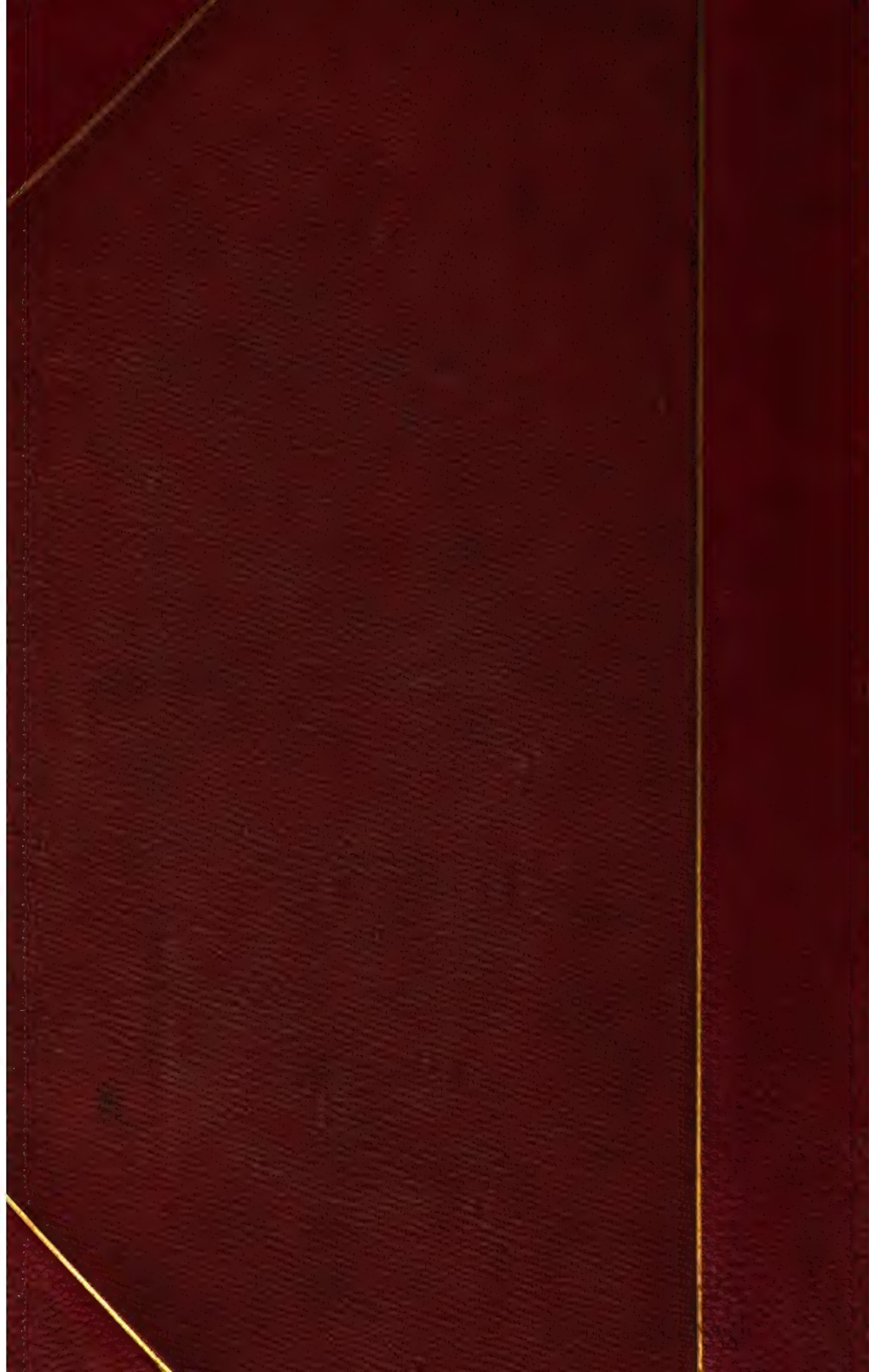
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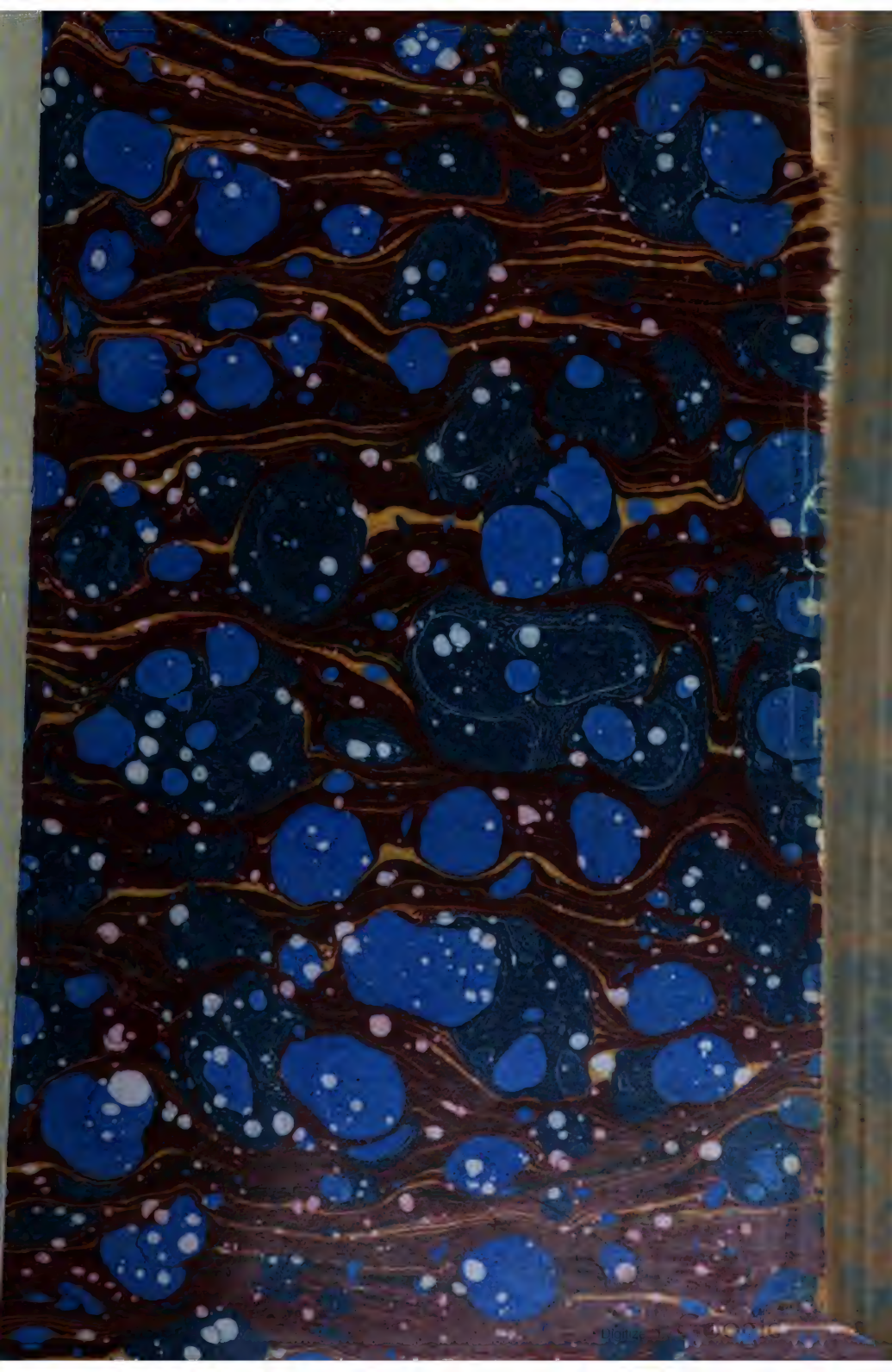
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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XII



AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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21406

THE
SATAPATHA - BRÂHMANA

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF THE

MÂDHYANDINA SCHOOL

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS EGGELING

PART I

BOOKS I AND II

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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INTRODUCTION.

THE translator of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* can be under no illusion as to the reception his production is likely to meet with at the hand of the general reader. In the whole range of literature few works are probably less calculated to excite the interest of any outside the very limited number of specialists, than the ancient theological writings of the Hindus, known by the name of *Brāhmaṇas*. For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterised by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere; unless, indeed, it be by the speculative vapourings of the Gnostics, than which, in the opinion of the learned translators of Irenæus, 'nothing more absurd has probably ever been imagined by rational beings'.¹ If I have, nevertheless, undertaken, at the request of the Editor of the present Series, what would seem to be a rather thankless task, the reason will be readily understood by those who have taken even the most cursory view of the history of the Hindu mind and institutions.

The *Brāhmaṇas*, it is well known, form our chief, if not our only, source of information regarding one of the most important periods in the social and mental development of India. They represent the intellectual activity of a sacerdotal caste which, by turning to account the religious instincts of a gifted and naturally devout race, had succeeded in transforming a primitive worship of the powers of nature into a highly artificial system of sacrificial ceremonies, and was ever intent on deepening and extending its hold on the minds of the people, by surrounding its own vocation with the halo of sanctity and divine inspiration. A complicated ceremonial, requiring for its proper observance and

¹ A. Roberts and W. A. Rambaut, *The Writings of Irenæus*, vol. i. p. xv.

consequent efficacy the ministrations of a highly trained priestly class, has ever been one of the most effective means of promoting hierarchical aspirations. Even practical Rome did not entirely succeed in steering clear of the rock of priestly ascendancy attained by such-like means. There, as elsewhere, 'the neglect or faulty performance of the worship of each god revenged itself in the corresponding occurrence; and as it was a laborious and difficult task to gain even a knowledge of one's religious obligations, the priests who were skilled in the law of divine things and pointed out its requirements—the *pontifices*—could not fail to attain an extraordinary influence¹.' The catalogue of the duties and privileges of the priest of Jupiter might well find a place in the Talmud. 'The rule—that no religious service can be acceptable to the gods, unless it be performed without a flaw—was pushed to such an extent, that a single sacrifice had to be repeated thirty times in succession on account of mistakes again and again committed; and the games, which formed part of the divine service, were regarded as undone, if the presiding magistrate had committed any slip in word or deed, or if the music even had paused at a wrong time, and so had to be begun afresh, frequently for several, even as many as seven, times in succession².' Great, however, as was the influence acquired by the priestly colleges of Rome, 'it was never forgotten—least of all in the case of those who held the highest position—that their duty was not to command, but to tender skilled advice³.' The Roman statesmen submitted to these transparent tricks rather from considerations of political expediency than from religious scruples; and the Greek Polybius might well say that 'the strange and ponderous ceremonial of Roman religion was invented solely on account of the multitude which, as reason had no power over it, required to be ruled by signs and wonders⁴.'

The devout belief in the efficacy of invocation and sacri-

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson, vol. i. p. 181.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 179.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 455.

ficial offering which pervades most of the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which may be assumed to reflect pretty faithfully the religious sentiments of those amongst whom they were composed, could not but ensure to the priest, endowed with the gift of sacred utterance, a considerable amount of respect and reverence on the part of the people. His superior culture and habitual communion with the divine rulers of the destinies of man would naturally entitle him to a place of honour by the side of the chiefs of clans, or the rulers of kingdoms, who would not fail to avail themselves of his spiritual services, in order to secure the favour of the gods for their warlike expeditions or political undertakings. Nor did the Vedic bard fail to urge his claims on the consideration and generosity of those in the enjoyment of power and wealth. He often dwells on the supernatural virtues of his compositions and their mysterious efficacy in drawing down divine blessings on the pious worshipper. In urging the necessity of frequent and liberal offerings to the gods, and invoking worldly blessings on the offerer, the priestly bard may often be detected pleading his own cause along with that of his employer, as *Kaṇva* does when he sings (Rig-veda VIII, 2, 13), 'Let him be rich, let him be foremost, the bard of the rich, of so illustrious a Maghavan¹ as thou, O lord of the bay steeds!' Though the *Dāna-stutis*, or verses extolling, often in highly exaggerated terms, the munificence of princely patrons, and generally occurring at the end of hymns, are doubtless, as a rule, later additions, they at least show that the sacerdotal office must have been, or must gradually have become during this period, a very lucrative one.

Although there is no reason to suppose that the sacrificial ceremonial was in early times so fully developed as some scholars would have us believe, the religious service would seem to have been already of a sufficiently advanced nature to require some kind of training for the priestly office. In course of time, while the collection of hymns were faithfully

¹ *Maghavan*, the mighty or bountiful, is a designation both of *Indra* and the wealthy patron of priests. Here it is evidently intended to refer to both.

handed down as precious heirlooms in the several families, and were gradually enriched by the poetical genius of succeeding generations, the ceremonial became more and more complicated, so as at last to necessitate the distribution of the sacerdotal functions among several distinct classes of priests. Such a distribution of sacrificial duties must have taken place before the close of the period of the hymns, and there can be little doubt that at that time the position of the priesthood in the community was that of a regular profession, and even, to some extent, a hereditary one¹. A post of peculiar importance, which seems to go back to a very early time, was that of the Purohita (literally 'praepositus'), or family priest to chiefs and kings. From the comparatively modest position of a private chaplain, who had to attend to the sacrificial obligations of his master, he appears to have gradually raised himself to the dignity of, so to say, a minister of public worship and confidential adviser of the king. It is obvious that such a post was singularly favourable to the designs of a crafty and ambitious priest, and must have offered him exceptional opportunities for promoting the hierarchical aspirations of the priesthood².

In the Rig-veda there is, with the single exception of the Purusha-sūkta, no clear indication of the existence of caste in the proper, Brāhmanical sense of the word. That institution, we may assume, was only introduced after the Brāhmins had finally established their claims to the highest

¹ See J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 239 seq.

² See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 485 seq.; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 31 seq. In Rig-veda IV, 50, 8, Vāmadeva is made to say, 'That king alone, with whom the Brahman walks in front (pūrva eti), lives well-established in his house; for him there is ever abundance of food; before him the people bow of their own accord.' If Grassmann was right in excluding verses 7-11 as a later addition, as I have no doubt he was (at least with regard to verses 7-9), these verses would furnish a good illustration of the gradually increasing importance of the office of Purohita. Professor Ludwig seems to take the verses 7-11 as forming a separate hymn; but I doubt not that he, too, must consider them on linguistic grounds, if on no other, as considerably later than the first six verses. The fact that the last pāda of the sixth verse occurs again as the closing formula of the hymns V, 55; VIII, 40; and X, 121 (though also in VIII, 48, 13, where it is followed by two more verses) seems to favour this view.

rank in the body politic; when they sought to perpetuate their social ascendancy by strictly defining the privileges and duties of the several classes, and assigning to them their respective places in the gradated scale of the Brâhmanical community. The period during which the main body of the Vedic hymns was composed, in the land of the seven rivers, seems to have been followed by a time of wars and conquests. From the literary products of the succeeding period we can see that the centre of the Âryan civilisation had in the meantime shifted from the region of the Sindhu (Indus) to that of the Yamunâ (Jumna) and Gaṅgâ. As the conquered districts were no doubt mainly occupied by aboriginal tribes, which had either to retire before their Âryan conquerors, or else to submit to them as Sûdras, or serfs, it seems not unnatural to suppose that it was from a sense of the danger with which the purity of the Brâhmanical faith was threatened from the idolatrous practices of the aboriginal subjects, that the necessity of raising an insurmountable barrier between the Âryan freeman and the man of the servile class first suggested itself to the Brâhmins. As religious interests would be largely involved in this kind of class legislation, it would naturally call into play the ingenuity of the priestly order; and would create among them that tendency towards regulating the mutual relations of all classes of the community which ultimately found its legal expression, towards the close of this period, in the Dharma-sûtras, the prototypes of the Hindu codes of law.

The struggle for social ascendancy between the priesthood and the ruling military class must, in the nature of things, have been of long duration. In the chief literary documents of this period which have come down to us, viz. the Yagur-veda, the Brâhmaṇas, and the hymns of the Atharva-veda some of which perhaps go back to the time of the later hymns of the Rîk, we meet with numerous passages in which the ambitious claims of the Brâhmins are put forward with singular frankness. The powerful personal influence exercised by the Purohitas, as has already been indicated, seems to have largely contributed to the final success of the

sacerdotal order. Thus we read in the Aitareya-brâhmana VIII, 24-25, 'Verily, the gods do not eat the food offered by the king who is without a Purohita : wherefore let the king, who wishes to sacrifice, place a Brâhman at the head (puro adhita). . . .' 'Now Agni Vaisvânara, who is possessed of five destructive weapons, is the same as the Purohita. With them he constantly surrounds (protects) the king, even as the ocean surrounds the earth : the kingdom of such a ruler is undisturbed. His vital breath deserts him not before the (full term of) life, but he lives to old age, and attains to the full measure of life : he dies not (and is not born) again, whosoever possesses such a wise Brâhman for his Purohita, for the guardian of his realm.' And again, in the Atharva-veda III, 19, 'May this prayer of mine be accomplished ; may perfect vigour and strength, may perfect, unceasing, and victorious power accrue to those whose Purohita I am. I perfect their kingdom, their might, their vigour, their strength. With this oblation I cut off the arms of their enemies Go forth, ye men, and conquer ; may your arms be terrible ! ye sharp-shafted, smite the weak-bowed ; ye of terrible weapons and terrible arms, (smite) the feeble ! when discharged, fly forth, O arrow, sped by prayer ; vanquish the enemies ; rush forward and slay all the best of them ; let not one of them escape¹.'

The question as to how the Brâhmins ultimately succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the ruling class receives but little light from the contemporaneous records. Later legendary accounts of sanguinary struggles between the two classes, and the final overthrow, and even annihilation, of the Kshatriyas can hardly deserve much credence. At best they seem to contain some small kernel of historical fact. Perseverance and tenacity of purpose were probably the chief means by which the Brâhmins gained their ends. Not unfrequently, too, kings may have lent their countenance to the aspirations of the priesthood, as calculated to counteract the unruly spirit and ambitious designs of the military order. We certainly meet with not a few instances of kings

¹ Cf. J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, I, p. 283.

figuring as the patrons of learned Bráhmans. As the old hymns were gradually assuming the character of divinely inspired utterances, additional matter might occasionally find its way into them, almost unconsciously, which more adequately expressed the actual scope of the aspirations of their priestly depositaries. That many such additions must have been made to the old hymns, prior to the age of diaskeuasts and exegetes, cannot be doubted.

Another, even more important, source of strength to the sacerdotal order was the sacrifice. The more complicated the ceremonial, the greater the dependence of the lay worshipper on the professional skill of the priests; and the greater the number of priests required for the proper performance of these ceremonies, the larger the gains derived by the priesthood generally from this kind of occupation. What more natural, therefore, than that the highest importance should have been ascribed to these performances, and an ever-increasing attention bestowed on the elaboration of the ceremonial. From clear indications in not a few hymns of the Rig-veda it appears, as has already been remarked, that a distribution of the sacrificial functions among different classes of priests had taken place before the final redaction of that collection. As to the time when such a step may have become necessary for the due performance of sacrifices, this is a question which will probably never be decided. The sacrifice is an old Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-Germanic, institution. Some of the chief Indian sacrifices undoubtedly go back, in some form or other, to the common Indo-Iranian period, notably the Soma-sacrifice, and, if we may judge from the coincidence of name between the *âprî*-hymns¹ and the *âfrî-gân* of the Pârsî ritual, the animal sacrifice.

As regards the third great division of Indian sacrifices, the *haviryagñas* (or offerings of milk, butter, grain-food, and similar materials), of which the present volume treats, we have hardly any evidence to fall back upon. It is,

¹ See Haug's *Essays*, p. 241; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 463 seq.

however, highly probable that these sacrifices also reach at all events far back into the Vedic antiquity. Perhaps the careful preservation of the pravara-lists¹, or lists of ancestors required at the *ishî*, the normal form of offering which underlies the *haviryagñas*, might be adduced in favour of the antiquity of the latter. This, however, is a point which requires further investigation. Neither has the last word been spoken regarding the traditional arrangements of the hymns. It is well known that the majority of the single collections of which the first seven *Mandâlas* (and to some extent those of the tenth) are made up, begin with hymns addressed to Agni, which, as a rule, are followed by hymns addressed to Indra. These, again, are in many cases followed by hymns to the *Visve Devâh* (and *Maruts*)². Now, in the later dogmatic literature we find the three *Âryan* castes, the Brahman, the Kshatra, and the Vis, identified with Agni, Indra, and the *Visve Devâh* (all the gods, or, as a special class, the All-Gods)³ respectively. This identification is a very natural one. Agni, the sacrificial fire, the bearer of oblations and caller of the gods, is, like the priest, the legitimate mediator between God and man. Penetrating brilliance (*tegas*) and holy lustre (*varṇas*) are the common attributes of the Brahman. Again, Indra, the valiant hero, for ever battling with the dark powers of the sky, is a not less appropriate representative of the knightly order. According to Professor Roth, this truly national deity of the Vedic *Âryans* would seem to have superseded

¹ See the present volume, p. 115 note.

² See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 461 seq.

³ See especially *Taitt. S. VII, 1, 1, 4, 5*; Weber, *Ind. Stud. X*, pp. 8, 26. In *Sat. Br. II, 4, 3, 6, 7*, Indra and Agni are identified with the Kshatra (! power in general) and the *Visve Devâh* with the Vis. Sometimes *Brihaspati* or *Brahmanaspati*, the lord of prayer or worship, takes the place of Agni, as the representative of the priestly dignity (especially *Taitt. S. IV, 3, 10, 1-3*; *Vâg. S. 14, 28-30*); and in several passages of the *Rik* this god appears to be identical with, or at least kindred to, Agni, the *purohita* and priest (see Max Müller, *Translation of Rig-veda*, I, 77; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, p. 272 seq.) In *Rig-veda X, 68, 9*, where *Brihaspati* is said to have found (*avindat*) the dawn, the sky, and the fire (*agni*), and to have chased away darkness with his light (*arka*, sun), he seems rather to represent the element of light and fire generally (*das Ur-licht*, cf. *Vâg. S. IX, 10-12*). In the second

the older Indo-Iranian god Trita¹, and to have gradually encroached on the province of Varuna, who perhaps was originally one of the highest deities of the Āryan (Indo-Germanic) pantheon. The warlike chiefs and clansmen evidently saw in Indra a more congenial object of their adoration. It can scarcely be without significance that of all the Vedic *Rishis*, *Vasishtha*, the priest *par excellence*, has ascribed to him by far the greatest number of hymns addressed to Varuna (and Mitra-Varuna), while there is not a single hymn to Varuna in the family collection of the royal *Rishi* Visvāmītra, whose religious enthusiasm is divided almost exclusively between Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devâḥ. Lastly, the identification of the common people with a whole class of comparatively inferior deities would naturally suggest itself. Hence we also find the Maruts², the constant companions and help-mates of Indra, the divine ruler, employed in a similar

Mandala the hymns to Brihaspati are placed immediately after those to Agni and Indra. Though the abstract conception represented by this deity may seem a comparatively modern one, it will by no means be easy to prove from the text of the hymns addressed to him, that these are modern. It would almost seem as if two different tendencies of adoration had existed side by side from olden times; the one, a more popular and sensuous one, which, in Vedic times, found its chief expression in Indra and his circle of deities; and the other, a more spiritual one, represented originally by Varuna (Mitra, &c.; cf., however, *Sat. Br. IV*, 1, 4, 1-4), and in Vedic times, when the sacerdotal element more and more asserted itself, by Brihaspati, and especially by Agni. The identification of this god with the priestly office was as happy as it was natural; for Agni, the genial inmate of every household, is indeed *vaiśvānara*, the friend of all men. Shadowy conceptions, such as Brihaspati and Brahman, on the other hand, could evoke no feelings of sympathy in the hearts of the people generally. Of peculiar interest, in this respect, are the hymns in which Agni is associated with Indra (see Max Müller's *Science of Language*, Second Series, p. 495; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. pp. 219, 220), and the passages in which Agni has ascribed to him functions which legitimately belong to Indra; viz. the slaying of Vritra and destruction of the enemies' cities. The mutual relation of Indra and Varuna has been well discussed in Dr. Hillebrandt's treatise '*Varuna and Mitra*,' p. 97 seq. It is most concisely expressed by *Vasishtha*, *Rig-veda VII*, 83, 9, 'The one (Indra) slays the enemies in battles; the other (Varuna) ever defends the ordinances.'

¹ See the present volume, p. 48 note; R. Roth, *Zeitsch. der D. M. G.*, VI, p. 73 seq.

² The Maruts are identified with the *visâḥ*, or clans, in *Sat. Br. II*, 5, 1, 12; 2, 24; 27; 35, etc. In *Sâṅkh.* 16, 17, 2-4 the heaven of the Maruts is assigned to the Vaisya (*Ind. Stud.* X, p. 26).

sense. The identification of the Vis with the Visve Devâh, which ultimately obtained, was probably determined chiefly by etymological considerations.

The same triad of divinities, as representative of the mutual relations of the social grades of the Āryan community, is repeatedly met with in the sacrificial ritual, and especially in its dogmatic exposition. This identification finds its most complete expression in the well-known passages of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā (VII, 1, 1, 4-5) and the Tāndya-brāhmaṇa (VI, 1, 6-11)¹. According to these authorities, Pragâpati, the lord of creatures, created from his mouth the Brāhmaṇa, together with Agni, the tri-*vṛit* stoma, the gâyatrī metre (and the rathantara sâman and he-goat, according to the first source; or the spring, according to the other). From his breast and arms he created the Râganya, together with Indra, the *pañka*-*da* stoma, the trishūbh metre (and the *br̥hat* sâman, and the ram; or the summer respectively). From the middle part of his body he created the Vaisya, together with the Visve Devâh, the saptadaśa stoma, the *gagatī* metre (and the *vairûpa* sâman, and the kine; or the rainy season respectively). Finally, from his feet he created the Sûdra, together with the *ekavimsa* stoma and the *anushūbh* metre (and the *vairâga* sâman and the horse, according to the Taitt. S.), but no deity, and no season. In accordance with these speculations, single objects of those here enumerated are frequently found elsewhere identified with their respective deities and castes. On the same principle, the three savanas, or morning, mid-day, and evening libations² at the Soma-sacrifice, as well as the first three days of the

¹ See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, p. 8.

² In Ath.-veda IX, 1, 11, the three savanas are assigned to the Asvins, Indra-Agni, and the *R̥bhus* (cf. Ait. Br. VI, 12) respectively; and in another passage of the same collection. VI, 47, 1, to a. Agni; b. the Visve Devâh, Maruts and Indra; and c. the Bards (kavi). In Vâg. S. XIX, 26, also, the morning libation is assigned to the Asvins (as the two Adhvaryus of the gods, cf. Sat. Br. I, 1, 2, 17; IV, 1, 5, 15; Ait. Br. I, 18); but in Taitt. S. II, 2, 3, 1; Ait. Br. III, 13; Sat. Br. II, 4, 4, 12; IV, 2, 4, 4-5 they are referred to Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devâh respectively. See, also, Sat. Br. IV, 3, 5, 1, where the Vasus (related to Agni III, 4, 2, 1; VI, 1, 2, 10), Rudras, and Âdityas (cf. VI, 1, 2, 10, and Ait. Br. III, 13) are connected with the three libations.

Dvâdasâha¹, are generally assigned to Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devâh respectively. If in the ekâdasinî, or traditional order of eleven victims that have to be immolated at the Soma-sacrifice, the victim sacred to Agni is placed first, while those to the Visve Devâh and to Indra only come sixth and seventh respectively, we have probably to assume that this order was too firmly established (just as the so-called âprî-hymns are) by long usage to have been easily altered; the more so as the privileged position of the sacerdotal class was not thereby affected.

At the haviryagñas not less prominent a place is assigned to the divine representatives of the two leading classes. The first oblation at every ishî belongs to Agni. The second oblation at the new-moon sacrifice is offered either to Indra, or to Indra² and Agni; at the full-moon sacrifice, to Agni and Soma, the latter of whom constitutes Indra's chief source of strength. Indra also plays an important part at the Seasonal offerings which indeed, according to the dogmatic, and by no means improbable, explanation of the Brâhmanas, are performed with special reference to Indra's struggle with Vṛitra, the demon of drought. At the Agny-upasthâna, or worship of the fires, which succeeds the Agnihotra, the first prayer is addressed to Agni, the second to Indra and Agni³. Indeed, while Agni appears everywhere as the Purohita, the 'yagñasya deva rîtvik,' or divine priest of the sacrifice, Indra is the god of sacrifice⁴, the Maghavan, or munificent patron of the priest.

From these indications it would appear far from improbable that the arrangement of the hymns in which the collections of the Rig-veda were finally handed down, was intended, as far as the leading deities are concerned, to

¹ See, for instance, Ait. Br. IV, 29; 31; V, 1.

² The special oblations of the offering of first-fruits consist of a rice-cake to Indra and Agni, and a pap of rice-grains to the Visve Devâh.

³ See Vâg. S. III, 12-13; Sat. Br. II, 3, 4, 11-12. 'Indra-Agni are everything,—Brahman, Kshatra, and Vis,' Sat. Br. IV, 2, 2, 14.

⁴ See, for instance, Sat. Br. I, 4, 5, 4; II, 3, 1, 38; 3, 4, 38; and especially IV, 1, 2, 15, 'for Indra, indeed, is the Maghavan, the ruler (netri) of the sacrifice.' He is, as it were, the divine representative of the human sacrificer or patron, who is the yagñapati or lord of sacrifice.

exhibit a social gradation of the Hindu community which was either already firmly established or was steadily kept in view by the sacerdotal class as 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.' In either case the claims of the priests could not fail to be materially strengthened by the pre-eminent position assigned to their divine prototype in the inspired utterances of the *R̥ishis*. The question, whether the present arrangement is entirely the result of the final redaction, or whether it was already a feature of the earlier redactions, will perhaps never receive a quite satisfactory answer. It cannot, however, be denied that there is some force in Professor Ludwig's¹ argument,—that, if the arrangement of the several collections had lain with the authors of the final redaction, the result would probably have been a far greater uniformity than they now present.

The idea of bringing together the different family collections would seem first to have suggested itself to the priests at a time when the hitherto divided Āryan tribes had moved from the Panjab to the eastern plains and became consolidated into larger communities, and the want of a more uniform system of worship would naturally make itself felt. To the same period, then, we may refer the first attempts at a systematic arrangement of the entire ceremonial of worship, and the definitive distribution of the sacrificial duties among four classes of priests,—viz. the *Adhvaryu*, or performer of the material part of the sacrifice; the *Udgâtri*, or chanter of hymns; the *Hotri*, or reciter of solemn sacrificial prayers; and the *Brahman*, or superintendent of the entire performance. Though some of these offices had no doubt existed for a long time, we possess no definite information as to the exact extent of the duties entrusted to them². The institution of the office

¹ Der Rig-veda, vol. iii. p. 45.

² Compare the following remarks of M. Haug, who believed in the identity of the Vedic *Adhvaryu* and the Zota and Rathwi of the Zend-Avesta :—'At the most ancient times it appears that all the sacrificial formulas were spoken by the *Hotar* alone; the *Adhvaryu* was only his assistant, who arranged the sacrificial compound, provided the implements, and performed all manual labour. It was only at the time when regular metrical verses and hymns were introduced into the ritual, that a part of the duties of the *Hotar* devolved on the *Adhvaryu*.

of Brahman, doubtless the latest of all, marks a new era in the development of the sacrificial system. While the other priests were only required to possess an accurate knowledge of their own special departments, the Brahman was to be the very embodiment of the sacrificial art and Vedic lore in general, so as to be able to advise the other priests on doubtful points and to rectify any mistakes that might be committed during the performance of sacrifices. Neither had the *Hotri* priest any special manual of his formulas assigned to him. He was rather expected to have acquired a thorough knowledge of the whole of the *Rik-samhitâ*, from which the sacrificial prayers recited by him were exclusively selected. It was probably out of this class—or the *Bahvrikas*, as the followers of the *Rig-veda* came to be called—more than from any other, that individual priests would fit themselves for the office of Brahman.

As regards the two remaining classes of priests—the *Udgâtris* and *Adhvaryus*—we have no means of determining in what form and to what extent the stock of chants and sacrificial formulas used by them may have existed from the time of the institution of their offices down to the formation of the collections that have been handed down, viz. the *Sâma-veda-samhitâ* and the *Yagur-veda*. From the close connection that exists between the *Sâman* and the eighth and ninth *mandalas* of the *Rik*, as well as from the fact that most of the hymns of these two *mandalas* are ascribed to authors whose family collections (including, in several instances, hymns of their own) are contained in earlier *mandalas*,—we may perhaps assume that already at the time when the first nine *mandalas* were collected the then existing hymns of the eighth and ninth *mandalas* were set apart for the purpose of being chanted at the Soma-sacrifice. In course of time—hand in hand with the fuller development of the Soma ritual and the gradual influx of new hymn material which was either incorporated with the old collections or formed into a new *mandala*—additional chants (or more suitable ones in the place of those hitherto

There are in the present ritual traces to be found, that the *Hotar* actually must have performed part of the duties of the *Adhvaryu*.' Ait. Br. I, p. 31.

used) might be required and selected from the hymns of other *mandalas*. In its original connected form, the material of these chants would naturally remain all along an essential part of the *R̥ik-saṃhitā*, for the use of the *Hotri* and Brahman priests; and thus each of these two collections would henceforth have a history of its own, and discrepancies in the texts common to both would gradually become more and more numerous.

The sacrificial texts used by the *Adhvaryu* priest are contained in the *Yagur-veda*, of which several recensions have come down to us. These texts consist, in about equal parts, of verses (*r̥ik*) and prose formulas (*yagus*). The majority of the former are likewise found in the *R̥ik-saṃhitā*, though not unfrequently with considerable variations, which may be explained partly from a difference of recension, and partly as the result of the adaptation of these verses to their special sacrificial purpose¹. With the prose formulas, on the other hand, save a few isolated sacrificial calls alluded to in the *R̥ik*², we meet for the first time in this collection. In the older recensions of the *Yagur-veda* the texts are, as a rule, followed immediately by their dogmatic explanation. Now, these theological treatises, composed chiefly with the view of elucidating the sacrificial texts and explaining the origin and hidden meaning of the various rites, form one of the most important departments of the literature of the period which succeeded the systematic arrangement of the sacrificial ceremonial, and in which we must place the gradual consolidation of the Brāhmanical hierarchy. Such as they lie before us, they contain the accumulated wisdom and speculations of generations of Indian divines. They are essentially digests of a floating mass of single discourses or *dicta* on various points of the ceremonial of worship, ascribed to individual teachers, and handed down orally in the theological schools. Single discourses of this kind were called *brāhmaṇa*,—probably either because they were intended for the instruction and guidance of priests

¹ See A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 9, 115.

² See M. Haug, *Ait. Br. I*, p. 34.

(brahman) generally ; or because they were, for the most part, the authoritative utterances of such as were thoroughly versed in Vedic and sacrificial lore and competent to act as Brahmins or superintending priests¹. In later times a collection or digest of such detached pieces came to be likewise called a Brāhmaṇa. Works of this kind have come down to us in connection with all the Vedic Saṃhitās, generally in more than one version which, though on the whole betraying a common stock of material, often vary considerably, both in their arrangement and their treatment of these materials. Nay, owing as they do their origin to different schools of the same Veda, these recensions not unfrequently take the very opposite view of single points of ceremonial. Originally the number of such recensions, more or less differing from each other, must have been much larger ; but the practical tendencies of a later age, which led to the production of concise manuals of ceremonial rules—the Kalpa-sūtras—adapted to the sacrificial practices of more than one school, were not favourable to the perpetuation of these bulky cyclopædias of theological school-wisdom : thus only the Brāhmaṇas of the schools which had the greatest number of followers survived ; while others were probably never committed to writing, or at best had a precarious existence down to more recent times.

While the Brāhmaṇas are thus our oldest sources from which a comprehensive view of the sacrificial ceremonial can be obtained, they also throw a great deal of light on the earliest metaphysical and linguistic speculations of the Hindus. Another, even more interesting feature of these works, consists in the numerous legends scattered through them. From the archaic style in which these mythological tales are generally composed, as well as from the fact that not a few of them are found in Brāhmaṇas of different schools and Vedas, though often with considerable varia-

¹ See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 172 ; *Rig-veda-saṃhitā* IV, p. vi. Professors Weber (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11), Whitney, Westergaard, and other scholars derive brāhmaṇa from brāhman, 'prayer, worship.'

tions, it is pretty evident that the ground-work of many of them goes back to times preceding the composition of the Brāhmanas. From a mythological, and to some extent from a linguistic, point of view these legends thus form a connecting link between the latter and the Vedic hymns. In the case of some of these legends—as those of *Sunah-sepha*¹ and the fetching of the Soma from heaven²—we can even see how they have grown out of germs contained in the Vedic hymns; their relation to the latter being thus not unlike that of the Sagas of the younger Edda to the songs of the older Edda. The *Kaushîtaki Brāhmaṇa*³, at the end of a story of this kind about Soma, remarks that it is thus told by those versed in legend (*ākhyānavidaḥ*). We may perhaps infer from this passage that there was a class of people who took a special interest in such legends, and made it their business to collect and repeat them. Indeed, many of the elaborate mythical stories with which we meet in the later epical and Purāṇic literature doubtless owe their origin to simple popular legends of this kind⁴.

Besides the genuine myths which we find in the Brāhmanas, there is also a large number of stories which were evidently invented by the authors of these treatises for the purpose of supplying some kind of traditional support for particular points of ceremonial⁵. However small the intrinsic merit of such passages, they, too, are not entirely devoid of interest, especially from a linguistic point of view, since the style of narrative and the archaic mode of diction which they affect, readily lend themselves to syntactic turns of expression rarely indulged in by the authors in the purely explanatory and exegetic parts of their works. And, indeed, whatever opinion the general reader may form of the Brāhmanas, as purely literary com-

¹ See R. Roth in Weber's *Ind. Stud.* I, 475 seq.; II, 111 seq.; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 408 seq.

² See the present volume, p. 183. Compare also Professor Aufrecht's remarks on the myth of *Apâlâ*, *Ind. Stud.* IV, p. 8.

³ K. B. III, 25; cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, 313.

⁴ Cf. Max Müller, *Upanishads*, I, p. 39 note.

⁵ See, for instance, *Sat. Br.* II, 4, 3, 1, where a legend of this kind seems to be directly ascribed to *Yâgyavalkya*.

positions—and, assuredly, it cannot be a very high one—to the Sanskrit student these works (together with their supplements, the *Āranyakas*; and their metaphysical appendages, the *Upanishads*) are of the highest importance as the only genuine prose works which the Sanskrit, as a popular language, has produced. For the comparative study of syntax, which has been taken up with such signal success by Professor Delbrück and other scholars, the *Brāhmaṇas* offer a rich field of enquiry. Nor is the style of these compositions—with its compact grammatical forms and expressive particles, and its habitual employment of the *oratio directa* instead of dependent clauses—without a certain rough beauty of its own, which, however, almost entirely evaporates in a rendering into modern analytical speech. And notwithstanding the general emptiness of the speculations of the Indian theologians, ‘there are,’ as Professor Max Müller observes¹, ‘passages in the *Brāhmaṇas* full of genuine thought and feeling, and most valuable as pictures of life, and as records of early struggles, which have left no trace in the literature of other nations.’

Although the *Adhvaryus*, who had to perform all the manual work connected with the sacrifice, were originally looked upon as a subordinate class of priests, their office seems to have risen in the general estimation with the increasing importance that was attributed to the endless details of the ceremonial. In a passage of the *Taittirīya Upanishad* (2, 3), the *Yagus* is said to be the head, the *Rik* the right side, the *Sāman* the left side, the *Ādeśa*² the soul, and the *Atharvāṅgiras* (*Atharva-veda*) the tail. With better reason the *Yagur-veda* might be called the body of the sacrifice, since it contains almost the entire apparatus of sacrificial formulas, while the other ritualistic works are concerned, either chiefly or entirely, with the *Soma-sacrifice*. As a matter of fact, no other *Veda* has given rise to so large a number of schools as the *Yagur-*

¹ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 408.

² That is, the *Brāhmaṇa*, according to *Saṅkara*. In *Sat. Br.* IV, 6, 7, 6, the *Rik* and *Sāman* are identified with Speech, and the *Yagus* with the Mind.

veda¹. The numerous subdivisions of the Adhvaryus trace their origin to either of two principal schools, an older and a younger one, the latter of which is itself an offshoot of the former. The oral transmission of the large body of exegetic and legendary matter attached to the sacrificial formulas could hardly fail, in course of time, to produce considerable variations, in different localities, both as regards the wording and the arrangement of these works. Different schools would naturally arise,—each with its own approved recension of the traditional texts,—which in their turn would sooner or later become liable to the same process of disintegration. Such, indeed, has been the case, more or less, with all the Vedic texts, until mechanical means were devised to arrest this process of change. The names of many such subdivisions of the older Yagur-veda are recorded; but hitherto the recensions of only three of them have come to light,—viz. the *Kāṭhaka*, the *Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā*, and the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*. The two former texts belong to subdivisions of the *Kāṭhas* and *Maitrāyaṇīyas*, two branches of the old school of the *Karakas* or *Karakādhvaryus*. The *Taittirīyas*, on the other hand, seem to have been an independent branch of the old Yagus², the origin of which is ascribed to a teacher named Tittiri. Their text has come down to us in the recension of one of its subdivisions³, the *Āpastambins*.

The chief characteristic of the old Yagus texts consists, as has already been indicated, in the constant inter-

¹ Except, perhaps, the *Sāma-veda*, which, in the *Karavyūha*, is said to have counted a thousand schools; though that work itself enumerates only seven schools, one of them with five subdivisions. The number of teachers mentioned in connection with this Veda is, however, very considerable.

² As such, at least, the *Taittirīyas* are mentioned in the *Karavyūha*. The term *Karaka*, however, is also (e. g. in the *Pratigñā-sūtra*) applied to the schools of the Black Yagus generally. If the Berlin MS. of the *Kāṭhaka* professes, in the colophon, to contain the *Karaka* text of the work (which Professor Weber takes to refer to the *Kārayaniyāt*), the *Karaka-sākhā* of the *Kāṭhaka* has perhaps to be understood in contradistinction to those portions of the *Kāṭhaka* which have been adopted by the *Taittirīyas* and incorporated into their *Brāhmaṇa*.

³ The *Taittirīyas* divide themselves into two schools, the *Aukhīyas* and the *Khândikīyas*; the *Āpastambins* are a subdivision of the latter branch. We have also the list of the contents (*anakramanī*) of the *Ātreyas*, a subdivision of the *Aukhīyas*.

mingling of the sacrificial formulas and the explanatory or Brāhmaṇa portions. It was with the view of remedying this want of arrangement, by entirely separating the exegetic matter from the formulas, that the new school of Adhvaryus was founded. The name given to this school is Vāgasaneyins, its origin being ascribed to Yāgñavalkya Vāgasaneya. The result of this new redaction of the Yagus texts was the formation of a Samhitā, or collection of mantras, and a Brāhmaṇa. This re-arrangement was doubtless undertaken in imitation of the texts of the Hotri priests, who had a Brāhmaṇa¹ of their own, while their sacrificial prayers formed part of the Rik-samhitā. Indeed, the Taittirīyas themselves became impressed with the desirability of having a Brāhmaṇa of their own,—and attained their object by the simple, if rather awkward, expedient of applying that designation to an appendage to their Samhitā, which exhibits the same mixture of mantra and brāhmaṇa as the older work. They also incorporated a portion of the Kāṭhaka text into their Brāhmaṇa and its supplement, the Taittirīyāranyaka. Of all the schools of the old Yagus those of the Taittirīyas seem to have attracted by far the greatest number of adherents; and in southern India their texts have continued pre-eminently the subject of study till the present day. In northern India, on the other hand, they have been largely superseded by their later rivals. On account of the lucid arrangement of their sacred texts, the Vāgasaneyins called them the White (sukla) Yagur-veda; the term of Black or Dark (krishṇa) Yagur-veda being, for the opposite reason, applied to the texts of the older schools. In later times, an absurd story was invented (doubtless by followers of the White Yagus), in which the origin of the name Taittirīya is connected with the word tittiri², in the sense of 'partridge.'

¹ It has come down to us in two different recensions, the Aitareya and the Kaushītaki (or Sāṅkhāyana) Brāhmaṇa.

² Professor Weber, however, thinks there may be some reason for this derivation; the name of Taittirīya having perhaps been applied to this school on account of the motley (partridge-like) character of its texts. According to the story alluded to, Yāgñavalkya, having been taught the old Yagus texts by Vaisampāyana, incurred the displeasure of his teacher, and was forced by him to disgorge the sacred science which, on falling to the ground, became soiled

The Brāhmana of the Vāgasaneyins bears the name of Satapatha, that is, the Brāhmana 'of a hundred paths,' because it consists of a hundred lectures (adhyāyas). Both the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā and the Satapatha-brāhmana have come down to us in two different recensions, those of the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva schools. Of the latter recension of the Brāhmana, however, three books out of seventeen are wanting in the European libraries and have, as far as I know, not yet been discovered in India. The Mādhyandina text both of the Samhitā and the Brāhmana has been edited by Professor Weber; the former with the various readings of the Kāṇva recension. To the same scholar we owe a German translation of the first adhyāya of the first kanda¹; and he has, moreover, subjected the entire accessible literature of the White Yagur-veda—with the exception of the Kāṇva text of the Brāhmana—to a careful examination, and has extracted from it all that seems calculated to throw light on its history, so that in this respect little remains to those who come after him but to state the results of his enquiries. Professor Max Müller, in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, has also fully discussed the questions regarding the date and authorship of these texts, and has done much to clear up what was obscure in their relations to the older Yagus texts and to Vedic literature generally. Many points, however, still remain doubtful; and, above all, opinions are as divided as ever regarding the approximate date of the teacher with whose name tradition connects the origin of the modern school of the Adhvaryus.

The schools of the Vāgasaneyins are stated to have been either fifteen or seventeen; and their names are given, though with considerable variations, in different works. No distinct traces, however, have as yet been discovered of any recensions besides the two already referred to. As regards the names of these two,—the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva,—the latter is the name of one of the chief families of Rishis

(hence Black Yagus), and was picked up by Yāgñavalkya's condisciples, who had assumed the form of partridges. This story seems first to occur in the Purāṇas; see Wilson's translation of the Vishnu Purāṇa (ed. Hall), III, p. 54. Pāṇini (IV, 3, 102) and Patañjali only know of the Taittirīya texts as 'promulgated by Tittiri.'

¹ Zeitsch. der D. M. G., IV, p. 289 seq.; reprinted in Indische Streifen I, p. 31 seq.

of the *R̥ik-samhitā*; and certain orthoepic peculiarities of the Yagus texts of the *Kāṇvas* would seem to favour the assumption of a connection of this school with the redaction of the *R̥ik*. The name of the *Mādhyandinas*, literally 'meridional,' on the other hand, does not occur in the older literature. Nor can we draw any definite conclusions, as to the probable date of their recension, from Lassen's identification of this name with the *Μαυδιαδιωοί*, mentioned by Megasthenes (as quoted by Arrian) as a people on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges; or from Professor Weber's conjecture that the *Mādhyandina* school may have taken its origin among that people.

The *Mādhyandina* text of the *Satapatha* is divided into fourteen books (*kāṇḍa*). For several reasons, however, some of these books have to be assigned to a later period than the others. In the first place, the twelfth *kāṇḍa* is called *madhyama*, 'the middle one;' a fact which in itself would suggest the idea that, at the time when this nomenclature was adopted, the last five books (or perhaps books 11-13) were regarded as a separate portion of the work¹. Besides, *Patañgali*, in a *kārikā* or memorial couplet to *Pāṇ.* IV, 2, 60, mentions the words *shashṭipatha* ('consisting of sixty paths') and *satapatha*, with the view of forming derivative nouns from them, in the sense of one who studies such works. Now, as the first nine books of the *Satapatha*, in the *Mādhyandina* text, consist of sixty *adhyāyas*, it was suggested by Professor Weber that it was probably this very portion of the work to which *Patañgali* applied the term '*shashṭipatha*,' and that consequently the first nine books were at that time considered as, in some sense, a distinct work and were studied as such. This conjecture has been generally accepted. There is indeed a possibility that *Patañgali* may have been acquainted with some other

¹ The *Kāṇva* text is divided into seventeen books. *Kāṇḍas* 12-15 correspond to *Mādhyandina* 10-13; and *kāṇḍa* 16, which treats of the *Pravargya* ceremony, corresponds to the first three *adhyāyas* of the last *kāṇḍa* of the *Mādhyandinas*. Thus, in the *Kāṇva* recension the fourteenth *kāṇḍa*, called '*madhyama*,' is the middle one of *kāṇḍas* 12-16; the seventeenth *kāṇḍa*, or *Bṛihadāranyaka*, being apparently considered as a supplement. Perhaps this division is more original than that of the *Mādhyandinas*.

recension of the Brāhmaṇa of the Vāgasaneyins which consisted of only forty adhyāyas; but even in that case the latter would in all probability correspond to the first nine books of the Mādhyandina text. As regards the Kāṇva recension, we are unfortunately not yet able, owing to the want of some of its *kāṇḍas*, to determine its exact extent; and have to rely on a list added by a scribe on the front page of one of the *kāṇḍas* in the Oxford MS.¹, according to which that text consists of 104 adhyāyas. Still further evidence regarding the mutual relations of the several portions of our Brāhmaṇa is contained in a passage of the Mahābhārata (XII, 11739), where Yāgñavalkya relates that, at the inspiration of the Sun, he composed (*kakre*) the Satapatha, including² the Rahasya (mystery), the Samgraha (epitome), and the Parisishṭa (supplement). Now the tenth book is really called Agni-rahasya; while the eleventh contains a kind of summary of the preceding ritual; and *kāṇḍas* 12-14 treat of various other subjects. This relation between the first nine and the remaining five books is also fully borne out by internal evidence, as well as by a comparison with the Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā. The latter consists of forty adhyāyas, the first eighteen of which contain the formulas of the ordinary sacrifices—the Havir-yagñas and Soma-sacrifice—and correspond to the first nine books of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa. The succeeding adhyāyas have been clearly shown by Professor Weber³ to be later additions. As a rule only those formulas which are contained in the first eighteen adhyāyas are found in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā; while those of the later adhyāyas are given in the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa.

At the end of the Satapatha the White Yagus is said to have been promulgated (*ā-khyā*) by Yāgñavalkya Vāgasaneyā. Now the name of this teacher is indeed more frequently met with in the Brāhmaṇa than that of any other;

¹ The accuracy of this list cannot be relied upon, as several mistakes occur in the number of *kāṇḍikās* there given. It is, however, unlikely that the scribe should have committed any mistake regarding the number of adhyāyas.

² Literally 'together with the rahasya (saṃhāsyam)'; &c.

³ History of Indian Literature, p. 107 seq.

especially in some of the later books where his professional connection with Ganaka, king of Videha, and his skill in theological disputations are favourite topics. As regards the earlier portion of the work, however, it is a remarkable fact that, while in the first five books Yâgñavalkya's opinion is frequently recorded as authoritative¹, he is not once mentioned in the four succeeding *kândas* (6-9). The teacher whose opinion is most frequently referred to in these books, is *Sândilya*. This disagreement in respect of doctrinal authorities, coupled with unmistakable differences², stylistic as well as geographical and mythological, can scarcely be accounted for otherwise than by the assumption of a difference of authorship or original redaction. Now the subject with which these four *kândas* are chiefly concerned, is the *agnikayana*, or construction of the sacred fire-altar. For reasons urged by Professor Weber, it would appear not improbable that this part of the ceremonial was specially cultivated in the north-western districts; and since the geographical allusions in these four *kândas* chiefly point to that part of India; while those of the other books refer almost exclusively to the regions along the Ganges and Jumna, we may infer from this that the fire-ritual, adopted by the Vâgasaneyins at the time of the first redaction of their texts—that is, of the first nine *kândas*, as far as the *Brâhmaṇa* is concerned—had been settled in the north-west of India.

Here, however, we meet with another difficulty. The tenth book, or *Agnirahasya*, deals with the same subject as the preceding four *kândas*; and here also *Sândilya* figures as the chief authority, while no mention is made of Yâgñavalkya. Moreover, at the end of that *kânda*, a list of teachers is given in which the transmission of the sacrificial science (either in its entirety, or only as regards the fire-ritual) is traced from a teacher Tura Kâvasheya—who is said to have received it from the god Pragâpati—downwards, through two intermediate teachers, to *Sândi-*

¹ See, however, *Sat. Br.* II, 5, 1, 2-3, where Yâgñavalkya's opinion is referred to as being contrary to the *Rig-veda*.

² See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 266 seq.

lya; and from thence, through six intermediate teachers, to Sâmgîvî-putra. Tura Kâvasheya is referred to in another passage of the tenth kânda (X, 6, 5, 9) as having built a fire-altar¹ to the gods at Kârotî; and in the Aitareya-brâhmana he is mentioned as the high-priest who officiated at the inauguration-ceremony of king Ganamegaya Pârîkshita, renowned in epic legend. From these indications we may, it seems to me, take it for certain that Tura Kâvasheya and Sândilya (the latter of whom is also held in high repute by the Khandogas or Sâman-priests) were regarded by the Vâgasaneyins as the chief arrangers, if not the originators, of the fire-ritual such as it was finally adopted by that school. On the other hand, we saw that the first nine books of the Satapatha, if their identification with Patañgali's 'shashîpatha' be correct, must have been regarded as, in some particular sense, a complete work. Now this combination of the fire-ritual in kândas 6-9 with the complete exposition of the Havir-yagña and Soma-sacrifice, contained in the first five books, would seem to presuppose some kind of compromise between the two schools recognising Yâgñavalkya and Sândilya respectively as their chief authority. What, then, are we to understand to be the exact relations between the later kândas, especially the tenth, and the earlier portion of the work? We do not, and could not, meet with such a term as 'katvârimsat-patha,' or work of forty paths, as applying to the last five kândas of the Satapatha; their nature was too well understood for that, as we see from the passage of the Mahâbhârata, above referred to. The list of teachers at the end of the tenth kânda shows no sign of any amalgamation of the two schools up to the time of Sâmgîvî-putra, the last teacher mentioned in it: with one exception, it belongs exclusively to the Sândilya school. It contains, however, an additional remark to the effect that from Sâmgîvî-putra downward the list is 'identical,'—viz. with some other list. Now this remark can only refer to the *vamsa* given at the end of the last kânda. In this list the

¹ The author of this passage would seem to imply, though he does not exactly express it, that this was the first fire-altar built in the proper way.

transmission of the science of the Adhvaryus is traced—as far as human agency is concerned—from Kasyapa Naidhruvi, through nine teachers, to Yâgñavalkya, and thence, through four other teachers, to Sâmgîvi-putra¹. The only name which this list has in common with the former one, previous to Sâmgîvi-putra, is that of Kusri. According to the former list, he was the teacher of Sândilya, who, in his turn, taught Vâtsya². But since in the same book (X, 5, 5, 1) he is referred to as Vâgasravasa, and in the list at the end of the Satapatha he is set down as the pupil of Vâgasravasa, the same teacher is evidently referred to in both lists; and if we can at all rely on the authenticity of these *vamsas*, we should have to infer from this coincidence, that there was already some connection between the two schools prior to both Yâgñavalkya and Sândilya.

The two lines of teachers meet once more in the name of Sâmgîvi-putra. In the later list the succession of teachers

¹ I here give, side by side, the lists, in inverted order, from Sâmgîvi-putra upwards. For the complete lists, see Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 438 seq.

End of Book XIV.	End of Book X.
58. Âditya.	(52) Brahman Svayambhu.
57. Ambinî.	
56. Vâk.	(51) Pragâpati.
55. Kasyapa Naidhruvi.	
54. Silpa Kasyapa.	(50) Tura Kâvasheya.
53. Harita Kasyapa.	
52. Asita Vârshagana.	
51. Gihvâvat Bâdhyoga.	(49) Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana.
50. Vâgasravasa.	
49. Kusri.	(48) Kusri.
48. Upavesi.	(47) Sândilya.
47. Aruna.	(46) Vâtsya.
46. Uddâlaka (Âruneya).	(45) Vâmakakshâyana.
45. Yâgñavalkya (Vâgasaneya).	(44) Mâhitthi.
44. Âsuri.	(43) Kautsa.
43. Âsurâyana.	(42) Mândavya.
42. Prâsni-putra (Âsurivâsin).	(41) Mândûkâyani.
41. Kârakeyi-putra.	(40) Sâmgîvi-putra.
40. Sâmgîvi-putra.	
Follow 39 names formed by the addition of 'putra' to the mother's name.	(Same as elsewhere.)

² In the Brihad-Âranyaka (Kâṇva) VI, 5, 4 the order is Kusri, Vâtsya, Sândilya.

is then continued by forty-nine more names—all of them formed by the addition of 'putra' (son) to the mother's name—which, it appears, we are to supply in the former list. According to Professor Max Müller¹, 'Sāṃgīvi-putra seems to have united two lines of teachers.' That this must have been the case, cannot be doubted, provided, of course, that the *vamsas* are trustworthy². Nay, I should even be inclined to assign to the time of Sāṃgīvi-putra the final adjustment of the ritual and its dogmatic exposition such as we find them in the *Shashāpatha* (and the first eighteen *adhyāyas* of the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā*), and consequently the first redaction of that part of the *Satapatha*. Not that all the matter contained in the latter part of the work must necessarily be more modern. There can, on the contrary, be little doubt that much of it is quite as old as anything in the earlier books; and of the *Madhukāṇḍa*, which forms part of the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* in the last book, we know at any rate, from a reference to the *Madhu-brāhmaṇa* in the fourth *kāṇḍa*, that some such tract existed at that time. But such matter as, for some reason or other, was not included in the systematic exposition of the ceremonial, would naturally be in a less settled condition and more liable to modifications and additions.

According to the two lists, Sāṃgīvi-putra is removed from *Sāṃdīlya* by six intermediate teachers, the three older³ of whom are referred to in *kāṇḍas* 6-9; and from *Yāgñā-*

¹ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 437.

² Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 201 note, expresses his conviction that 'the *vamsas* are, on the whole, quite authentic; though they do not of course belong to the text, but are later additions; judging from the great number of names, some *vamsas* must have been added at a very late time.' It seems to me, however, that if the *vamsas* are at all authentic—and I see no reason for doubt as far as the two lists above referred to are concerned—we have rather to assume that the lists were kept from early times and gradually added to. On the other hand, little can be made of the two *vamsas* at the end of the *Madhu* and *Yāgñavalkya kāṇḍas*. They look rather like attempts—and very unsuccessful ones—at throwing several independent lists into one.

³ Viz., Vātsya IX, 5, 1, 62; Vāmakakshāyana VII, 1, 2, 11; Māhitthi VI, 2, 2, 10; VIII, 6, 1, 16 seq.; IX, 5, 1, 57. Not mentioned are Kautsa, Māṇḍavya, and Māṇḍūkāyani. A Māṇḍavya occurs in the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*, as a contemporary of Ganaka and Yāgñavalkya.

valkya by four intermediate teachers, the first of whom (Āsuri)¹ is repeatedly quoted in the second (and once each in the first, fourth, and fourteenth) *kāṇḍas*. Although these indications do not, of course, supply more than a *terminus a quo* for the final settlement of this part of the work, they would nevertheless seem to favour the supposition that the combination of the fire-ritual with the sacrificial system cannot have taken place at a time far removed from that of Sāṃgīvi-putra. The custom of forming metronymics by means of 'putra' is of some interest. It first shows itself in the predecessor of Sāṃgīvi-putra's teacher in the Yāgñavalkya line, and continues from thence down to the very end of the *vamśa*. Unfortunately, however, we have no means of ascertaining whether this custom had already been commonly practised, in certain localities, before that time, or whether, as seems to me more probable, it was a fashion of recent date. If the latter alternative could be proved, it might help to settle the chronological relations between Yāgñavalkya and Pāṇini, since it would appear from Pāṇ. IV, 1, 159² (and VI, 1, 13), that the great grammarian was well acquainted, not only with the practice of forming metronymics of this kind, but also with that of forming patronymics from such metronymics.

The relative date of Pāṇini and Yāgñavalkya has been discussed more than once by Sanskrit scholars³; but no agreement has as yet been come to on what Goldstücker justly called 'one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature.' The chief difficulty of this problem lies in the ambiguity of Kātyāyana's well-known *vārttika* to Pāṇ. IV, 3, 105. According to Pāṇini's rule the names

¹ He is also the *Rishi* of Vāg. S. III, 37.

² This rule, which applies to the people of the north, is not explained in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The *Kāśikā Vṛtti* gives the patronymics of Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, both of whom occur in our *vamśa*. It is worthy of remark that Kavasha Ailūsha, who is mentioned in Ait. Br. II, 19, and to whom the hymns Rig-veda X, 30-34 are ascribed, is called Kavasha Ailūshīputra in the *Kāṇḍaka* 25, 7. Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, pp. 459, 157, 485.

³ See especially Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 360 seq.; Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 132 seq.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 65 seq.; XIII, 443; Bühler, *Sacred-Laws of the Āryas*, I, p. xxxix note.

of Brāhmanas and Kalpas proclaimed by old (sages) are formed by the addition of the affix in (to the sages' names). As instances of Brāhmanas, the names of which are formed in this way, the Kāsikā Vṛtti gives Bhāllavinah (proclaimed by Bhallu), Sātyayaninah, Aitareyinah. In accordance with this rule the texts of the White Yagus are called Vāgasaneyinah. This name does not, however, occur in any of Pāṇini's rules, but follows only from the word 'vāgasaneya' being included in the gana 'saunakādi' to Pāṇ. IV, 3, 106; and since we have no evidence as to whether any of the words in a gana except the first really belong to Pāṇini, it must remain doubtful whether or not he knew of the existence of the school known by that name. Kātyāyana's vārttika runs thus: 'Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas proclaimed by the old, there is an exception in regard to Yāgñavalkya and others, on account of contemporaneousness: hence (Yāgñavalkya's Brāhmanas are called, not Yāgñavalkinah, but) Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmanāni; Saulabhāni B.' The question, then, is, Does Kātyāyana mean to say that the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Yāgñavalkya do not fall under this rule, because he was contemporary with Pāṇini,—and therefore not an old sage in the sense of the rule,—or, that those works should have been excepted by Pāṇini from his rule, because they are of the same age as those (old) Brāhmanas to which the rule applies? The former alternative was the one generally accepted, until the late Professor Goldstücker made known the text of Patañjali's and Kaiyaṭa's comments¹ on this vārttika. He showed that Kaiyaṭa, at least, clearly interprets it in the sense that Pāṇini should have excepted works like the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmanāni, since they, too (api), are of the same age as the Sātyāyaninah and others. The Mahābhāshya, on the other hand, is not quite so explicit. It merely says that the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmanāni &c. ought to have been excepted, because they, too (api), are of the same age. Goldstücker naturally took this explanation to convey the same meaning as that of Kaiyaṭa. This view was, however, controverted by

¹ Pāṇini, p. 138.

Professor Weber, in his review of Goldstücker's 'Pāṇini.' The interpretation of the *vārttika* adopted in the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*—according to which Pāṇini's rule does not apply to those works, because Yāgñavalkya and others are not old authorities in the sense of Pāṇini's rule—is likewise rejected by him, since in that case Kātyāyana's exception would be no exception at all. On the other hand, Professor Weber thinks that, if we accept Kaiyaṣa's interpretation, Kātyāyana's additional remark 'on account of contemporaneousness' would be entirely superfluous. He, therefore, proposes, in the passage of the *Mahābhāṣya*, to take 'api' in the sense of 'even,' and to interpret the passage thus¹: 'Among the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpas proclaimed by the ancients, Pāṇini ought to have made an exception in regard to Yāgñavalkya &c., because the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpas proclaimed by them, though indeed going back to ancient (sages), are nevertheless contemporaneous (with Pāṇini himself).' This rather paradoxical argumentation, on the part of Patañjali, would have to be understood to mean, that the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni and similar works, though ascribed to old authorities, are in reality modern productions; or—if we may venture to express it in somewhat different words—Pāṇini ought to have made an exception in regard to works which, in point of fact, are no exception at all. Now, if this be the correct interpretation, I can only say this—that, had Patañjali been anxious to conceal his real meaning, he could scarcely have done so more effectually than by choosing words which, at first sight, look as clear as day.

Professor Bühler², who has recently touched upon this controversy, sides with Kaiyaṣa and Goldstücker; and I, too, can take no other view. But, like him, I see no necessity for accepting the inferences which Goldstücker has drawn from this *vārttika*, viz. that we have to assume so long an interval between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, that authors, whom Kātyāyana considered as far older than Pāṇini, were in reality his contemporaries. This assumption, surely, would involve a degree of ignorance, on the part of

¹ Ind. Stud. V, 68 seq.; XIII, 443.

² Sacred Laws of the Āryas, I, p. xxxix note.

Kātyāyana, regarding the age of Pāṇini, such as would seem altogether unaccountable. The weakness of Goldstücker's argument lies in his identification of the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni with the Brāhmaṇa of the Vāgasaneyins. With Professor Weber I believe that Pāṇini was perfectly well acquainted with the term 'Vāgasaneyināḥ,' but saw no occasion for specially mentioning it in his rules. Surely, if his silence could possibly have been construed into an act of negligence, Kātyāyana, who was so intimately connected with the White Yagus that, on Goldstücker's own showing, he composed the Vāgasaneyi-prātisākhya before he wrote his vārttikas, would have been the first to notice it. The Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni, in their relation to the sacred canon of the school, seem to me to stand somewhat on a par with the 'Tittirīnā proktāḥ slokāḥ¹,' which, in Patañjali's time, were excluded from the term 'Taittirīyāḥ' as uncanonical, and which Professor Weber would identify, perhaps rightly, with some portions of the Taittirīyāranyaka. Both kinds of tracts probably belong to the last floating materials of Advaryu tradition, which had not yet been incorporated with the canon. Whether or not the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni form part of the text of the Satapatha which has come down to us, and what exact portions of that text we have to understand by this designation, must remain uncertain for the present. Most probably, however, we have to look for them to certain portions of the last book (or books) in which Yāgñavalkya figures so prominently. If we had a complete copy of the Kāṇva recension, we might perhaps be in a better position for forming an opinion on this subject; for if that version should really turn out to consist of 104 adhyāyas, four of these adhyāyas may have to be considered as a later interpolation; and the fact might have become obscured in the Mādhyandina recension by a different division of the text². But, however this may

¹ Mahābhāṣhya on Pāṇ. IV, 2, 66; 3, 104.

² Possibly, however, this redundancy may have been caused by the insertion of the third or uddhārī-kāṇḍa, consisting of 124 kāṇḍikās, to which there seems to be nothing corresponding in the Mādhyandina text. We have no MS. of this particular kāṇḍa. I may also mention that, while in the first kāṇḍa (or second Kāṇva), the Mādhyandinas count 9, and the Kāṇvas 8 adhyāyas,—in the fourth kāṇḍa (or

be, it appears to me quite intelligible why such portions should have been considered as of equal age to the body of the work ; in fact they would probably go back to about the same time as some of the earlier portions ; only that, owing to a longer state of uncertain transmission, they may have been more liable to changes and additions. If these tracts are not mentioned by Pāṇini, it may be an accidental omission on his part, or he may not have been aware of their existence, for geographical or other reasons : we can hardly expect Pāṇini to have been so intimately acquainted with the Yagur texts as Kātyāyana. As regards the dates of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, I accept with Professor Bühler and others, as by far the most probable, the fourth and the middle of the second century B.C. respectively.

Under the title of Vāgasaneyaka, the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa is quoted once in Lātyāyana's Srauta-sūtra IV, 12, 12 ; but I have not been able to find the passage either in the Mādhyandina text or in that part of the Kāṇva text which I have hitherto had at my disposal, viz. kāṇḍas I, II, IV-VII (Kāṇva). Far more frequently the work is quoted, either as Vāgasaneyaka or as Vāgasaneyi-brāhmaṇa, by Āpastamba, both in his Srauta and his Dharma-sūtras. On comparing one of these quotations in the Dharma-sūtras (I, 4, 12, 3) with the corresponding passage in the Mādhyandina recension, Professor Bühler found that 'its wording possessed just sufficient resemblance to allow us to identify the passage which Āpastamba meant, but differed from the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa in many details¹.' From this he naturally inferred that Āpastamba probably took his quotations from the Kāṇva recension. Now, although I have not been able to compare this particular passage with the Kāṇva text², I have done so regarding a number of other passages quoted from Āpastamba in Karka's commentary on the Kātiya-Srauta-sūtra. The result was that in no single case did Āpastamba's quotations agree with the corresponding passages in the Kāṇva,

fifth Kāṇva), on the other hand, the Kāṇvas have 8, instead of 6 adhyāyas ; and in the fifth kāṇḍa (or sixth and seventh Kāṇvas) they have together 7, instead of 5 adhyāyas.

¹ Bühler, loc. cit. p. xxv. ² The passage occurs in Mādhyandina XI, 5, 6, 3.

any more than they did with those of the Mādhyandina text¹. In some cases they came nearer to the one text, in others to the other. To several quotations, again, I could find nothing corresponding in either text. Now, supposing the quotations, as given by Karka, to be on the whole correct, there seem to be only two ways of accounting for these discrepancies, viz. either Āpastamba did not mean to quote the passages literally, but only to give the substance of them ; or he had a third recension of the Satapatha before him. While some passages would seem to be in favour of the former alternative, others would scarcely admit of this explanation. This question, however, requires further investigation, before it can be definitely settled. In connection with this question the fact will also have to be taken into account, that Kātyāyana, in composing his Vāgasaneyi-prātisākhya, seems to have had before him a different recension of the Samhitā, from those of the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina schools².

Professor Bühler appears to be inclined to place Āpastamba somewhere about the fifth century B.C. ; and though probably he himself does not consider the reasons he adduces as conclusive, they seem at any rate to show that that writer cannot have lived later than the third century B.C. From

¹ I select a few passages :—

1. Āp. (Kāty. VII, 1, 36). *prāgvamsasya madhyamam sthûnârâgam âlabhya gapatîti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. III, 1, 1, 11. *sa pûrvârdhyam sthûnârâgam abhipadyaitad yagur âha.*
Kāṇva IV, 1, 1, 7. *sâ yâsau varshishîkâ pûrvârdhe sâlâsthûnâ bhavati tām abhipadya gapati.*
2. Āp. (Kāty. V, 3, 6). *atrâpi mesham ka meshîm ka karotîti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. II, 5, 2, 15. *tatrâpi mesham ka meshîm ka kurvanti.*
Kāṇva I, 5, 1, 13. *mesham ka vâ api meshîm ka kurvanti.*
3. Āp. (Kāty. VII, 2, 34). (*vritrasya kanînikâstîi traikakudenâṅganenânkte*) *yadi traikadukam nâdhigakkhed yenaiva kenâṅganenâṅgîti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. III, 1, 3, 12. (*traikadukam bhavati ; yatra vâ indro vritram ahams tasya yad akshy âsîi tam girim trikakudam akarot . . .*) *yadi traikakudam na vinded apy atraikakudam eva syât samânî hy evâṅganasya bandhutâ.*
Kāṇva IV, 1, 3, 10. (*tat traikakudam syât ; yatra vâ indro vritram ahams tasya ha yâ kanînakâsa yak kakshus tam etam girim kakâra trikakudam ; sa yat traikakudam bhavati kakshushy evaitak kakshur dadhâtî*) ; *yadi traikakudam na vinded api yad eva kiṅka syât.*
4. Āp. (Kāty. VII, 3, 28). *ûshnîsheṇa pradakshinam siro veshîyata iti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. III, 2, 1, 16–17. *sa prornute.*
Kāṇva IV, 2, 1, 11–12. *athainam prornoti,—sa prornoti.*

² See Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, p. 69.

the fact that Svetaketu, the son of Uddālaka Āruni, the reputed teacher (and rival¹) of Yāgñavalkya, is counted by Āpastamba among the Avaras or moderns, Dr. Bühler infers that the promulgator of the White Yagur cannot have preceded Āpastamba 'by a longer interval than, at the utmost, two or three hundred years.' That the two authors may not have been separated from each other by a longer interval seems likely enough; but, on the other hand, Āpastamba, by his remark, pays no very great compliment to the inspired texts of his own school, since Aruna Aupavesi, the grandfather of Svetaketu Āruneya, is twice referred to in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā².

The geographical and ethnical allusions contained in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa have been carefully collected by Professor Weber³. With the exception of those in *kāṇḍas* 6-10, as I have already remarked, they point almost exclusively to the regions along the Ganges and Jumna. In the legend about Videgha Māthava⁴, and his Purohita Gotama Rāhūgana, tradition seems to have preserved a reminiscence of the eastward spread of Brāhmanical civilisation. Among the peoples that occupied those regions, a prominent position is assigned in the Satapatha to the closely-allied Kuru-Paṇkālās. The Kurus occupied the districts between the Jumna and Ganges—the so-called Madhyadesa or middle country—and the Paṇkālās bordered on them towards the south-east. According to Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 4, 7, the Paṇkālās were in olden times called Krivi; and a tribe of this name is evidently referred to in Rig-veda VIII, 20, 24; (22, 12)⁵, in connection with the rivers Sindhu and Asiknī. The Kurus, on the other hand, are not directly referred to in the *Rik*; but a king Kurusravana, 'glory of the Kurus,' and a patron with the epithet Kaurayāna are mentioned in the hymns. In Aitar. Br. VIII, 14, the Uttara (northern) Kurus, together with the Uttara-Madras, are said to dwell beyond the Himālaya.

¹ See *Bṛh. Ār.* 3, 5, where he is defeated by Yāgñavalkya in disputation.

² Taitt. S. VI, 1, 9, 2; 4, 5, 1.

³ Ind. Stud. I, 187 seq.

⁴ See the present volume, p. 104, with note. It would have been safer to give the name as Videgha Māthava, instead of Māthava the Videgha.

⁵ See Ludwig, Rig-veda III, p. 205; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 103.

From these indications Professor Zimmer infers that, in the times of the hymns, the Kurus and Krivis—whose names evidently are merely variations of the same word—may have lived together in the valleys of Kāsmīr, on the upper Indus; and he also offers the ingenious conjecture, that we may have to look for the Kuru-Krivis in the twin-people of the Vaikarṇau, mentioned in Rig-veda VII, 18, 11. The names of the principal teachers of the Satapatha mark them as belonging to the land of the Kuru-Pañkâlas; and as in I, 7, 2, 8, preference is given to a certain sacrificial practice on the ground that it is the one obtaining among these peoples, it seems highly probable that the redaction of the work, or at least of the older portion of it, took place among the Kuru-Pañkâlas¹. A prince² of Pañkâla, Pravâhana Gaivali, is mentioned XIV, 9, 1, 1, in connection with Yâgñavalkya's teacher, Uddâlaka Âruṇi.

East of the Madhyadesa, we meet with another confederacy of kindred peoples, of hardly less importance than the Kuru-Pañkâlas, at the time of the redaction of the Brâhmana, viz. the Kosala-Videhas. In the legend above referred to they are said to be the descendants of Videgha Mâthava, and to be separated from each other by the river Sadânîrâ (either the modern *Gandakî* or *Karatoyâ*). The country of the Videhas, the eastern branch of this allied people, corresponding to the modern Tirhut or Puraniya, formed in those days the extreme east of the land of the Âryas. In the later books of the Satapatha, king Ganaka of Videha appears as one of the principal promoters of the Brâhmanical religion, and especially as the patron of Yâgñavalkya. In XI, 6, 2, 1, Ganaka is repre-

¹ The passage III, 2, 3, 15, where the Kuru-Pañkâlas are apparently placed in the north—in direct contradiction to XI, 4, 1, 1, where they are placed in opposition to the Northerners (*udîkya*)—seems to go against this supposition. Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 191, tries to get over this difficulty by translating Kurupañkâlâtrâ by 'as among the Kuru-Pañkâlas,' instead of 'among the Kuru-Pañkâlas;' so that the meaning of the passage would be that 'the same language is spoken in the northern region, as among the Kuru-Pañkâlas.' Unfortunately, however, the Kârva text of the passage is not favourable to this interpretation. It runs as follows (K. IV, 2, 2, 10):—*udîkīm pathayâ svastyâ vâg vai pathyâ svastis tasmâd atrottarâhai vâg vadatītyâhuḥ kurupañkâlêshu kurumahâvisheshv ity etâm hi tayâ disam prâgânann eṣhâ hi tasyâ dik pragñâtâ.*

² He is styled râganyabandhu in *Khândogya*. V, 3, 5.

sented as meeting, apparently for the first time, with Svetaketu Āruneya, Somasushma Sātyayaṅgī, and Yāgñavalkya, while they were travelling (dhāvayadbhiḥ). Probably we are to understand by this that these divines had then come from the west to visit the Videha country. A considerable portion of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* deals with learned disputations which Yāgñavalkya was supposed to have held at Ganaka's court with divers sages and with the king himself. In *Bṛih. Ār. II, 1, 1* (and *Kaush. Up. IV, 1*) Ganaka's fame as the patron of Brāhmanical sages is said to have aroused the jealousy of his contemporary, Agātasatru, king of the Kāśis¹. The name Ganaka is also interesting on account of its being borne likewise by the father of Sitā, the wife of Rāma. Unfortunately, however, there is not sufficient evidence to show that the two kings are identical. With the legend of the other great epic, the *Satapatha* offers more points of contact; but on this subject also no definite results have as yet been obtained, it being still doubtful whether the internecine strife between the royal houses of the Kurus and Pañḍālās which, according to the late Professor Lassen, forms the central fact of the legend of the *Mahābhārata*, had not yet taken place at the time of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, or whether it was already a thing of the past². In the *Mahābhārata*, I, 4723, Pāṇdu, in speaking to his wife Kuntī, mentions Svetaketu, the son of the Maharshi Uddālaka, as having lived 'not long ago'³.

As regards the two recensions of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, this is hardly the place to enter into any detailed discussion of their mutual relations. Nor is my acquaintance with the *Kāṇva* text as yet sufficiently extensive to do justice to this important question. I intend, however, to publish before long a number of extracts from several *kāṇḍas* of this recension,—including the text of all the

¹ They occupied the country about the modern Benares (Kāśī).

² *Dhṛitarāṣṭra Vaiṣṭravīrya*, whose sons and nephews form the chief parties of this great feud, is mentioned in the *Kāṇva* 10, 6. From this passage—which, unfortunately, is not in a very good condition in the Berlin MS.—it would appear that animosities had then existed between the Kurus and Pañḍālās. It is doubtful, however, whether this part of the *Kāṇva* is older than the bulk of the *Satapatha*. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, 469 seq.

³ See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, 176.

legends as well as other portions which seemed to me of special interest,—from which Sanskrit scholars will be able to form an opinion regarding the exact nature of the variations between the two versions. In my notes to the present translation of the first two *kāṇḍas*, I have considered it desirable occasionally to notice some of the *variae lectiones* of the *Kāṇva* school; it should, however, be understood that these readings have been given solely on the authority of the Oxford MS., for the loan of which I am deeply indebted to the liberality of the Curators of the Bodleian Library. With the aid of the Paris MS., the use of which has also just been kindly granted to me, I hope soon to be able to verify these extracts. For most of the *kāṇḍas*, from the fourth¹ onwards, our materials have been lately enriched by a copy which Mr. Whitley Stokes has had made for Professor Weber from a Benares MS.

The various readings of the *Kāṇva* recension of the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā* have been given in Professor Weber's edition, at the end of each *kāṇḍa*. They may be said to consist either of mere verbal variations or of additional mantras. In regard to these readings the *Brāhmaṇa* of the same school exhibits a feature which may have an important bearing on the textual criticism of the *Samhitā*. While the *Brāhmaṇa* generally shows the same verbal variations in the sacrificial texts as the *Samhitā*, it, as a rule, takes no notice whatever of the additional mantras, but agrees in this respect pretty closely with the *Mādhyandina* text. Indeed, so far as I am able to judge, the two relations seem to coincide almost entirely, as far as the subject-matter is concerned; the differences, considerable as they sometimes are, being rather of a grammatical and stylistic nature. Occasional omissions, which I have hitherto noticed², may perhaps turn out to be due to the carelessness of scribes. As regards the additional mantras referred to, they may have found their way into the *Samhitā* at the time when the *Sūtras*

¹ Viz. *kāṇḍas* 4-7, 9, 10, 12, 14-17.

² For instance, the *brāhmaṇas* *Mādhy.* I, 4, 3; II, 3, 2 and 3; IV, 5, 10; 6, 8 are wanting in the Oxford MS.; see p. 338, note 3.—In the fourth (fifth *Kāṇva*) *kāṇḍa*, the *Kāṇvas*, on the other hand, have two *brāhmaṇas* (V, 7, 5; 8, 2, the latter of which treats of the *adābhya* *graha*, *Vāg. S. VIII, 47-50*) which are not found in the *Mādhyandina* text.

were composed; though, it is true, they do not as a rule appear in the Kâṭiya-sūtra, and no other sūtra of the White Yagus, as far as I know, has hitherto come to light¹. On the other hand, as there are also not a few mantras in the Mādhyandina Samhitā², which are not noticed in the Brāhmaṇa of that school, this question must be left for future investigation.

I have already referred to the connection which seems to have existed between the Kāṇva school of the White Yagus and the redactors of the *Rik-samhitā*. One of the chief points of contact between our existing recension of the *Rik* and the Kāṇva text of the Yagur-veda is the use of the letters *l* and *lh* instead of *d* and *dh* used by the Mādhyandinas. Besides, the *riks* of the Kāṇva text generally approach more nearly to the readings of the Rig-veda than those of the other school. Another, even more interesting, feature which the Kāṇva recension has in common with the *Rik*, is the constant³ employment of the ordinary genitive and ablative of feminine bases, where the other Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas generally use the dative; thus the Kāṇvas read 'tasyāḥ' instead of 'tasyai' (M. I, 1, 4, 16); 'gāyatrīyāḥ' instead of 'gāyatrīyai' (I, 7, 1, 1); 'prithivīyāḥ' instead of 'prithivīyai' (I, 2, 5, 18); 'kumbhīyā bhastrīyāḥ' instead of 'kumbhīyai bhastrīyai' (I, 1, 2, 7); 'stīrṇāyā vedeh' instead of 'stīrṇāyai vedeh' (IV, 2, 5, 3); 'dhenoh' instead of 'dhenvai' (III, 1, 2, 21), &c. Thus the Kāṇva text is in this respect more in accordance with the *Rik-samhitā* than even the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa⁴. Again, the Kāṇvas seem to form the dative of feminine i-bases in accordance with the usual and older practice of the *Rik*; at least I find everywhere 'āhutaye' and 'guptaye' (as also in the Atharvan) instead of 'āhutyai' and 'guptyai' as the Mādhyandinas (and Taittirīyas) read⁵. Of minor points of grammatical

¹ Professor Weber thinks that the sūtra of Vaigavāpa, of which mention is occasionally made in the commentaries on the Kāṭīya-sūtra, may belong to the White Yagus. See History of Indian Literature, p. 142. Professor Bühler, Sacred Laws, I, p. xxvi, remarks that 'Kāṇva is considered the author of the still existing Kalpa-sūtras of the Kāṇva school;' but I have found no notice of these sūtras anywhere.

² That is, in those adhyāyas to which the Brāhmaṇa forms a running commentary.

³ I have not met with any exception in the kāṇdas hitherto examined.

⁴ See Aufrecht, Ait. Br. p. 428. ⁵ See also the form 'dhenoh' mentioned above.

differences may be mentioned the form 'nililye,' which occurs once in the Mādhyandina text (I, 2, 3, 1), and is otherwise only found in the Mahābhārata; while the Kāṇva recension has the periphrastic form (*nilayām kakre*), which the Mādhyandina text also offers in the other two cases (I, 6, 4, 1; IV, 1, 3, 1) in which the word occurs. On the other hand, the Kāṇvas seem to read invariably 'ātmani (dhā or *kri*),' where the Mādhyandinas have 'ātman,' which is also (doubtless on metrical grounds) the more usual formation in the Rīg-veda¹. Of cases of material differences I can only at present adduce the passage I, 1, 4, 12 (M.), where the Mādhyandina text is guilty of a transposition of the second and third castes, while that of the Kāṇvas gives them in the proper order. Though most of these points of difference between the two schools would seem to tell in favour of the higher antiquity of the Kāṇva text, there will always be great difficulty in deciding this question, as it is by no means impossible that these variations are entirely due to different local or family traditions. In favour of the latter alternative one or two other points may be mentioned. The Mādhyandina text, as has already been remarked, offers not a few grammatical and other differences between the first five and the succeeding four kāṇdas, or, as we may say, between the Yāgñavalkya and the Sāṇḍilya books of the Shashāpatha. Though I cannot speak with confidence on this point, as I have not yet examined the Kāṇva text of the Sāṇḍilya kāṇdas, I may refer here to at least two points in which the Kāṇvas, in the Yāgñavalkya portion, agree with the Sāṇḍilya portion of the Mādhyandina text, viz. the use of the imperfect (*asparḍhanta*) instead of the perfect (*pasprīdhire*) in the opening clause of legends; and the frequent employment of the particle 'vāva' in the place of 'vai.'

As regards the present translation of the first two kāṇdas,

¹ Another curious feature of the Kāṇva text is the frequent insertion of an 'ity uvāka' in the middle of speeches, much like the colloquial 'says he.' As an instance I may adduce K. IV, 2, 3, 3 (M. III, 2, 3, 5):—*Sā hovāka 'ham eva vo yagñam amūmuham iti hovāka yad eva mayi tanvānā iti mām yagñād antara-gāta tenaiva vo yagñam amūmuham iti te mahyam nu bhāgam kalpayatety atha vo yagñāt prarokishyata iti tatheti hokus, &c.* The Kāṇvas also insert much more frequently an 'iti' in the middle of speeches.

I need hardly say that I am fully aware of its shortcomings. My chief endeavour has been to translate as literally as seemed at all compatible with the English idiom. If, in consequence of this, many passages should be found to read somewhat awkwardly, I hope at least that the wish to follow the original as closely as possible, has not rendered them unintelligible. Those who have given any attention to the *Brāhmaṇas* and the sacrificial system of the Hindus, know how difficult the task is, and how easy it is to commit mistakes regarding the intricate minutiae of the ceremonial. The *Brāhmaṇas* presuppose a full knowledge of the course of sacrificial performance, and notice only such points as afford an opportunity for dogmatic and symbolic explanations, or seem to call for some authoritative decision to guard them against what were considered as heretical practices. In order to enable the reader to follow the course of the performance with something like completeness, I have supplied in my notes the chief details from Kātyāyana's *Kalpa-sūtras*. That not a few of these details did not belong to the sacrificial ceremonial of the *Satapatha*, but were the result of later development, or of an adaptation of sacrificial practices of other schools, can scarcely be doubted. Dr. Hillebrandt¹ is of opinion that sacrificial manuals, somewhat similar to the later *Prayogas*, must have existed as early as the time of the composition of the *Brāhmaṇas*. In the absence of any direct evidence, speculation on this point can scarcely lead to any definite results. I may say, however, that it seems to me quite sufficient to assume that the performance of sacrifices was taught as a practical art, and that the theoretic instruction, supplied by the *Brāhmaṇas*, was conveyed orally in connection with such practical performances. That the latter was the case, is sufficiently evident from the constant occurrence in the *Brāhmaṇas* of demonstrative pronouns and particles of a 'deictic' force².

I have occasionally referred to corresponding passages of the *Taittirīyas*: an exhaustive comparison of the two branches of the *Yagur-veda*, however interesting this might be, lay outside the scope of my notes. A general view of

¹ Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. xv.

² See, for instance, *Sat. Br.* I, 3, 1, 7; 8, 1, 14.

the sacrificial system might be considered desirable in this place; but I have found it necessary to defer this part of my duty as translator to some future opportunity. Those who desire further information on this point, I may refer to Professor Weber's general survey of Hindu sacrifices, in vols. x and xiii of his *Indische Studien*. No other scholar has contributed so much to our knowledge of the sacrificial ceremonial of the Hindus. I need hardly say that I have also obtained much useful information from the late Professor Haug's notes to his translation of the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, although on many points the practices of modern *Srottriyas*, on which he chiefly relied, are manifestly at variance with those enjoined by the old ritualistic authorities. For the first *kāṇḍa*, I have also been able to avail myself of Dr. Hillebrandt's careful exposition of the new and full-moon sacrifice; and though I had already worked myself through that part of the ritual before the appearance of his treatise, his constant references to the *Sūtras* of the Black *Yagur-veda* have been of great assistance to me.

The *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpa-sūtras* treat of the so-called *Srauta* or *Vaidik* sacrifices, requiring for their performance three sacrificial fires; while the *Pāka-yagñas*, or simple oblations of cooked food prepared on the domestic fire, are dealt with in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*. The present volume contains that portion of the *Brāhmaṇa* which deals with the *Haviryagñas*—or offerings of milk, butter, rice, barley, and similar materials—as distinguished from the animal and *Soma* sacrifices. The new and full-moon offering being considered as the normal type of an *ishṭi*, or simplest form of a complete sacrificial performance, the place of honour is assigned to it in most texts of the *Yagur*; only points of difference being generally noted regarding the performance of *ishṭis*, as parts of subsequent sacrifices. In point of time, the *Darsa-pūrṇamāsau* ought to be preceded—as indeed they are in the *Kāṇva* text of the *Brāhmaṇa*—by the *Agnyādhāna*, or establishment of a sacred fire on the part of a young householder; and by the *Agnihotra*, or morning and evening libations.



SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA.

FIRST KÂNDĀ.

THE DARSAPÛRĀMĀSA-ISHTĪ OR NEW AND FULL-MOON SACRIFICES.

FIRST ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

A. THE VOW OF ABSTINENCE.

EACH of the two half-monthly sacrifices, the regular performance of which is enjoined on the Brâhmanical householder for a period of thirty years from the time of his performance of the ceremony of agny-âdhâna, or setting up of a fire of his own,—according to some authorities even for the rest of his life—usually occupies the greater part of two consecutive days. Whilst the first day—the upavasatha or fast-day—is chiefly taken up with preparatory rites, such as the sweeping and trimming of the fire-places and lighting of the fires; and the formal taking of the vow of abstinence (vrata) by the sacrificer and his wife; the second day is reserved for the main performance of the sacrifice. As to the exact days of the month appointed for these ceremonies, there is some difference of opinion among native authorities, some of them deciding in favour of the last two days of each half of the lunar month, whilst the generality of ritualistic writers consider the first day of the half-month—or the first and sixteenth day of the month respectively—to be the proper time for the main performance. The personal restrictions involved in the householder's entering on the vrata include chiefly the abstention from certain kinds of food, especially meat, and from other carnal pleasures; the cutting (optional, according to some) of the beard and hair, except the crest-lock; the sleeping on the ground in one of the chief fire-houses; and the observance of silence during the ceremonies. It was, however, permitted to compress the two-days'

rites of the Full-moon sacrifice into one single day, in which case some of these restrictions would of course not be applicable.

The ceremonies begin with the preparation of the sacrificial fires. [First, the fivefold lustration successively of the Âhavanîya and Dakshinâgni fire-places, to render them fit for receiving the fire from the Gârhapatya or householder's fire, viz. by thrice sweeping the hearths; thrice besmearing them with gomaya; drawing three lines across them from west to east, or south to north, with the wooden sword (sphya); removing the dust from the lines with the thumb and ring-finger; and thrice sprinkling the lines with water¹.] Then the Adhvaryu performs the agny-uddhâra, or twice taking out of the fire from the Gârhapatya, and putting it successively on the forepart of the Âhavanîya and Dakshinâgni hearths. After this takes place the agny-anvâdhâna, or putting (fuel) on the fires, by either the householder or the Adhvaryu; two logs being put on each of the three fires. This may be done in three different ways, viz. first on the Âhavanîya, then on the Gârhapatya, and last on the Dakshinâgni, in which case the first log is put on by him whilst muttering the verse Rig-veda X, 128, 1 (Taitt. S. IV, 7, 14, 1), 'Let there be lustre, O Agni, at my invocations!' &c., the second log silently. Or the first logs are put on with one of the three mystical words 'bhûr, bhuva, svar' on the Gârhapatya, Dakshinâgni, and Âhavanîya successively, and the second logs again silently. Or both logs may be put on silently, the order of fires being in that case the one in which they originate, viz. Gârhapatya, Âhavanîya, and Dakshinâgni.

In the afternoon the householder and his wife partake of the vratopanîya or fast-day food (prepared chiefly of rice, barley, or mudga beans) with clarified butter; whereupon they take the vow in the manner prescribed in the Brâhmana. In the evening, immediately after sunset, and on the following morning just before sunrise, the householder has, as usual, to perform the Agnihotra, a burnt-offering of fresh milk, which has to be made by him twice daily, with certain exceptions, from the Agnyâdhâna to the end of his life.

1. He who is about to enter on the vow, touches water², whilst standing between the Âhavanîya

¹ The statements enclosed in brackets [] are drawn from the comments and Paddhati on Kâtyâyana's Srauta-sûtra.

² I. e. 'he dips his hand into water contained in a vessel,' Schol. Kâty. Sr. S. I, 10, 14. According to the general rule there given,

and Gârhapatya fires, with his face turned towards east. The reason why he touches water is, that man is (sacrificially) impure on account of his speaking untruth; and because by that act an internal purification (is effected),—for water is indeed (sacrificially) pure. 'After becoming sacrificially pure, I will enter on the vow,' thus (he thinks); for water is indeed purifying. 'Having become purified through the purifying one, I will enter on the vow,' thus (he thinks, and) this is the reason why he touches water.

2. Looking towards the (Âhavantya) fire¹, he enters on the vow, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 5 a): 'O Agni, Lord of Vows! I will keep the vow! may I be equal to it, may I succeed in it!' For Agni is Lord of Vows to the gods, and it is to him therefore that he addresses these words. In the words, 'I will observe the vow; may I be equal to it; may I succeed in it,' there is nothing that requires explanation.

3. After the completion (of the sacrifice) he divests himself (of the vow), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 28 a), 'O Agni, Lord of Vows! I have kept the vow; I have been equal to it; I have succeeded in

the same purificatory act has to be repeated whenever, in the course of ceremonial performances, a sacrificial formula or prayer has been used, which is addressed to, or directed against, Rudra, the Rakshas and Asuras, and the Manes; or one directed against some specified enemy of the sacrificer with the view of exorcising or averting the evil influences with which the latter is supposed to be threatened from that quarter; or lastly, when a touching of one's self has taken place, either accidentally or as part of the ceremonial.

¹ 'Stepping between the Gârhapatya and Dakshina fires (aparâgnî), and standing west of the Âhavanîya, with his face turned eastward and looking at the fire.' Kâty. Sr. S. II, 1, 11.

it;’ for he who has attained the completion of the sacrifice, has indeed been equal to it; and he who has attained the completion of the sacrifice, has succeeded in it. It is in this way that most (sacrificers) will probably enter on the vow; but one may also enter on it in the following way.

4. Twofold, verily, is this, there is no third, viz. truth and untruth. And verily the gods are the truth, and man is the untruth. Therefore in saying (Vâg. S. I, 5 b), ‘I now enter from untruth into truth,’ he passes from the men to the gods¹.

5. Let him then only speak what is true; for this vow indeed the gods do keep, that they speak the truth; and for this reason they are glorious: glorious therefore is he who, knowing this, speaks the truth.

6. After the completion (of the sacrifice) he divests himself (of the vow), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 28 b): ‘Now I am he who I really am.’ For, in entering upon the vow, he becomes, as it were, non-human; and as it would not be becoming for him to say, ‘I enter from truth into untruth;’ and as, in fact, he now again becomes man, let him therefore divest himself (of the vow), with the text: ‘Now I am he who I really am.’

7. Now then of the eating (or) fasting². And on this point Âshâdha Sâvayasa, on the one hand, was of opinion that the vow consisted in fasting. For assuredly, (he argued,) the gods see through the mind of man; they know that, when he enters on this

¹ I. e. ‘he obtains a divine body (devatâsarîram),’ Mahtdh.; ‘man’s existence is untruth on account of its perishableness,’ id.

² The discussion which here follows refers to the evening meal which the sacrificer is allowed to take after he has performed the Agnihotra. Cf. Kâty. Sr. S. II, 1, 13.

vow, he means to sacrifice to them the next morning. Therefore all the gods betake themselves to his house, and abide by (him or the fires, upa-vas) in his house; whence this (day) is called upa-vasatha¹.

8. Now, as it would even be unbecoming for him to take food, before men (who are staying with him as his guests) have eaten; how much more would it be so, if he were to take food before the gods (who are staying with him) have eaten: let him therefore take no food at all.

9. Yâgñavalkya, on the other hand, said: 'If he does not eat, he thereby becomes a sacrificer to the Manes; and if he does eat, he eats before the gods have eaten: let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten.' For that of which no offering is made, even though it is eaten, is considered as not eaten. When he therefore eats, he does not become a sacrificer to the Manes; and by eating of that of which no offering is made, he does not eat before the gods have eaten.

10. Let him therefore eat only what grows in the forest, be it forest plants or the fruit of trees. And in regard to this point Barku Vârshṇa said: 'Cook ye beans for me, for no offering is made of them!' This, however, he should not do; for pulse

¹ The primary meaning of upa-vas probably is 'to dwell or abide near (? the gods or fires);' its secondary and technical meaning being 'to fast,' whence upavasatha, 'a fasting or fast-day,' literally 'the abiding near (? or honouring, the gods or fires).' Cf. III, 9, 2, 7. The term is more usually applied to the preliminary fast-day of the Soma-sacrifice; but the latter being considered the most solemn and efficacious of sacrificial rites, a strong tendency prevails to establish some kind of connection between it and the other ceremonies. Cf. Kâty. Sr. S. IV, 15, 36.

serves as an addition to rice and barley; and hence he increases the rice and barley by means of it: let him therefore eat only what grows in the forest.

11. Let him sleep that night in the house of the Âhavanîya fire or in the house of the Gârhapatya fire. For he who enters on the vow approaches the gods; and he sleeps in the midst of those very gods whom he approaches. Let him sleep on the ground¹; for from below, as it were, one serves one's superior.

B. THE PREPARATION OF THE OFFERINGS.

After the morning's performance of the Agnihotra and the subsequent rising of the sun, the sacrificer chooses his Brahman, or superintending priest. [In the first place he gets six seats ready, covered with sacrificial grass: two of these, to be used by the Brahman and sacrificer during the ceremony of election, are placed somewhere on the north side of the sacrificial ground; another south of the Âhavanîya fire, to serve for the Brahman's permanent seat (brahmasâdanam), and west of the latter (placed so as to be quite close to the altar to be constructed hereafter, cf. Kâty. Sr. I, 8, 28), the sacrificer's permanent seat; finally a seat north of each of the two fires, the Gârhapatya and the Âhavanîya, to be used by the Adhvaryu on certain occasions. The sacrificer and future Brahman then having seated themselves on the two first-mentioned seats on the north side, the former with his face turned northward, and the latter looking toward east; the sacrificer, holding the wooden sword (sphya) in his left hand, touches the right knee of the Brahman with his right hand, in which he holds barley-corns and] chooses him for his Brahman with the formula: ['Thou, of such and such a family, N. N. Sarman! we are about to perform the Full-moon sacrifice,'] 'O Lord of the earth! Lord of the world! Lord of the great universe! we choose thee for our Brahman!' The chosen one then mutters (cf. Vâg. S. p. 57): 'I am the lord of the earth, I lord of the world, I lord of the great universe (mahâbhûta)! earth! ether! heaven! O God Savitri, thee they choose for their Brahman, their lord of prayer (Brihaspati)!' &c., 'Brihaspati is Brahman to the gods, I to the men!' He (or, according

¹ A shake-down of grass (âstaranam, ? a blanket) is not forbidden. Paddh. on Kâty. Sr. II, 1.

to some, the sacrificer) further says, 'O Lord of speech, protect the sacrifice!' after which he betakes himself to the Brahman's seat (south of the Âhavanîya), and whilst [standing north of it, with his face turned eastward and] looking on it, he mutters: 'Avaunt! unholy one (daidhishavya, lit. son of a re-married woman)! take thee away from here and seat thee on another's seat who is less exalted (pâkatara) than we!' He takes one blade of grass from the seat and flings it towards south-west (the region of the Rakshas or evil spirits) with the formula: 'Expelled is sin with him whom we detest!' and then sits down with the formula: 'Here I sit on the seat of Brihaspati, at the command of the divine Savitri! This I proclaim to the fire, this to the wind, this to the earth!' Here he remains seated, with his face towards the Âhavanîya fire, to watch the progress of the ceremony and give directions, whenever he is appealed to. When the full or new-moon sacrifice is performed for the first time, it should be preceded by the Anvârambhanîyâ offering, performed in much the same way as the Pauramâst, except that the oblations themselves consist of a rice cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Vishnu, a potful of boiled (rice) grains (karu) for Sarasvatî; and a rice cake on twelve potsherds for Sarasvat; the priest's fee on this occasion consisting of a cow four years old, or a pair of cattle, instead of the Anvâhârya mess. Kâty. Sr. IV, 5, 22-23.

12. By way of his first act on the following morning he (the Adhvaryu priest) betakes himself to the water, and brings water forward¹: for

¹ He, in the first place, pours water into a jug [usually made of varâṇa wood (Crataeva Roxburghii), four-cornered, about a span or twelve fingers' breadths deep and four fingers' breadths square, and furnished with a handle], puts it down north of the Gârhapatya fire, and touches it with the formula: 'I, the existent, will operate with thee (tvâ karishyâmi), O existent one!' He then addresses himself to the Brahman: 'O Brahman! shall I bring the water forward?' and to the patron or sacrificer: 'Sacrificer, restrain thy speech!' The Brahman,—after muttering the mantra (as he does, with certain modifications, on similar occasions when his permission is asked in the course of the performance): 'Lead on the sacrifice! gladden the deities! May the sacrificer be on the vault of heaven! Where the world of the seven pious Rishis is, thither do thou lead this sacrifice and sacrificer!'—replies aloud: 'Hail (ṣm)! bring forward!'

water is (one of the means of) sacrifice. Hence by this his first act he approaches (engages in) the sacrifice; and by bringing (water) forward, he spreads out (prepares) the sacrifice.

13. He brings it forward with those mysterious words (Vāg. S. I, 6): 'Who (or Pragâpati) joins (or yokes) thee (to this fire)'¹? He joins thee. For what (or, for Pragâpati) does he join thee? For that (or him) he joins thee!' For Pragâpati is undefined² (mysterious); Pragâpati is the sacrifice: hence he thereby yokes (gets ready for the performance) Pragâpati, this sacrifice.

14. The reason why he brings forward water is, that all this (universe) is pervaded by water³; hence by this his first act he pervades (or gains) all this (universe).

15. And whatever here in this (sacrifice) the Hotri, or the Adhvaryu, or the Brahman, or the Âgnîdhra, or the sacrificer himself, does not succeed in accomplishing, all that is thereby obtained (or made good).

16. Another reason why he brings forward water is this: whilst the gods were engaged in performing sacrifice, the Asuras and Rakshas forbade (raksh)

¹ 'Ka (i. e. who? or Pragâpati) joins thee (i. e. places thee, O water, by the side of the Âhavanîya fire)? (I) . . . Kasmai (i. e. for what purpose? or, for whom? or, for Pragâpati) does he join thee? (I)' Mahîdh. Dark is the meaning of these words because of the ambiguity of ka, the interrogative pronoun, which speculative theology also takes for a mystic name of Pragâpati. Cf. XI, 5, 4, 1 seq.; Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 433.

² Cf. also I, 6, 1, 20, where Sâyana says that Pragâpati is anirukta, because he represents all deities.

³ A play on the word âpāḥ (ap), 'water,' and the root âp, 'to obtain, to pervade.'

them, saying, 'Ye shall not sacrifice!' and because they forbade (raksh), they are called Rakshas.

17. The gods then perceived this thunderbolt, to wit, the water : the water is a thunderbolt, for the water is indeed a thunderbolt; hence wherever it goes, it produces a hollow (or depression of ground); and whatever it comes near, it destroys (lit. it burns up). Thereupon they took up that thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter they spread (performed) the sacrifice. And thus he (the Adhvaryu priest) likewise takes up this thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter spreads the sacrifice. This is the reason why he brings forward water.

18. After pouring out some of it (into the jug) he puts it down north of the Gârhapatya fire. For water (ap) is female and fire (agni) is male; and the Gârhapatya is a house : hence a copulation productive of offspring is thereby effected in this house. Now he who brings forward the water, takes up a thunderbolt; but when he takes up the thunderbolt, he cannot do so unless he is firmly placed; for otherwise it destroys him.

19. The reason then why he places it near the Gârhapatya fire is, that the Gârhapatya is a house, and a house is a safe resting-place; so that he thereby stands firmly in a house, and therefore in a safe resting-place : in this way that thunderbolt does not destroy him,—for this reason he places it near the Gârhapatya fire.

20. He then carries it north of the Âhavantya fire¹. For water is female and fire is male : hence

¹ After the water has been brought forward by the Adhvaryu from the house of the Gârhapatya fire, its technical name is *Pranîtâh*,

a copulation productive of offspring is thereby effected. And in this way alone a regular copulation can take place, since the woman lies on the left (or north) side of the man.

21. Let nobody pass between the water (and the fire), lest by passing between them he should disturb the copulation which is taking place. Let him set the water down without carrying it beyond (the north side of the fire, i. e. not on the eastern side); nor should he put it down before reaching (the north side, i. e. not on the western side). For, if he were to put the water down after carrying it beyond,—there being, as it were, a great rivalry between fire and water,—he would cause this rivalry to break forth on the part of the fire; and when they (the priests and the sacrificer) touch the water of this (vessel), he would, by carrying it and setting it down beyond (the northern side), cause the enemy to rise (spirt) in the fire. If, on the other hand, he were to put it down before gaining (the northern side), he would not gain by it the fulfilment of the wish for which it has been brought forward. Let him therefore put it down exactly north of the Âhavanîya fire.

22. He now strews sacrificial grass all round (the fires)¹, and fetches the utensils, taking two at a

‘brought forward.’ On putting it down north of the Âhavanîya, he covers the jug over with sacrificial grass.

¹ Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 6: ‘Having strewn sacrificial grass around the fires, beginning on the east side,’ which the Comm. interprets: ‘He strews eastward and northward-pointed grass around first the Âhavanîya, then the Gârhapatya, and last the Dakshinâgni, beginning each time on the eastern side, and then moving around from left to right, and turning his right side towards the fire, so as to end on the north side’ (cf. Kâty. IV, 13, 15). The Paddhati, on

time, viz. the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle, the wooden sword and the potsherds, the wedge and the black antelope skin, the mortar and the pestle, the large and the small mill-stones. These are ten in number; for of ten syllables consists the *Virâg* (metre), and radiant (*virâg*)¹ also is the sacrifice: so that he thereby makes the sacrifice resemble the *Virâg*. The reason why he takes two at a time is, because a pair means strength; for when two undertake anything, there is strength in it. Moreover, a pair represents a productive copulation, so that a productive copulation (of those respective objects) is thereby effected.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Thereupon he takes the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle², with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 6 b*): 'For the work (I take) you, for pervasion (or accomplishment) you two!' For the sacrifice is a work: hence, in saying 'for the work you two,' he says, 'for the sacrifice.' And 'for pervasion you two,' he says,

the other hand, following Âpastamba, interprets it to the effect that on the eastern and western sides he strews the grass with its tops turned northward, and on the southern and northern sides with the tops turned eastward.

¹ Or, 'and the sacrifice also is *Virâg*,' as the scholiast interprets the passage on the ground that at the performance of the *Gyotish/oma* 190 *stotriyâ* verses are used, and that this number is dividable by ten, the number of syllables in the *Virâg* metre; cf. Weber, *Ind. Streifen I*, 36, note 4. See also X, 4, 3, 21, where the fire is identified with the *virâg* on the ground that there are ten fires, viz. eight *dhishnya* fires and the *Âhavanîya* and *Gârhapatya*. In VIII, 4, 5, 5 *virâg* is explained as 'that which rules.'

² For the Agnihotra-havanî or ladle used for making the morning and evening milk-oblations, see note on I, 3, 1, 1. For the winnowing basket (*śûrpa*), see I, 1, 4, 19 seq.

because he, as it were, pervades (goes through, accomplishes) the sacrifice.

2. He then restrains his speech ; for (restrained) speech means undisturbed sacrifice ; so that (in so doing) he thinks : ' May I accomplish the sacrifice ! ' He now heats (the two objects on the Gârhapatya), with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 7 a*) : ' Scorched is the Rakshas, scorched are the enemies ! ' or (*Vâg. S. I, 7 b*) : ' Burnt out is the Rakshas, burnt out are the enemies ! '

3. For the gods, when they were performing the sacrifice, were afraid of a disturbance on the part of the Asuras and Rakshas : hence by this means he expels from here, at the very opening¹ of the sacrifice, the evil spirits, the Rakshas.

4. He now steps forward (to the cart²), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 7 c*) : ' I move along the wide aërial realm. ' For the Rakshas roams about in the air, rootless and unfettered in both directions (below and above) ; and in order that this man (the Adhvaryu) may move about the air, rootless and unfettered in both directions, he by this very prayer renders the atmosphere free from danger and evil spirits.

5. It is from the cart that he should take (the rice required for the sacrifice). For at first the cart (is the receptacle of the rice) and afterwards this hall ;

¹ Literally, 'from the very mouth,' which refers both to the mouth or hollow part of the two vessels (from which the enemies are, as it were, burnt out), and to the opening of the sacrifice. The same symbolical explanation is met with on the occasion of the heating of the sacrificial spoon, *I, 3, 1, 5*.

² The cart containing the rice or barley, or whatever material may be used instead, stands behind (i. e. west of) the Gârhapatya, fitted with all its appliances (except the oxen). *Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 12*. Rice-grains, as the most common material, will be assumed to constitute the chief havis (sacrificial food) at the present sacrifice.

and because he thinks 'what was at first (in the cart, and hence still unimpaired by entering the householder's abode), that I will operate upon;' for that reason let him take (rice) from the cart.

6. Moreover, the cart represents an abundance; for the cart does indeed represent an abundance: hence, when there is much of anything, people say that there are 'cart-loads' of it. Thus he thereby approaches an abundance, and for this reason he should take from the cart.

7. The cart further is (one of the means of) the sacrifice; for the cart is indeed (one of the means of) sacrifice. To the cart, therefore, refer the (following) Yagus-texts, and not to a store-room, nor to a jar. The *Rishis*, it is true, once took (the rice) from a leathern bag, and hence, in the case of the *Rishis*, the Yagus-texts applied to a leathern bag. Here, however, they are taken in their natural application. Because he thinks 'from (or, by means of) the sacrifice I will perform the sacrifice,' let him, therefore, take (rice) from the cart.

8. Some do indeed take it from a (wooden) jar. In that case also he should mutter the Yagus-texts without omitting any; and let him in that case take (the rice) after inserting the wooden sword¹ under

¹ The *sphya* is a straight sword (*khadga*) or knife, a cubit long, carved out of *khadira* wood (*Mimosa Catechu*). *Kâty. Sr.* I, 3, 33; 39. It is used for various purposes calculated to symbolically insure the safe and undisturbed performance of the sacrifice. On the present occasion it represents the yoke, by touching which (par. 10) the cart is connected with the sacrifice. At the close of the sacrifice also the offering spoons are, as it were, unyoked (or relieved of their duties), by being placed on the yoke, if the rice was taken from the cart; or on the wooden sword lying on the jar, if it was taken from the latter. See I, 8, 3, 26.

(the jar). He does so, thinking 'where we want to yoke, there we unyoke;' for from the same place where they yoke, they also unyoke.

9. (Like) fire, verily, is the yoke of that very cart; for the yoke is indeed (like) fire: hence the shoulder of those (oxen) that draw this (cart) becomes as if burnt by fire. The middle part of the pole behind the prop represents, as it were, its (the cart's) altar¹; and the enclosed space of the cart (which contains the rice) constitutes its havirdhânam (receptacle of the sacrificial food)².

10. He now touches the yoke, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 8 a): 'Thou art the yoke (dhur); injure (dhûrv) thou the injurer! injure him that injures us! injure him whom we injure!' For there being a fire in the yoke by which he will have to pass when he fetches the material for the oblation, he thereby propitiates it, and thus that fire in the yoke does not injure him when he passes by.

11. Here now Âruni said: 'Every half-moon³ I destroy the enemies.' This he said with reference to this point.

¹ The pole of an Indian cart consists of two pieces of wood, joined together in its forepart and diverging towards the axle. Hence, as Sâyana remarks, it resembles the altar in shape, being narrower in front and broader at the back, the altar measuring twenty-four cubits in front and thirty cubits at the back. At the extreme end of the pole a piece of wood is fastened on, or the pole itself is turned downwards, so as to serve as a prop or rest (popularly called 'sipoy' in Western India, and 'horse' in English).

² The havirdhâna (-mandapa) is a temporary shed or tent erected on the sacrificial ground for the performance of the Soma-sacrifice, in which the two carts containing the Soma-plants are placed. These carts themselves, however, are also called havirdhâna. Cf. IV, 6, 9, 10 seq.; III, 5, 3, 7.

³ I. e. at the time of the new and the full moon. Schol.

12. Thereupon, whilst touching the pole behind the prop, he mutters (Vâg. S. I, 8 b-9 a): 'To the gods thou belongest, thou the best carrying one, the most firmly joined¹, the most richly filled², the most agreeable (to the gods), the best caller of the gods!' 'Thou art unbent, the receptacle of oblations; be thou firm, waver not!' Thus he eulogises the cart, hoping that he may obtain the oblation from the one thus eulogised and pleased. He adds (Vâg. S. I, 9 b), 'May thy Lord of Sacrifice not waver!' for Lord of Sacrifice is the sacrificer, and it is for the sacrificer, therefore, that he thus prays for firmness.

13. He now ascends (the cart by the southern wheel), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 9 c): 'May Vishṇu ascend thee!' For Vishṇu is the sacrifice; by striding (vi-kram) he obtained for the gods this all-pervading power (vikrânti) which now belongs to them. By his first step he gained this very (earth), by the second the aerial expanse, and by the last step the sky. And this very same pervading power Vishṇu, as sacrifice, by his strides obtains for him (the sacrificer).

14. He then looks (at the rice) and (addressing the cart) mutters (Vâg. S. I, 9 d): 'Wide open (be

¹ Sasni-tama (? 'the most bountiful'); sasni is explained by Mahîdhara (in accordance with Yâska, Nir. V, 1) by *samsnâta*, from *snâ*, 'to purify, cleanse,' or from *snâ* (*snai*), 'to envelop, wrap round;' hence 'cleanest or purest,' or 'most firmly secured by being tied (with thongs, &c.)' The latter was probably the meaning connected with the word in this sacrificial formula; though the correct derivation is no doubt from *san*, 'to acquire, gain,' and 'to bestow' (Roth, Nirukta notes, p. 52). In modern Indian carts the yoke is fastened on to the pole by a string.

² Papritama, 'most filled with rice,' &c. Schol.

thou) to the wind!' For wind means breath; so that by this prayer he effects free scope for the air of the (sacrificer's) breath.

15. With the text (Vâg. S. I, 9 e), 'Repelled is the Rakshas!' he then throws away whatever (grass, &c.) may have fallen on it. But if nothing (have fallen on it), let him merely touch it. He thereby drives away from it the evil spirits, the Rakshas.

16. He touches (the rice), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 9 f), 'Let the five take!' for five are these fingers, and fivefold also is the sacrifice¹; so that he thereby puts the sacrifice on it (the cart).

17. He then takes (the rice), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 10 a, b): 'At the impulse (prasavana) of the divine Savitri, I take thee with the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan, thee, agreeable to Agni!' For Savitri is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods: therefore he takes this as one impelled by Savitri. 'With the arms of the Asvins,' he says, because the two Asvins are the Adhvaryu priests (of the gods). 'With the hands of Pûshan,' he says, because Pûshan is distributor of portions (to the gods), who with his own hands places the food before them. The gods are the truth, and men are the untruth: thus he thereby takes (the rice) by means of the truth.

¹ According to Sâyana, because there are five kinds of oblations (havish-pankti) at the Soma-sacrifice. Cf. Ait. Br. II, 24, with Haug's translation. Compare also the distinction of five different parts in the victim at animal sacrifices: Sat. Br. I, 5, 2, 16; Ait. Br. II, 14; III, 23; and the five kinds of victims, viz. man, horse, bullock, ram, and he-goat: Ath. V. XI, 2, 9; Sat. Br. I, 2, 3, 6, 7; VI, 2, 1, 6, 18; VII, 5, 2, 10; Taitt. S. IV, 2, 10; Khand. Up. II, 6, 1.

18. He now announces (the oblation) to the deity (for whom it is intended). For when the Adhvaryu is about to take the oblation, all the gods draw near to him, thinking, 'My name he will choose! my name he will choose!' and among them who are thus gathered together, he thereby¹ establishes concord.

19. Another reason for which he announces (the oblation) to the deity, is this: whichever deities are chosen, they consider it as an obligation that they are bound to fulfil whatever wish he entertains whilst taking (the oblation); and for that reason also he announces it to the deity. After taking the oblations (to the other deities) in the same way as before²,—

20. He touches (the rice that is left), with the text (*Vāg. S. I, 11 a*): 'For existence (or, abundance,— I leave) thee, not for non-offering³!' He thereby causes it to increase again.

¹ Viz. by calling out the names, since, without this being done, quarrels would arise among the deities as to whom the offering might be intended for. *Mahīdh.*

² Viz. as in the case of the oblation to Agni, and substituting the name of the respective deity in the formula used above (par. 17), 'Thee, agreeable to (Agni)!' The oblations prescribed for the full-moon sacrifice are a cake on eight potsherds for Agni, and one on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma: for each of these cakes he takes four handfuls from the cart [and throws them into the Agnihotra ladle lying on the winnowing basket which he holds with his left hand. With each of the first three handfuls of each of the two oblations he repeats the above text, whilst the fourth handful is thrown in silently. After the oblation for Agni is taken, he pours it from the ladle into the winnowing basket so as to lie on the southern side; and then takes out the oblation for Agni-Soma, which is afterwards poured into the basket so as to lie north of the first heap]. *Kāty. Sr. II, 3, 20-21* and Scholl.

³ Thus *Mahīdhara* (i. e. 'to serve for future oblations, or as food for the priests'). Perhaps the meaning is, 'For a (divine or human) being thee, not for the evil spirit!' Cf. *St. Petersburg Dict. s. v. bhūta*.

21. He now (whilst seated on the cart) looks towards east, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 b): 'May I perceive the light!' For that cart being covered up, its eye is thereby, as it were, affected with evil. Light, moreover, represents the sacrifice, the day, the gods, and the sun; so that he thereby perceives this same (fourfold) light.

22. He then descends (from the cart), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 c): 'May those provided with doors stand firm on the earth!' Those provided with doors are the houses: for the houses of the sacrificer might indeed be capable of breaking down behind the back of his Adhvaryu, when he walks forward (from the cart) with the sacrifice, and might crush his (the sacrificer's) family. By this (text), however, he causes them to stand firmly on this earth, so that they do not break down and crush (his family); for this reason he says: 'May those provided with doors stand firm on the earth!' He then walks forward (north of the Gârhapatya fire), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 d), 'I move along the wide aerial realm;' the application of which is the same (as before; see par. 4).

23. In the case of one (viz. householder) whose Gârhapatya fire they (the priests) use for cooking oblations, they place the utensils in the Gârhapatya (house); and let him (the Adhvaryu) in that case put (the winnowing basket with the rice) down at the back (or west) side of the Gârhapatya. But in the case of one whose Âhavanīya they use for cooking oblations, they place the utensils together in the Âhavanīya; and let him in that case put it (the rice) down at the back of the Âhavanīya. He should (in either case) do so, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 e), 'On the navel of the earth I place thee!' for

the navel means the centre, and the centre is safe from danger: for this reason he says, 'On the navel of the earth I place thee!' And further, 'In the lap of Aditi (the boundless or inviolable earth)!' for when people guard anything very carefully, they commonly say that 'they, as it were, carried it in their lap;' and this is the reason why he says, 'In the lap of Aditi!' And further, 'O Agni, do thou protect this offering!' whereby he makes this oblation over for protection both to Agni and to this earth: for this reason he says, 'O Agni, do thou protect this offering!'

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He now prepares two strainers (pavitra)¹, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 12 a): 'Purifiers (or strainers, pavitra) are ye, and belonging to Vishṇu!' For Vishṇu is the sacrifice; so that he thereby says, 'You belong to the sacrifice.'

2. Two there are of them: for means of cleansing (pavitra) is this (wind) which here ventilates (pavate); and this, it is true, ventilates as one only; but on entering into man, it becomes a forward and a backward one, and they are these two, to wit, the prâṇa (breathing out) and the udâna (breathing up or in)². And as this (clarifying process) takes place

¹ These strainers (or clarifiers) are to consist of two blades of Kusa grass, with unbroken or undecayed tops, and without buds on them; and they must be severed from their roots by means of other Kusa blades, so as to be of equal length (viz. one prâṇa, or span of thumb and fore-finger, long). Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 31.

² Thus Sâyana here takes the terms prâṇa (idâpiṅgalâdinâḍḍvârâ bahir nirgakkhan prâṇaḥ prâṇ) and udâna (tathaiva dvârâ punar antaḥ pravisan pratyaṇ). In Ait. Br. II, 29, and Kṛhând. Up. I, 3, 3, prâṇa, apâna, and vyâna are mentioned as the

in accordance with the measure of that (process of breathing), therefore there are two (strainers).

3. There may also be three: for the *vyâna* (or pervading vital air)¹ is a third (kind of breathing); but in reality there are only two. Having then strained the sprinkling water² with these two (strainers), he sprinkles with it. The reason why he strains it with the two (strainers) is this:

4. *Vritra* in truth lay covering all this (space) which here extends between heaven and earth. And because he lay covering (*vri*) all this, therefore his name is *Vritra*.

5. Him Indra slew. He being slain flowed forth stinking in all directions towards the water; for in every direction lies the ocean. And in consequence of this, some of the waters became disgusted, and, rising higher and higher, flowed over: whence (sprung) these grasses (of which the strainers are made); for they represent the water which was not putrified. With the other (water), however, some

three vital airs; where *prâna* is taken by Professors Haug and Müller as 'in-breathing' ('respiration' or 'expiration,' Röer), and *apâna* as 'out-breathing' ('inspiration,' Röer). Five vital airs are generally enumerated (Sat. Br. IX, 2, 2, 5); but theological speculation evidently considered these bodily processes a very convenient source of symbolism, as we find mention made in the Sat. Br. of six (XIV, 1, 3, 32); seven (III, 1, 3, 21; XIII, 1, 7, 2); nine (I, 5, 2, 5); and ten (XI, 6, 3, 7) breaths or vital airs.

¹ 'A combination of the out-breathing and in-breathing;' but as there is no distinction between this kind of breath and the others (combined), two must be considered as the normal number of strainers. Schol.

² He pours water into the Agnihotra ladle (in which some of the awn of the rice remains), and after cleaning it with the two strainers, he sprinkles with it. Kâty. II, 3, 33 seq. The details of this process are given in par. 6 seq.

matter has become mixed up, inasmuch as the putrid *Vṛitra* flowed into it. This he now removes from it by means of these two strainers; whereupon he sprinkles with the (sacrificially) pure water. This is the reason why he strains it through them.

6. He strains it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 12 b*): 'By the impulse of *Savitṛi* I purify thee with this flawless purifier (or ventilator, *pavitra*), with the rays of the sun!' For *Savitṛi* is the impeller (*prasavitṛi*) of the gods, so that he strains this (water) as one impelled by *Savitṛi*. 'With this flawless purifier (ventilator, *pavitra*),' he says, because this (wind) which here ventilates (or purifies, *pavate*) is a flawless purifier. 'With the rays of the sun,' he says, because they, the rays of the sun, are certainly purifying; and for this reason he says, 'With the rays of the sun.'

7. Having taken it (the water with the ladle) in his left hand, he makes it spirt upwards with his right hand, and eulogises and glorifies it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 12 c*): 'Shining (or divine) waters! ye the first-going, the first-drinking¹ ones!' For the waters are shining; and for this reason he says, 'Shining waters!' 'First-going,' he calls them, because they flow towards the sea and are therefore going in front (or forwards). 'First-drinking,' he calls them, because they are the first that drink of king *Soma*² and are therefore 'drinking first.' And further: 'Forward now lead this sacrifice³,

¹ *Agrepuvaḥ*; *Mahîdhara* allows to it the alternative meaning 'first-purifying.'

² 'Because, for the sake of extracting the juice from the *Soma*-plants, water is poured on them, so that the water drinks of the juice before the gods do.' *Sây.*

³ I. e. 'carry the sacrifice through without hindrance.' *Mahîdh.*

forward the Lord of Sacrifice, the liberal, god-loving Lord of Sacrifice!' whereby he says, 'Well (lead) the sacrifice, well the sacrificer!'

8. And further (Vâg. S. I, 13 a): 'You Indra chose (for his companions) in the battle against *Vritra*!' For Indra, when he was battling with *Vritra*, did choose them (the waters) and with their help he killed him; and for this reason he says, 'You Indra chose in the battle against *Vritra*!'

9. 'You chose Indra in the battle against *Vritra*!' for they, too, chose Indra when he was battling with *Vritra*, and with them he killed him: therefore he says, 'You chose Indra in the battle against *Vritra*!'

10. And further (Vâg. S. I, 13 d): 'Consecrated by sprinkling are ye!' With these words he makes amends to them¹. He then sprinkles the (first) oblation². One and the same meaning applies to the (whole process of) sprinkling, viz. he thereby makes sacrificially pure that (which he sprinkles).

11. He sprinkles, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 13 e): 'Thee, agreeable to Agni, I sprinkle!' Thus for whichever deity the oblation is intended, for that one he thereby renders it sacrificially pure. When he has in the same way as before sprinkled (all) the oblations,—

12. He then sprinkles the sacrificial vessels³,

¹ He, in the first place, sprinkles the sprinkling water in the ladle with itself; and the guilt incurred in the act of consecrating it with itself, that is, with something unconsecrated, is made amends for by the accompanying formula, *Sây*. Similarly *Mahîdhara*: 'The unconsecrated (water) cannot consecrate other (water).'

² Before doing so he asks the Brahman's permission (cf. p. 7, note 1), 'O Brahman! shall I sprinkle the oblation?' when the latter, after muttering the mantra, 'Sprinkle the sacrifice! gladden the deities,' &c., gives the permission by 'Ôm! sprinkle!' Paddh. on *Kâty*. II, 3, 36.

³ According to some authorities the vessels are placed together

with the text (Vâg. S. I, 13 g), 'Be ye pure for the divine work, for the sacrifice to the gods!' for it is for the divine work, the sacrifice to the gods, that he consecrates them. 'Whatever, that belongs to you, the impure have defiled by touching, that I hereby purify for you!' For whatever belonging to them some impure one—either a carpenter or some other impure person—has on this occasion desecrated by touching, that he thereby renders sacrificially pure for them by means of the water; and therefore he says, 'Whatever, that belongs to you, the impure have defiled by touching, that I hereby purify for you!'

FOURTH BRĀHMANĀ.

1. He now takes the black antelope skin², for completeness of the sacrifice. For once upon a time the sacrifice escaped the gods, and having become a black antelope roamed about. The gods having thereupon found it and stripped it of its skin, they brought it (the skin) away with them.

on one heap, and are then consecrated together by one sprinkling. According to others, each vessel must be consecrated separately. Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 39.

¹ After he has done the sprinkling, he puts the remaining water away in some place where nobody is allowed to walk [as between the *pranîtās* and the *Âhavanîya*; or (according to *Âpastamba*) before, or east of, the *Gârhapatya*, since nobody is allowed to pass between the *Gârhapatya* and *Âhavanîya*. The two strainers also remain in the sprinkling water]. Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 40.

² The skin of the black antelope may be regarded as one of the symbols of Brâhmanical worship and civilisation. Thus it is said in *Manu* II, 22-23: 'That which lies between these two mountain ranges (the *Himâlāya* and the *Vindhya*), from the eastern to the western ocean, the wise know as *Âryāvarta* (the land of the *Âryas*). Where the black antelope naturally roams about, that should be known as the land suitable for sacrifice; what lies beyond that is the country of the *Mlekkhas* (barbarians).'

2. Its white and black hairs represent the *Rik*-verses and the *Sâman*-verses; to wit, the white the *Sâman* and the black the *Rik*; or conversely, the black the *Sâman* and the white the *Rik*. The brown and the yellow ones, on the other hand, represent the *Yagus*-texts.

3. Now this same threefold science is the sacrifice; that manifold form, that (varying) colour of this (science) is what is (represented by) this black antelope skin. For the completeness of the sacrifice (he takes the skin): hence the rite of initiation (for the Soma-sacrifice) is likewise performed on the black antelope skin;—for the completion of the sacrifice: hence it is also used for husking and bruising (the rice) on, in order that nothing of the oblation may get spilt; and that, if any grain or flour should now be spilt on it, the sacrifice would still remain securely established in the sacrifice. For this reason it is used for husking and bruising upon.

4. He thus takes the black antelope skin, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 a*): 'Bliss-bestowing (*sarman*) art thou!' For *karman* ('hide') is the name of that (skin of the) black deer used among men, but *sarman* (bliss) is (that used) among the gods; and for this reason he says, 'Bliss-bestowing art thou!' He shakes it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 b*), 'Shaken off is the *Rakshas*, shaken off are the enemies!' whereby he repels from it the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*. He shakes it whilst holding it apart from the vessels¹; whereby he shakes off whatever impure matter there may have been on it.

¹ According to some exegetes the *Adhvaryu* himself must step beyond (i. e. aside from) the vessels when he shakes the skin; according to others, he should not move, but only hold the skin

5. He spreads it (on the ground with the hairy side upwards, and) with its neck-part turned to the west¹, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 c*): 'The skin of Aditi art thou! May Aditi acknowledge thee!' For Aditi is this earth, and whatever is on her, that serves as a skin to her: for this reason he says, 'The skin of Aditi art thou!' And 'may Aditi acknowledge thee!' he says, because one who is related (to another) acknowledges (him). Thereby he establishes a mutual understanding between her and the black antelope skin, (thinking) 'they will not hurt each other.' While it is still being held down with his left hand,—

6. He at once takes the mortar with his right hand, fearing lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, might rush in here in the meantime. For the priest (*brâhmana*)² is the repeller of the Rakshas: therefore, whilst it is still being held down with his left hand,—

7. He puts the mortar (on it), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 d, e*): 'A wooden stone (*adri*) art thou!'

apart from the vessels, so that no impure matter should fall on them. Some also maintain that the skin should only be shaken once, whilst others think it should be done three times. Cf. *Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 2. Schol.*

¹ Special mention is here made of this feature, since as a rule (*Kâty. I, 10, 4*) the skin is spread with its neck-part turned eastwards. He lays it down on the north side of the sacrificial ground, either west of the *utkara* (the mound formed by the earth dug out in constructing the altar, and by other rubbish) or exactly north of the *Gârhapatya*. *Schol. on Kâty. II, 4, 3.*

² Only a *Brâhman* can perform sacrifice. If, as is permitted in certain ceremonies, a *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya* officiates, he, as it were, becomes a *Brâhman* (and is addressed as such) for the occasion, by means of the *dîkshâ*, or rite of initiation. Cf. *Sat. Br. III, 2, 1, 39; XIII, 4, 1, 3.*

or 'A broad-bottomed stone (grâvan) art thou!' For, just as there (in the Soma-sacrifice) they press king Soma out with stones (grâvan), thus here also he prepares the oblation (haviryagñā) by means of the mortar and pestle, and the large and small mill-stones¹. Now 'stones (adrayañ)' is the common name of these, and therefore he says, 'a stone art thou.' And 'wooden,' he calls it, because this one (the mortar) really is made of wood². Or, he says, 'a broad-bottomed stone (grâvan) art thou,' because it is both a stone and broad-bottomed. He adds: 'May Aditi's skin acknowledge (receive) thee!' whereby he establishes a mutual understanding between it (the mortar) and the black antelope skin, thinking: 'they will not injure each other.'

8. He then pours the (two portions of) rice (from the winnowing basket into the mortar), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 15 a): 'Thou art the body of Agni, thou the releaser of speech!' For it is (material for) sacrifice, and hence (by being offered in the fire) it becomes Agni's body. 'The releaser of speech,' he adds, because he now releases that speech which he restrained when he was about to take the rice (from the cart). The reason why he now releases his speech, is that the sacrifice has now obtained a firm footing in the mortar, that it has become diffused; and for this reason he says, 'the releaser of speech!'

¹ Here, as in I, 5, 2, 11 (haviryagñe 'tha saumye 'dhvare), we have the simple division of the Srauta-sacrifices into oblations (of ghee, milk, rice, barley, &c.) and libations (of Soma). More usually the parubandhu, or animal-sacrifice, is added as a third division. See also I, 7, 2, 10.

² The mortar (ulûkhala) and pestle (musala) are to be made of very hard wood, viz. both of varana wood (Cratæga Roxburghii), or the mortar of palâsa wood (Butea Frondosa), and the pestle of

9. Should he, however (by some accident), utter any human sound before this time, let him in that case mutter some *Rik* or *Yagus*-text addressed to *Vishṇu*¹; for *Vishṇu* is the sacrifice, so that he thereby again obtains a hold on the sacrifice, and penance is thereby done by him (for not keeping silent). He adds: 'For the pleasure of the gods I seize thee!' for the oblation is taken with the intention 'that it shall gladden the gods.'

10. He now takes the pestle, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 b*), 'A large, wooden stone art thou!' for it is a large stone, and made of wood, too. He thrusts it down, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 c*), 'Do thou prepare this oblation for the gods²! do thou prepare it thoroughly!' thereby saying, 'Get this oblation ready for the gods! get it quite ready!'

11. He then calls the *Havishkrîṭ*³ (preparer of the sacrificial food), 'Havishkrîṭ, come hither! Havishkrîṭ, come hither!' The *Havishkrîṭ*⁴ no doubt is speech, so that he thereby frees speech from

khadira wood (*Acacia Catechu*). The former is to be of the height of the knee, and the latter three *aratnis* (cubits) long. Schol. on *Kâty. I, 3, 36*; M. Müller, *Die Totdenbestattung bei den Brahmanen*, *Zeitsch. der D. Morg. Ges. IX, p. xl*.

¹ *Kâty. Sr. II, 2, 6-7* lays down the general rule, that if the Brahman or *Adhvaryu* (and according to some, the sacrificer also) by some slip were to utter any sound during the time for which restraint of speech (*vâg-yama*) is enjoined, they must atone for the transgression by muttering some mantra addressed to *Vishṇu*, such as the couplet (*Vâg. S. V, 38, 41*), 'Widely, O *Vishṇu*, stride!' &c., or the formula (*ib. I, 4*), 'O *Vishṇu*, preserve the sacrifice!'

² Or 'for the god,' 'for the goddess,' as the case may be.

³ Or, he pronounces the *havishkrîṭ* formula, see next note. According to *Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 13* he calls out three separate times.

⁴ *Havishkrîṭ* denotes not only the person that prepares the oblation, but also this formula by which that person is called.

restraint. And speech, moreover, represents sacrifice¹, so that he thereby again calls the sacrifice to him.

12. Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. 'come hither (ehi)!' in the case of a Brāhman; 'approach (āgahi)!' and 'hasten hither (ādrava)!' in the case of a Vaisya and a member of the military caste (rāganyabandhu²); and 'run hither (ādhāva)!' in that of a Sūdra. On this occasion he uses the call that belongs to a Brāhman, because that one is best adapted for a sacrifice, and is besides the most gentle: let him therefore say, 'come hither (ehi)!'

13. Now in former times it was no other than the wife (of the sacrificer) who rose at this (call, to act) as Havishkṛit; therefore now also (she or) some one (priest)³ rises in answer to this call. And at the time when he (the Adhvaryu) calls the Havishkṛit, one of the priests⁴ beats the two mill-stones.

¹ Viz. in the shape of the sacrificial formulas.

² This inversion of the order of the second (or Kshatriya) and third (or Vaisya) castes is rather strange. The Sūtras of Bhāradv., Āpast., and Hirany. assign the same formulas to the several castes as here. Cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 29.

³ According to the Schol. on Kāty. Sr. II, 4, 13, either the wife of the patron or the Āgnīdhra (the priest who kindles the fire) acts as Havishkṛit. Mahīdh. on Vāg. S. I, 15 includes the patron (sacrificer) himself, unless yagamānaḥ patnī is a misprint for yagamānapatnī. According to Āpastamba, 'either a maid-servant or the wife grinds; or the wife threshes and the Sūdra woman grinds' (cf. Schol. on Kāty. Sr. II, 5, 7). Similarly Bhāradv. and Hirany.; cf. Hillebrandt, p. 38, n. 2. Similar cases of differences between the ritualistic practices of the present time and those of former times are very frequently alluded to in the ritualistic books; and are of especial interest, as they afford some insight into the gradual development of the sacrificial ceremonial. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 156 seq.

⁴ Viz. the Āgnīdhra, whilst seated north of the expansion

The reason why they produce this discordant noise, is this :

14. Manu was in possession of a bull¹. Into him had entered an Asura-killing, foe-killing voice ; and by his snorting and roaring the Asuras and Rakshas were continually being crushed. Thereupon the Asuras said to one another : ' Evil, alas ! this bull inflicts upon us ! how can we possibly destroy him ? ' Now Kilâta and Âkuli were the two priests (brahman) of the Asuras.

15. These two said, ' God-fearing, they say, is Manu : let us two then ascertain ! ' They then went to him and said : ' Manu ! we will sacrifice for thee ! ' He said : ' Wherewith ? ' They said : ' With this bull ! ' He said : ' So be it ! ' On his (the bull's) being killed the voice went from him.

16. It entered into Manâvat, the wife of Manu ; and when they heard her speak, the Asuras and Rakshas were continually being crushed. Thereupon the Asuras said to one another : ' Hereby even greater evil is inflicted on us, for the human voice speaks more ! ' Kilâta and Âkuli then said : ' God-fearing, they say, is Manu : let us then ascertain ! ' They went to him and said : ' Manu ! we will sacrifice for thee ! ' He said : ' Wherewith ? '

(vihâra) of the fires ; he strikes with the wedge (samyâ, a stick of khadira wood, usually some six or eight inches long, used for placing under the lower grindstone on the north side, so as to make it incline towards east) twice the lower and once the upper grindstone. Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 15.

¹ This bull of Manu has been compared by Dr. Kuhn (*Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachf.* IV, 91 seq.) with the Minotaur of the Greeks. Cf. also J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 188 seq. ; and Professor Weber's *Translation of the first Adhyâya*, Ind. Streifen, I, p. 50.

They said : 'With this thy wife!' He said : 'So be it!' And on her being killed that voice went from her.

17. It entered into the sacrifice itself, into the sacrificial vessels; and thence those two (Asura priests) were unable to expel it. This same Asura-killing, foe-killing voice sounds forth (from the mill-stones when they are beaten with the wedge). And for whomsoever that knows this, they produce this discordant noise on the present occasion, his enemies are rendered very miserable.

18. He beats the mill-stones with the wedge, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 a) : 'A honey-tongued cock (kukku/a ¹) art thou (O wedge)!' For honey-tongued indeed was he (the bull) for the gods, and poison-tongued for the Asuras: hence he thereby says : 'What thou wert for the gods, that be thou for us!' He adds : 'Sap and strength do thou call hither! with thy help may we conquer in every battle!' In these words there is nothing that is obscure.

19. Thereupon ² he (the Adhvaryu) takes the winnowing basket, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 14 b) : 'Rain-grown art thou!' For rain-grown it is indeed, whether it be made of reeds or of cane or of rushes, since it is the rain that makes these grow.

¹ Mahîdhara offers the following etymological derivation of this word: 1. from kva kva, 'where? where?' ['He who, wishing to kill the Asuras, roams about everywhere, crying 'where, where are the Asuras?']; 2. from kuk, 'a hideous noise,' and ku/, 'to spread;' or 3. one who, in order to frighten the Asuras, utters a sound resembling that of the bird called kukku/a (cock). Professor Weber translates it by 'Brüller' (roarer, crier).

² Viz. when the rice has been husked (by the Havishkrî in the mortar). Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 16.

20. He then pours out the (threshed) rice (from the mortar into the winnowing basket), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 c): 'May the rain-grown acknowledge (receive) thee!' For rain-grown also are these (grains), whether they be rice or barley, since it is the rain that makes them grow. By these words he establishes an understanding between them and the winnowing basket, in the hope 'that they will not injure each other.'

21. He now winnows (the rice), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 d): 'Cleared off is the Rakshas! Cleared off are the evil-doers!' The husks (which have fallen on the ground) he throws away¹, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 e), 'Expelled is the Rakshas!' for those evil spirits, the Rakshas, he thereby expels.

22. He then separates (the husked grains from the unhusked), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 f): 'May the wind separate you!' For it is that wind (which is produced by the winnowing) which here purifies (or blows, pavate); and it is the wind that separates everything here (on earth) that undergoes separation: therefore it also separates here those (two kinds of grain) from each other. Now when they are undergoing this process, and whilst he is separating² (the husked, so as to drop them into a pot),—

¹ He puts them into the central one of the potsherds for the Agni cake, and throws them on the utkara, or heap of rubbish (cf. p. 25, note 1). Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 19. Before he proceeds with his work, he has to touch water; cf. p. 2, note 2.

² He separates them whilst holding the mouth of the winnowing basket sideways or horizontally, and makes the husked ones fall into the pot. Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 20. According to the Pad-dhati, he now puts the unhusked once more into the mortar and threshes them again, and then pouring them back into the basket, repeats the same process.

23. He addresses (those in the pot) thus (Vâg. S. I, 16 g): 'May the divine Savit^{ri}, the golden-handed, receive you with a flawless¹ hand!' By this he says: 'May they be well received!' He then cleans them thrice²; for threefold is the sacrifice.

24. Here now some clean them with the formula: 'For the gods get clean! for the gods get clean!' But let him not do so: for this oblation is intended for some particular deity; and if he were to say, 'For the gods get clean!' he would make it one intended for all the deities, and would thereby raise a quarrel among the deities. Let him therefore do the cleaning silently!

SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. Now the one (viz. the Âgnîdhra) puts the potsherds on (the Gârhapatya fire); the other (viz. the Adhvaryu) the two mill-stones (on the black antelope skin): these two acts are done simultaneously. The reason why they are done simultaneously (is this):

2. The head of this sacrifice is (represented by) the rice-cake³: for those potsherds (kapâla), no doubt, are to this (rice-cake) what the skull bones (kapâla) are to the head, and the ground rice is

¹ Viz. with the fingers joined together so as not to allow any grains to fall to the ground. Mahîdh.

² By removing the minute husks and grains (kaṇṇa) he makes the husked grains (tanḍula) free from dust and shiny (this is apparently done by repeated winnowings). Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 22.

³ This idea was no doubt suggested by the derivation of the word purodâś (rice-cake), from puras, 'before, in front, at the head,' and dâś, 'to offer' (see I, 6, 2, 5); the double meaning of kapâla (shell or cup and skull) being made use of to complete the simile.

nothing else than the brain. Now this (combination of skull and brain) certainly forms one limb: 'Let us put that (which is) one together! Let us make it one!' thus they think; and therefore the two acts are done simultaneously.

3. He who puts the potsherds on (the fire), takes the shovelling-stick (*upavesha*), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 17 a*): 'Bold (*dhṛishī*) art thou!' For since with it he, as it were, attacks the fire boldly, therefore it is called *dhṛishī*¹. And since with it he touches (the coals) at the sacrifice, since with it he attends to (*upa-vish*) this (*Gârhapatya* fire), therefore it is called *upavesha*.

4. With it he shifts the coals to the fore-part² (of the *khara* or hearth-mound), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 17 b*): 'O fire! cast off the fire that eateth raw flesh! drive away the corpse-eating one!' For the raw flesh-eating (fire) is the one with which men cook what they eat; and the corpse-eating one is that on which they burn (the dead) man: these two he thereby expels from it (the *Gârhapatya*).

5. He now pulls toward himself³ one coal, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 17 c*): 'Bring hither that (fire) which maketh offerings to the gods!' He thinks: 'On that (fire), which makes offerings to the gods, we

¹ The *upavesha*, or *dhṛishī*, is made of fresh *varana* or *palâsa* wood, a cubit (*aratni*) or span (*vitasti*) long; one of its ends having the shape of a hand (*hastâkrīti*), to serve as a coal shovel; cf. *Mahîdh. and Schol. on Kâty. I, 3, 36; II, 4, 26. Dhṛishī* is apparently derived from the root *dhṛish*, 'to be bold.'

² The burning coals have been hitherto lying on the western side of the *Gârhapatya* hearth, and as this side, which has been well heated by this time, will be used for the potsherds to be put on, he shifts the coals to the eastern or fore-part of the hearth.

³ Viz. to the centre of the cooking-place.

will cook the oblations! on that one we will perform the sacrifice!' and for this reason he pulls (one of the coals) toward himself.

6. On it he places the central potsherd¹. For

¹ In Yāgñika Deva's commentary on Kāty. II, 4, 37, full explanations are given regarding the manner of arranging the potsherds (kapālas) on which the sacrificial cakes are spread, and which vary in number and shape. The Adhvaryu is first to describe a circle, the diameter of which is six aṅgulas (an aṅgula or thumb's breadth = about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch). This circle he then divides into three parts by drawing across, from west to east, two parallel lines at a distance of two aṅgulas from one another, so as to make the two outer (or southern and northern) segments of equal size. The middle division he then covers with three equal square potsherds (measuring two aṅgulas on each side), by laying down first the central one, then the one behind or west of it, and lastly the front or eastern one. He then lays down another (the fourth) south of the first or central one; after which he divides the still remaining potsherds equally between the southern and the northern segments, or, in case of that number being uneven, assigns the odd potsherd to the southern division. Thus, in the present case, where in the first place a cake on eight potsherds is to be offered to Agni; after laying down the three intermediate ones and the fourth, or central one of the southern division, he divides the remaining four equally between the southern and northern segments, beginning, in laying them down, in the south-east corner, and moving around from right to left, so as to end in the north-east. Similarly in the case of the cake on eleven potsherds for Agnīshomau, after laying down the first four potsherds, he assigns four of the remaining seven to the southern, and three to the northern division. Thus with cakes requiring an uneven number of potsherds, the number of those of the southern division exceeds that of the northern one by two; and in the case of an even number, by one only. 'This is the rule applying to cakes requiring at least six potsherds. When one potsherd only is required, it is to be of the size of a hand; when two, they are to form a circle divided into two equal parts by a line drawn from south to north; when three, the circle is divided into three sections from south to north; when four or five, it is divided into two halves from west to east; and in the one case three potsherds are placed in the southern and one (of half-moon shape) in the northern half; in the other case three in the northern and two in the southern division. The potsherds,

the gods, when they were performing sacrifice, were in fear of a disturbance from the Asuras and Rakshas. They were afraid lest those evil spirits, the Rakshas, might rise from below them. Now Agni (fire) is the repeller of the Rakshas, and for this reason he thus places (the potsherd) on it. The reason why it is just this (coal) and no other (on which the potsherd is put) is, that this one, having been consecrated by the (above) sacrificial formula, is sacrificially pure: that is why he places the central potsherd on it.

7. He puts it on, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 17 d): 'Thou art firm; make thou the earth firm!' For under the form of the earth he renders this same (sacrifice) firm; by it he chases away the spiteful enemy. He adds: 'Thee, devoted to the brahman, devoted to the kshatra, devoted to the (sacrificer's) kinsmen, I put on for the destruction of the enemy!' Manifold, indeed, are the prayers for blessing in the sacrificial texts (yagus): by this one he prays for the priestly and military orders, those two towers of strength (vîrye, energies)¹. 'Thee, devoted to the (sacrificer's) kinsmen,' he says, because kinsmen mean wealth, and wealth he thereby prays for. When he says, 'I put thee on for the destruction of the enemy,' whether or not he wishes to exorcise, let him say, 'for the destruction of so

though mostly irregular in shape, must always exactly fit one another, so as not to leave any space between. This is effected by rubbing the edges. The cake itself is to be of the shape of a tortoise; the convex shield, or carapace, of the latter consisting of plates arranged in a somewhat similar way as the potsherds of most cakes, viz. in a central (dorsal) and two lateral sets.

¹ For special prayers for the two highest castes, in the Vâgas. Samh., cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 27.

and so!’ The moment it (the potsherd) has been put down (and while it is still being touched) with the (fore-)finger of his left hand,—

8. He seizes a (second) coal, lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should in the meantime rush in here. For the Brâhman is the repeller of the Rakshas¹: hence, the moment it (the potsherd) has been put down (and while it is still being touched) with the finger of his left hand,—

9. He pushes the coal on it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 a): ‘Accept, O Agni, this holy work (brahman)²!’ He says this, lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should rush in here before; for Agni is the repeller of the Rakshas: this is the reason why he pushes it on (the potsherd).

10. He then puts on that (potsherd) which is (to stand) behind (or west of the first or central one), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 b): ‘A support art thou! make firm the aërial region!’ Under the form of the atmosphere he makes this (sacrifice) firm; by this he chases away the spiteful enemy. He adds: ‘Thee, devoted to the brahman, devoted to the kshatra, devoted to the (sacrificer’s) kinsmen, I put on for the destruction of the enemy!’

11. He then puts on that one which is (to stand) before (i. e. east of the first potsherd), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 c): ‘A stay art thou! do thou make firm the sky!’ Under the form of the sky he makes this same (sacrifice) firm; by it he chases away the spiteful enemy. He adds: ‘Thee, devoted to the brahman, devoted to the kshatra, devoted to the kinsmen, I put on for the destruction of the enemy!’

¹ Cf. I, 1, 4, 6.

² Mahîdhara admits the alternative interpretation, ‘Receive (me) the priest!’

12. He now puts on the one that is (to stand) on the right (i.e. south of the first), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 d): 'For all the regions I put thee on!' What fourth (world) there is or is not beyond these (three) worlds, by that indeed he thereby chases away the spiteful enemy. Uncertain, no doubt, is what fourth (world) there is or is not beyond these (three) worlds, and uncertain also are all those regions; for this reason he says, 'For all the regions I put thee on!' The remaining potsherds he puts on¹ either silently, or with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 e): 'Layer-forming are ye! heap-forming are ye!'

13. He then covers them over with (hot) coals, whilst muttering the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 f): 'May ye be heated with the heat of the *Bhrigus* and

¹ Viz. dividing them in the manner explained at p. 34, note 1, and beginning (south)-east, and moving around from left to right (i.e. following the course of the sun). Mr. Ralph Griffith (*Translation of the Rāmāyan*, I, p. 90) has compared this Hindu rite of *pradakṣiṇa* or *dakṣiṇīkarana* with the Gaelic *deasil*, as described in the following passage of Sir W. Scott's *The Two Drovers*: "But it is little I would care for the food that nourishes me, or the fire that warms me, or for God's blessed sun itself, if aught but weel should happen to the grandson of my father. So let me walk the *deasil* round you, that you may go safe out into the far foreign land, and come safe home." Robin Oig stopped, half embarrassed, half laughing, and signing to those near that he only complied with the old woman to soothe her humour. In the meantime she traced around him, with wavering steps, the propitiation, which some have thought has been derived from the Druidical mythology. It consists, as is well known, in the person, who makes the *deasil*, walking three times round the person who is the object of the ceremony, taking care to move according to the course of the sun.' Cf. note at p. 45. Note also the etymological connection between *dakṣiṇa* and *deiseil* (Old Ir. *dessel*, from *dess*, Gael. *deas*, south or right side). For the corresponding rite (*dextratio*) at the Roman marriage ceremonies see Rossbach, *Römische Ehe*, pp. 315, 316; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, p. 221.

Āṅgiras¹ for it is indeed the brightest light, that of the Bhr̥igus and Āṅgiras. He covers them with the view that 'they shall be well heated.'

14. Now he² who puts the two mill-stones on (the black antelope skin), (in the first place) takes up the black antelope skin, with the text (Vāg. S. I, 19): 'Bliss-bestowing art thou!' He shakes it, with the text (ib.): 'Shaken off is the Rakshas, shaken off are the enemies!' the import and application of which is the same (as above, I, 1, 4, 4). He spreads it (on the ground) with the neck-part turned towards west, whilst muttering the text (ib.): 'The skin of Aditi (the inviolate or boundless earth) art thou! May Aditi acknowledge (receive) thee!' the import (of this formula) being the same (as before, I, 1, 4, 5).

15. He then puts the lower mill-stone on it, with the text (Vāg. S. I, 19): 'A rock-bowl art thou! May the skin of Aditi acknowledge thee!' for it is a bowl (dhishanâ) and a rock too; and by saying, 'May the skin of Aditi acknowledge thee,' he establishes an understanding between it and the black antelope skin, so that 'they will not hurt each other.' This one (the lower mill-stone) represents the earth.

16. He now puts upon (the west side of) it the wedge³ with its point turned towards north, whilst

¹ The old families of the Bhr̥igus and Āṅgiras are frequently mentioned together, and often also in conjunction with the Atharvans: it is indeed to these three families that the native authorities attribute the texts and ritual of the Atharva-veda, or fourth Veda, which is generally referred to in the later Vedic writings under the designation Atharvāṅgirasas. It is probable that the Bhr̥igu-Āṅgiras in the above formula of the Vāgas. Samhitâ are intended as equivalent to the latter term. Cf. Weber, *Omina et Portenta*, p. 346.

² Viz. the Adhvaryu; cf. I, 2, 1, 1.

³ According to the corresponding rule of Kâtyâyana (II, 5, 4)

muttering the text (Vâg. S. I, 19): 'The stay of the sky art thou!' that is to say, it represents the atmosphere; for by means of the atmospheric region those two, the sky and the earth, are firmly kept asunder; and for this reason he says, 'The stay of the sky art thou!'

17. He then puts the upper mill-stone on (the lower one), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 19): 'A rock-born bowl art thou! May the rock acknowledge thee!' For this one being smaller is, as it were, the daughter (of the lower mill-stone)¹; for this reason he calls it 'rock-born.' 'May the rock acknowledge thee!' he says, because one of the same kin acknowledges (receives the other): thereby he establishes an understanding between those two mill-stones, thinking 'they will not hurt one another!' This one, as it were, represents the sky; (or) the two mill-stones are, as it were, the two jaws, and the wedge is the tongue: that is why he beats (the mill-stones) with the wedge², for it is with the tongue that one speaks.

18. He now pours the rice on (the lower stone), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 20): 'Grain (dhânyam) art thou! do thou gratify (dhi)³ the gods!' for it is

and to his commentators (and Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. I, 19) and the Black Yagur-veda, he does not lay the wedge on the lower mill-stone, but inserts it under the west or back-part of the stone, so as to make the latter incline towards east and to steady it.

¹ In the Gobhilya Grîhya-sûtra II, 1, 16 the upper stone is similarly called 'the son or child' of the lower one [dṛīṣhatputra], which the editor, Kandrakânta, interprets as 'dṛīṣhad and its son;' or optionally, 'the son of the dṛīṣhad.' Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. V, p. 305 note.

² See I, 1, 4, 13.

³ Mahîdhara derives dhânya from the root dhi; and apparently allows to it here the double meaning 'corn or grain,' and 'that which satisfies or pleases.'

grain; and it is with the intention 'that it may gratify the gods' that the rice-oblation is taken.

19. He then grinds it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 20): 'For out-breathing (I grind) thee! for in-breathing thee! for through-breathing (pervading vital air)¹ thee! May I impart a long duration to the life (of the sacrificer)²!' He pours it (the ground rice on the skin), with the text (ib.): 'May the divine Savitṛi, the golden-handed, receive thee with a flawless hand³!' 'For his (the sacrificer's) eye (I look at) thee⁴!'

20. The reason why he thus grinds it, is that the sacrificial food of the gods is living, is *amṛita* (ambrosia, or not dead) for the immortals. Now with the mortar and pestle, and with the two mill-stones they kill this rice-offering (*haviryagñā*).

21. When he now says: 'For out-breathing thee! for in-breathing thee!' he thereby again imparts out-breathing and in-breathing (to it), and by saying 'for through-breathing thee!' he imparts through-breathing (to it). By 'may I impart a long duration to the life!' he bestows life on it. By 'may the divine Savitṛi, the golden-handed, receive thee with a flaw-

¹ On the three kinds of breathing, see I, 1, 3, 2-3.

² According to Kâtyâyana (II, 5, 7) and Mahîdhara, this last formula ('May I, &c.') should be joined to the one that follows, and pronounced by the Adhvaryu whilst he pours the ground rice on the skin. Mahîdhara interprets it thus: 'I put thee, (O rice! on the black antelope skin) for (increasing) the life (of the sacrificer) with a view to a long continuance (of the sacrificial work);' or 'I place thee along the long expanse (i.e. the skin) for thy (the rice's) long life!'

³ See I, 1, 4, 23.

⁴ Thus, according to Kâty. or Mahîdh., whilst he looks at the ground rice on the skin.

less hand!' he says: 'May they be well received!' By 'for the eye thee!' he bestows eye-sight on it. Now these (attributes) are those of a living being; and thus that sacrificial food for the gods is indeed living, is *amṛita* (ambrosia, or not dead) for the immortals. This is the reason why he thus grinds (the rice). (Whilst) they are grinding the (ground) grains¹, (and whilst) they are heating the potsherds,—

22. Some one² pours clarified butter (into the *āgyasthālī*, or butter-pot). Now whatever oblation, in being taken, is announced to a (particular) deity, that belongs to the respective deity, that he takes with a special prayer; but in taking this oblation, to wit, the butter, he does not announce it to any particular deity, and therefore takes it with an undefined formula, viz. with (*Vāg. S. I, 20*): 'Juice of the great ones art thou!' For 'the great ones' some (take to be) a name for the cows; and their juice indeed it is: for this reason he says, 'The juice of the great ones art thou!' And thus, moreover, is some of that (butter) taken with a sacrificial formula: and for this reason also he says, 'The juice of the great ones art thou!'

¹ *Pimshanti pish/āni*; the grinding of the ground or grinding of flour (*pish/a-peshana*) is a common expression in later Sanskrit for doing a useless work ('carrying owls to Athens,' or 'coals to Newcastle'). In the present passage, however, the phrase has to be understood, according to *Sāyana*, as meaning 'whilst they (the sacrificer's people) carry on the work of grinding begun by the Adhvaryu.'

² The *Āgnīdhra* or somebody else, according to *Sāyana*; but according to the Schol. on *Kāty. II, 5, 9*, it is done by the sacrificer himself, who thereupon prepares the *veda* or bunch of sacrificial grass, tied in the middle, and cut straight at each end, and used for sweeping, &c. Cf. *Kāty. I, 3, 21-22*; *II, 5, 9*.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He pours (the ground rice) into that which contains the strainers—viz. into a dish (pâtrī) on which he has laid the two strainers—with the text (Vâg. S. I, 21): ‘At the impulse of the divine Savitri I pour thee out, with the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan!’ The import of this formula is the same (as before, I, 1, 2, 17).

2. He now sits down somewhere inside the altar (vedi)¹. Then some one (viz. the Âgnîdhra) comes with the kneading-water² and brings it to him. He (the Adhvaryu) receives it through the strainers, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 21): ‘Let the waters mingle with the plants!’ for thereby the water unites with the plants, viz. with the ground rice,—‘The plants with the sap!’ for the plants thereby unite with the sap; viz. that ground rice with the water, for water is their sap,—‘The shining (or wealthy ones) with the moving!’ for the shining ones are the waters, and the moving ones are the plants, and these two are thereby mixed together,—‘Let the sweet mingle with the sweet!’ whereby he says, ‘let the savoury be mixed with the savoury!’

3. He then mixes (the two) together, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 22): ‘For generation I unite thee!’ for, in order that it (the dough or the sacrificial cake prepared from it) may bring offspring to the sacri-

¹ ‘He sits down (with the dish) either behind the cooking fire, or inside the altar,’ Kâty. II, 5, 11. According to Mahâdeva, the former alternative is the one favoured by the Kânvas.

² According to Kâty. II, 5, 1, the kneading-water (or mixing-water, upasarganî) has been put on the (Gârhapatya) fire (by the Âgnîdh) at the time of, or previously to, the spreading of the black antelope skin.

ficer, for his prosperity, for food, and so on,—for these reasons he mixes them together. And he also mixes them together with the intention of placing it (the dough) on (the fire): hence, in order that it (the sacrificial cake) may be produced over the fire, for that purpose also he mixes them together.

4. He now divides it into two halves, if there be two oblations: at the full-moon sacrifice there really are two oblations. He then touches them,—where (by so doing) he would not again mix (the two) together,—with the (respective) formulas (Vâg. S. I, 22): ‘This to Agni!’ ‘This to Agni-Soma!’ Separately indeed they take that sacrificial food (from the cart) in the first place¹; then they thresh it together, then they grind it together, then he again divides it: for this reason he thus touches (them separately). The one (the Adhvaryu) now places the cake over (the fire), the other (the Âgnîdhra) puts the clarified butter on:

5. These two acts are done simultaneously. The reason why these two acts are done simultaneously is that one half of the body of the sacrifice no doubt is that butter, and the other half is this rice-offering. ‘That half and this half, these two let us now take to the fire!’ thus (they think): for this reason those two acts are done simultaneously, and thus this body of the sacrifice is joined together.

6. That one (the Âgnîdhra) puts the butter on, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 22): ‘For sap—thee!’ When he says ‘for sap thee!’ he says it for the sake of rain; therefore he takes it off again, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30): ‘For juice—thee!’ What juice is

¹ See I, 1, 2, 17 seq., especially p. 17, note 2.

derived (by the plants) from the rain, for that he says this.

7. Now he (the Adhvaryu) puts on (*adhi-vṛig*) the cake, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 22*): 'Heat (or a hot vessel, *gharma*) art thou!' whereby he makes it (a means of) sacrifice, and puts it on in the same way as if he were putting the (*pravargya*) cauldron (*gharma*)¹ on,—'Life-sustaining (*visvâyus*)!' he adds, whereby he obtains life (for the sacrificer).

8. He spreads it (over the respective potsherds), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 22*): 'Spread widely, thou wide-spreading one!' whereby he causes it to spread. He adds: 'May thy Lord of Sacrifice spread widely (prosper)!' Lord of Sacrifice, namely, is the sacrificer: hence it is for the sacrificer that he thereby prays for blessing.

9. Let him not make it too broad; for he would make it a human (profane, common cake), if he were to make it (too) broad. Unlucky for (or, excluded from) the sacrifice indeed is that one, to wit, the common (cake). 'That I may not do anything that

¹ *Gharma*, literally 'heat,' is also the technical term for a kind of cauldron (also called *mahâvîra*) used at the *Pravargya* ceremony, a preparatory rite of the Soma-sacrifice: the empty cauldron is there put on the fire, and when thoroughly heated (whence its name), fresh milk is poured into it. The technical phrase for putting on the cauldron is *pra-vṛig*, from which *pravargya* is derived; and the same verb, though with a different preposition (*viz. adhi-vṛig*), being technically used for the putting on of the sacrificial cake, this verbal coincidence has probably suggested this connection of the two ceremonies, there being a constant tendency to establish some kind of relation between ordinary offerings and the Soma-sacrifice, as the most solemn one; cf. III, 4, 4, 1; X, 2, 5, 3 seq.; Ait. Br. I, 18 seq. Previously to the spreading of the cake, the cinders are swept off from the potsherds with the grass-brush (*veda*), Hilleb. p. 41, note 7.

is unlucky at the sacrifice,' thus (he thinks, and) for that reason he should not make it too broad.

10. And some now say: 'He should make it of the size of a horse's hoof!' But who knows how large is a horse's hoof? Let him make it of such a size as in his own mind he does not think would be too broad.

11. He then touches it over with water, either once or three times: for whatever in this (rice-offering) they either injure or tear asunder in the threshing or grinding of it, that—water being (a means of) expiation (or purification)—he thereby expiates with water, that is, with (the means of) expiation; that he thereby makes good: for this reason he touches it over with water.

12. He touches it over, with the text (*Vāg. S. I, 22*): 'May the fire not injure thy skin!' for on the fire he is now going to heat it: 'May that (fire) not injure thy skin!' this is what he thereby says.

13. He now carries fire round it¹. By this he encloses it with an unbroken fence, lest the evil

¹ The *paryagnikaraṇam* consists in performing *pradakṣiṇā* (see p. 37, note 1) on an object whilst holding a fire-brand or burning coal; or (according to the *Paddhati*) in moving one's hand, which holds the burning coal, round the oblation, from left to right. According to *Kāty. II, 5, 22*, the *Adhvaryu* does so on the present occasion, whilst muttering the formula, 'Removed is the *Rakshas*! removed are the enemies!' (*Taitt. S. I, 1, 8, 1.*) This practice of *paryagnikaraṇam* may be compared with the carrying of fire round houses, fields, boats, &c., on the last night of the year, a custom which, according to Mr. A. Mitchell (*The Past in the Present*, p. 145), still prevails in some parts of Scotland, and which he thinks is probably a survival of some form of fire-worship, and intended to secure fertility and general prosperity. The obvious meaning of the ceremony would seem to be the warding off of the dark and mischievous powers of nature.

spirits, the Rakshas, should seize upon it; for Agni (fire) is the repeller of the Rakshas: this is the reason why he carries fire round it.

14. He bakes¹ it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 22): 'Let the divine (or God) Savitṛi bake thee!' for it is not a man that bakes it, but a god it is: therefore it is the God Savitṛi that bakes it². He adds: 'In the highest heaven!' He means to say 'among the gods,' when he says 'in the highest heaven.' He touches it: 'I will ascertain whether it is done!' thus (he thinks, and) for that reason he touches it.

15. He touches it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 23): 'Be not afraid! shrink not!' He thereby says: 'Do not thou be afraid, do not thou shrink, because I, a man, touch thee that art not human!'

16. When it is done, he covers it over (with hot ashes): 'Lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should espy it,' thus (he thinks); and 'Lest it should lie, as it were, naked and despoiled!' thus also (he thinks):—that is the reason why he covers it over.

17. He covers it over, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 23): 'May the sacrifice not be liable to languish, nor the sacrificer's race liable to languish!' 'That the sacrifice or the sacrificer may not languish after this, when I cover this over,' thus (he thinks, and) for this reason he covers it over in this manner (i. e. with the above text).

¹ On the upper side it is baked by burning straw put on or held over it, whereby it takes a crust (tvaḥ, 'skin'). Schol. on Kâty. II, 5, 23.

² With the name of no other God the epithet deva ('shining,' 'God') is so frequently used as with that of Savitṛi: hence, according to the author's reasoning, it is he that must be intended, whenever a god not otherwise specified is alluded to.

18. He then pours out for the Āptya deities the water with which the dish has been rinsed and that in which he has washed his fingers¹. The reason why he pours it out for the Āptyas (is this) :

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

THE PREPARATION OF THE ALTAR.

1. Fourfold, namely, was Agni (fire) at first. Now that Agni whom they at first chose for the office of Hotri priest passed away. He also whom they chose the second time passed away. He also whom they chose the third time passed away². Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters. He spat upon the waters, saying, 'Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will!' Thence sprung the Āptya deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata.

2. They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brāhman follows in the train of a king. When he slew Visvarûpa, the three-headed son of Tvashtri, they also knew of his going to be killed; and straightway Trita slew him. Indra, assuredly, was free from that (sin), for he is a god³.

¹ The washing of the fingers and the dish, and has taken place after the putting on and touching over of the cake, and before the paryagnikarāṇam is performed.

² In I, 3, 3, 13-16, the three former Agnis (or the three brothers of Agni, acc. to Mahādh., Vāg. S. II, 2) are said to have fled from fear of the thunderbolt, in the shape of the vashat formula.

³ Cf. I, 6, 3, 1 seq. In the Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 1, 1, Visvarûpa, the Tvāshtra, is said to have been a sister's son of the Asuras, and

3. And the people thereupon said : ' Let those be guilty of the sin who knew about his going to be killed ! ' ' How ? ' they asked. ' The sacrifice shall wipe it off upon (shall transfer it to) them ! ' they said. Hence the sacrifice thereby wipes off upon them (the guilt or impurity incurred in the preparation of the offering), when they pour out for them the water with which the dish has been rinsed, and that in which he (the Adhvaryu) has washed his fingers.

4. And the Âptyas then said : ' Let us make this pass on beyond us ! ' ' On whom ? ' they asked. ' On him who shall make an offering without a dakshinâ (gift to the officiating priests) ! ' they said. Hence one must not make an offering without a dakshinâ ; for the sacrifice wipes (the guilt) off upon the Âptyas, and the Âptyas wipe it off upon him who makes an offering without a dakshinâ.

5. Thereupon the gods ordained this to be the

house-priest (purohita) to the gods, and to have been killed by Indra, because he had secretly contrived to let the oblations go to the Asuras, instead of to the gods. Thus by killing him, Indra (or Trita, according to our version of the legend) became guilty of that most hideous crime, the brahmahatyâ, or killing of a Brâhmana. Trita, the Âptya (i. e. probably 'sprung from, or belonging to the ap, or waters of the atmosphere'), seems to have been a prominent figure of the early Indo-Iranian mythology, the prototype, in many respects, of Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic hymns. The notion of wishing evil and misfortune away to Trita, or far, far away, is a familiar one to the Vedic bards. The name Traitana also occurs once in Rig-veda (I, 158, 5), though in a rather dark passage. On the connection between Trita (? Traitana) and the Iranian Thraetona (Ferîdûn), son of Athvya, see E. Burnouf, Journ. Asiat. V, 120; R. Roth, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges. II, p. 216 seq. Dvita (the second) and Ekata are no doubt later abstractions suggested by the etymology of the name Trita (the third), although the former, Dvita, occurs already in the Vedic hymns.

dakshinâ at the new- and full-moon sacrifices, to wit, the Anvâhârya mess of rice¹, 'lest the oblation should be without a dakshinâ.' That (rinsing water) he pours out (for each Âptya) separately: thus he avoids a quarrel among them. He makes it hot (previously)²: thus it becomes boiled (drinkable) for them. He pours it out with the formulas, 'For Trita thee!' 'For Dvita thee!' 'For Ekata thee!'—Now it is as an animal sacrifice that this sacrificial cake is offered³.

¹ The Anvâhârya consists of boiled rice prepared from the rice-grains that remain after the sacrificial cakes have been prepared. It is put on the Dakshina fire by the Adhvaryu for cooking after covering over the cakes and pouring out the water. Kâty. II, 5, 27. Sâyana explains the term as 'that which takes away (anvâ-hri) from the sacrificer the guilt incurred by mistakes during the sacrifice;' but the St. Petersburg Dictionary offers the more probable explanation of it as 'that which serves to supplement (anvâ-hri) the sacrifice.'

² According to Sâyana 'he makes the poured-out water hot with a coal.' Kâtyâyana (II, 5, 26) and his commentators, on the other hand, supply the following particulars: 'Having heated (with straw lighted in the Gârhapatya) the water which has been used for washing the dish and hands, he pours it out for the Âptyas (from east to west into three lines drawn with the wooden sword from west to east, north of the sacrificial ground) in such a manner that it does not flow together, with the formulas, "For Trita thee!" &c., respectively.'

³ That is to say, the sacrificial cake is a substitute or symbol (pratimâ) for the animal sacrifice (as this it would seem was originally a substitute for the human sacrifice) by which the sacrificer redeems himself from the gods. Cf. Sat. Br. XI, 1, 8, 3; Taitt. Br. III, 2, 8, 8. The initiation (dîkshâ) of the sacrificer constitutes his consecration as the victim at the animal sacrifice (Sat. Br. XI, 7, 1, 3; Ait. Br. II, 3, 9; 11; Taitt. Br. II, 2, 82; T. S. VI, 1, 11, 6; Kaush. Br. X, 3; XI, 8), or as the sacrificial food at the haviryagña (Sat. Br. III, 3, 4, 21; Taitt. Br. III, 2, 8, 9), or as the horse at the horse-sacrifice (Taitt. Br. III, 9, 17, 4-5), &c. See, also, Taitt. S. VII, 2, 10, 4; Kâh. 34, 11, where it is said that one must

6. At first, namely, the gods offered up a man as the victim¹. When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into the horse. They offered up the horse. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox. They offered up the ox. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the sheep. They offered up the sheep. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it.

7. It entered into this earth. They searched for it, by digging. They found it (in the shape of) those two (substances), the rice and barley : therefore even now they obtain those two by digging ; and as much

not perform the dvâdasâha for any one, since in having to eat of the victim, the cake, &c., one would eat the sacrificer's own flesh, &c. Cf. Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 73. In accordance with these notions it would seem that man originally sacrificed his equal, as the best substitute for his own self ; and that, as advancing civilisation rendered human sacrifices distasteful, the human victim was supplied by domestic animals, ennobled by constant contact with man ; and finally by various materials of human diet.

¹ On this legend and the one in the *Ait. Br.* II, 8, but slightly differing from ours, see Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 420 ; A. Weber's *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 55 ; Haug's *Transl. of the Ait. Br.* p. 90 ; J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 289 note. Professor Max Müller remarks : ' The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued. As to sheep and goats, they were considered proper victims to a still later time. When vegetable offerings took the place of bloody victims, it was clearly the wish of the author of our passage to show that, for certain sacrifices, these rice-cakes were as efficient as the flesh of animals.' Cf. also II, 1, 4, 3.

efficacy as all those sacrificed animal victims would have for him, so much efficacy has this oblation (of rice &c.) for him who knows this. And thus there is in this oblation also that completeness which they call 'the fivefold animal sacrifice.'

8. When it (the rice-cake) still consists of rice-meal, it is the hair¹. When he pours water on it, it becomes skin². When he mixes it, it becomes flesh : for then it becomes consistent ; and consistent also is the flesh. When it is baked, it becomes bone : for then it becomes somewhat hard ; and hard is the bone. And when he is about to take it off (the fire) and sprinkles it with butter, he changes it into marrow. This is the completeness which they call 'the fivefold animal sacrifice.'

9. The man (purusha) whom they had offered up became a mock-man (kim-purusha³). Those two, the horse and the ox, which they had sacrificed,

¹ According to Sâyana, because, like the hair of the victim, the particles of the ground rice are minute and numerous. According to Ait. Br. II, 9, on the other hand, the awn or beard of the rice represents the hair ; the husks the skin ; the minute particles of chaff removed by the final winnowings, the blood ; the ground rice the flesh ; and 'whatever other substantial part is in the rice' are the bones of the victim.

² 'Because it becomes as flexible as skin,' Sâyana.

³ It is doubtful what particular kind of being the term kimpurusha (depraved man) is here intended to denote. The authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary, whom Professor Weber follows (Ind. Stud. IX, 246), take it (probably correctly) to denote 'a monkey.' Professor Haug, on the other hand, in his translation of the corresponding passage in the Ait. Br. II, 8, thinks 'the author very likely meant a dwarf,' whilst Professor Max Müller (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 420) translates it by 'a savage.' Perhaps one of the species of apes which particularly resemble man, is intended by it. Cf. Weber, *Omina et Portenta*, p. 356.

became a *bos gaurus* and a *gayal* (*bos gavaeus*) respectively. The sheep which they had sacrificed, became a camel. The goat which they had sacrificed, became a *sarabha*¹. For this reason one should not eat (the flesh) of these animals, for these animals are deprived of the sacrificial essence (are impure).

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. When Indra hurled the thunderbolt at *Vṛitra*, that hurled one became fourfold. Of (three parts of) it the wooden sword (*sphya*) represents one-third or thereabouts, the sacrificial post one-third or thereabouts, and the chariot one-third or thereabouts. That piece, moreover, with which he struck him, was broken off (*sri*); and on falling down it became an arrow (*sara*): hence the designation arrow, because it was broken off. And in this way the thunderbolt became fourfold.

2. In consequence of this, the priests make use of two (of these pieces) at the sacrifice, and men of the military caste (*rāganyabandhu*) also make use of two of them in battle: viz. the priests make use of the sacrificial post and the wooden sword, and the men of the military caste of the chariot and the arrow.

3. Now when he takes up the wooden sword², he raises that thunderbolt against the wicked, spiteful enemy, even as Indra at that time raised the thunderbolt against *Vṛitra*: that is the reason why he takes the wooden sword.

4. He takes it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 24*): 'At the impulse of the divine *Savitṛi*, I take thee with

¹ A fabulous kind of deer with eight legs, which was supposed to kill elephants and lions.

² See note on I, 1, 2, 8.

the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan ; thee that performs sacred rites to the gods !' Savitri, namely, is the impeller of the gods : thus he thereby takes that (wooden sword) as one impelled by Savitri. 'With the arms of the Asvins,' he says, because the Asvins are the two Adhvaryu priests (of the gods) : with their arms he therefore takes it, not with his own. Pûshan is distributor of portions (to the gods) : with his hands he therefore takes it, not with his own ; for it is the thunderbolt, and no man can hold that : he thus takes it with (the assistance of) the gods.

5. 'I take (thee) that performs sacred rites to the gods,' he says, because a sacred rite means a sacrifice : 'that performs sacrifices to the gods,' he thereby says. After taking it in his left hand and touching it with his right, he murmurs—by what he murmurs he makes it sharp,—

6. He murmurs (Vâg. S. I, 24) : 'Thou art Indra's right arm !' for Indra's right arm no doubt is the most powerful one, and for that reason he says : 'Thou art Indra's right arm !' 'The thousand-spiked, hundred-edged !' he adds, for a thousand spikes and a hundred edges had that thunderbolt which he hurled at Vritra : he thereby makes it to be that (thunderbolt).

7. 'The sharp-edged Vâyû (wind) art thou !' he adds ; for that indeed is the sharpest edge, to wit, that (wind) which here blows : for that one sweeps right across these worlds. He thereby makes it sharp. When he (further) says : 'The killer of the enemy !' let him, whether he wishes to exorcise or not, say : 'The killer of so and so !' When it has been sharpened, he must not touch either himself or the earth with it : 'Lest I should hurt either myself or the earth with that sharp thunderbolt,' thus he thinks, and for

that reason he does not touch either himself or the earth with it.

8. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati¹, were contending for superiority. The gods vanquished the Asuras; and yet these afterwards harassed them again.

9. The gods then said: 'We do, no doubt, vanquish the Asuras, but nevertheless they afterwards again harass us. How then can we vanquish them so that we need not fight them again?'

10. Agni then said: 'By fleeing northwards they escape from us.' By fleeing northwards they had indeed escaped from them.

11. Agni said: 'I will go round to the northern side, and you will then shut them in from here²; and whilst shutting them in, we will put them down by these (three) worlds; and from what fourth world there is beyond these (three) they will not be able to rise again.'

12. Agni thereupon went round to the northern side; and they (the other gods) shut them in from here; and whilst shutting them in, they put them down with these (three) worlds; and from what fourth world

¹ Pragâpati is called the father of the gods and Asuras, I, 5, 3, 2; and they are represented as entering on his inheritance, I, 7, 2, 22; IX, 5, 1, 12. Not only the gods and Asuras, but also the men derive their origin from Pragâpati, XIV, 8, 2, 1. He has created all beings, I, 6, 3, 35; Ait. Br. III, 36.

² I. e. 'from the sacrificial ground,' Sâyana. It seems doubtful to me whether it does not rather mean 'you will then shut them in, or block them up, within that place,' that is to say, north of the altar, where the utkara, or heap of rubbish, lies. The four worlds by which he puts down the enemies are represented by the loose soil which is dug up by the sphya being flung four separate times at the grass-bush lying on the altar (vedi), and which is then thrown on the utkara.

there is beyond these (three) they did not rise again. Now this same (expulsion of the Asuras) is virtually the same act as the flinging away of the grass-bush¹.

13. The Âgñīdhra goes round to the north, for he is virtually the same person as Agni himself. The Adhvaryu then shuts them in from here; and whilst shutting them in, he puts them down by means of these (three) worlds; and from what fourth world there is beyond these (three) they do not rise again. Thus now also they do not rise again, for by the same means by which the gods kept them off, the priests now also keep them off during the sacrifice.

14. And whoever has evil designs upon the sacrificer and hates him, him he thereby puts down by means of these (three) worlds, and what fourth world there is beyond these. And in putting him down with these (three) worlds, and what fourth world there is beyond these, he flings everything away from this (earth), for on it all these worlds rest: for what would he fling away, if he were to fling (the grass-bush) away with the words, 'The air I throw away, the heaven I throw away!' therefore he flings everything away from this (earth)².

15. Thereupon, after putting the grass-bush between³, he flings (the wooden sword at it). 'Lest I

¹ The ceremony called *stambayagus* (-*haranam*) consists in 'the throwing away of the grass-bush after cutting it by the (flinging of the) wooden sword, with the simultaneous reciting of Yagus-texts' [*yagurmantrako darbhaḥ stambayaguḥ, takṣa stambartṣam sphryena bhittvotkaradese haret, Sây., Taitt. S. I, 1, 9*].

² This passage, in which the author seems to argue against some other ritualistic authority, is not quite clear to me. The Taitt. Br. has, 'from the atmosphere he drives him away (by the second throw), from the sky he drives him away (by the third throw).'

³ That is, between himself, or the wooden sword, and the altar. According to Kâty. II, 6, 15, he lays the grass-bush down on the

should injure the earth with this sharp thunderbolt !' thus (he thinks, and) for that reason he flings after putting the grass-bush between.

16. He flings it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 25): 'O earth, that affordest the place for making offerings to the gods! may I not injure the root of thy plant!' He thereby makes her, as it were, with roots remaining in her¹. Whilst he takes up (the earth dug up by the sword), he thus addresses her: 'May I not injure the roots of thy plants!'—And in further saying, 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows!' when he is about to throw it away (on the heap of rubbish), he causes it not to forsake him; for that which is within the fold² does not forsake him: for that reason he says, 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows!'—He further says (whilst looking at the hole in the ground): 'May the sky rain on thee!' Wherever, in digging into her, they wound and injure her—water being (a means of) expiation—that he thereby expiates by the water which is (a means of) expiation; that he thereby makes good by means of the water: that is the reason why he says: 'May the sky rain on thee!'—'Tie him down, O divine Savitrî, to the furthest end of the earth!' he says (whilst throwing on the heap of rubbish the soil dug up); he thus

altar with its top pointing northwards, with the text: 'The armour of the earth art thou!'

¹ *Sâyana* explains it by *uttaramûlâm iva karoti*; '*pr̥thivîm uparibhâgâvasthitamûlayuktâm ivâ*' (? 'with the roots remaining in its (the earth's) upper part, or surface'). Cf. also *Sây.* on *Taitt. S. I, 1, 9* (p. 155).

² The *Taitt. Br.* (III, 2, 9, 3) identifies the fold (pen, stable) with the metres (? which enclose the altar in the shape of the first set of lines), cf. *Sat. Br. I, 2, 5, 6* seq. This identification rests on the double meaning of *go* (in *gosthânam*) as 'cow' and 'metre.'

says to the divine Savitri: 'Tie him down to blind darkness!' when he says 'to the furthest end of the earth,'—'With a hundred fetters!' by this he means to say, 'so that he cannot free himself.'—'Him who hates us and whom we hate, do not release from there!' Whether or not he wishes to exorcise, let him say: 'So and so . . . do not release from there!'

17. He then throws (the wooden sword) a second time, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 26): 'May I drive Araru away from the earth, the place of offerings!' Araru¹, namely, was an Asura and Rakshas. Him the gods drove away from this (earth), and in the same way he (the Adhvaryu) thereby drives him away from this (earth). He adds (whilst repeating the several corresponding acts): 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows! May the sky rain on thee! Tie him down, O divine Savitri, to the furthest end of the earth, with a hundred fetters, him who hates us and whom we hate, do not release him from there!'

18. The Âgñîdhra presses it down (on the heap of rubbish), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 26): 'O Araru! thou shalt not fly up to heaven!' For when the gods drove away Araru, the Asura-Rakshas, he wished to fly up to heaven. Agni pressed him down, saying, 'O Araru, thou shalt not fly up to heaven!' and he did not fly up to heaven. In the same way the

¹ Of this demon we have no further particulars except that in Rig-veda X, 99, 10, he is said to have four feet; see also Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 4 seq. Perhaps there is some connection between Araru and the Arurmaghas in Ait. Br. VII, 28, and the Arunmukhas in Kaushît. Up. 3, 1; both of them enemies of Indra. Cf. M. Haug's and Max Müller's translations of these works; and Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 411.

Adhvaryu thereby cuts him off from this world, and the Āgnīdhra from the side of heaven. That is the reason why he does this.

19. He then throws (the wooden sword) a third time, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 26): 'Let thy drop not spring up to the sky!' Her (the earth's) drop no doubt is that moisture of hers upon which the creatures subsist. 'Let this thine (moisture) not fly away to the sky!' he thereby says.—He adds (whilst again repeating the several acts): 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows! May the sky rain on thee! Tie him down, O divine Savitrî, to the furthest end of the earth, with a hundred fetters, him who hates us and whom we hate, do not release him from there!'

20. Three times he throws it, with the sacrificial formula (Yagus); for three are these worlds, and with these worlds he thereby puts him (the evil spirit) down¹. And what these worlds are, that in truth is the Yagus: for that reason he throws it thrice with the sacrificial formula.

21. Silently (he throws) a fourth time². What fourth world there may or may not be beyond these (three), by that one he thereby drives away the spiteful enemy. For uncertain indeed is what fourth world there may or may not be beyond these (three); and uncertain also is what (is done) silently: for that reason (he throws) silently a fourth time.

¹ In the corresponding passage of the Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 5 seq.) the Adhvaryu is represented as driving the enemy away from the four worlds by throwing the sword four times.

² When, together with the dug-out soil, he throws the grass-bush on the heap of rubbish. Kâty. II, 6, 24.

FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. Then the gods were worsted, and the Asuras thought: 'To us alone assuredly belongs this world!'

2. They thereupon said: 'Well then, let us divide this world between us; and having divided it, let us subsist thereon!' They accordingly set about dividing it with ox-hides from west to east.

3. The gods then heard of this, and said: 'The Asuras are actually dividing this earth: come, let us go to where the Asuras are dividing it. For what would become of us, if we were to get no share in it?' Placing Vishṇu, (in the shape of) this very sacrifice, at their head, they went (to the Asuras).

4. They then said: 'Let us share in this earth along with yourselves! Let a part of it be ours!' The Asuras replied rather grudgingly: 'As much as this Vishṇu lies upon, and no more, we give you!'

5. Now Vishṇu was a dwarf¹. The gods, however,

¹ This legend is given in Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 122, where it is pointed out that we have here the germ of the Dwarf Incarnation of Vishṇu; and in A. Kuhn's treatise, '*Ueber Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung*,' p. 128, where the following remarks are made on the story: 'Here also we meet with the same struggle between light and darkness: the gods of light are vanquished and obtain from the Asuras, who divide the earth between themselves, only as much room as is covered by Vishṇu, who measures the atmosphere with his three steps. He represents (though I cannot prove it in this place) the sun-light, which, on shrinking into dwarf's size in the evening, is the only means of preservation that is left to the gods, who cover him with metres, i. e. with sacred hymns (probably in order to defend him from the powers of darkness), and in the end kindle Agni in the east—the dawn—and thereby once more obtain possession of the earth.' Compare also the corresponding legend in *Taitt. Br.* III, 2, 9, 7,

were not offended at this, but said : ' Much indeed they gave us, who gave us what is equal in size to the sacrifice.'

6. Having then laid him down eastwards, they enclosed him on all (three) sides with the metres, saying (Vâg. S. I, 27), on the south side, ' With the Gâyatrî metre I enclose thee!' on the west side : ' With the Trishûbh metre I enclose thee!' on the north side : ' With the Gagatî metre I enclose thee!'¹

7. Having thus enclosed him on all (three) sides, and having placed Agni (the fire) on the east side, they went on worshipping and toiling with it (or him, i.e. Vishṇu, the sacrifice). By it they obtained (sam-vid) this entire earth; and because they obtained by it this entire (earth), therefore it (the sacrificial ground) is called vedi (the altar). For this reason they say, ' As great as the altar is, so great is the earth ;' for by it (the altar) they obtained this entire (earth). And, verily, he who so understands this, wrests likewise this entire (earth) from his rivals, excludes his rivals from sharing in it.

8. Thereupon this Vishṇu became tired; but being enclosed on all (three) sides by the metres, with the

where the gods are granted by the Asuras as much as they can enclose ; and by the Vasus being placed in the south, the Rudras in the west, the Âdityas in the north, and Agni in the east, they obtain the whole of the earth.

¹ In the actual performance of the sacrifice this represents the pûrva-parigraha, or first enclosing of the altar by a single line being drawn with the wooden sword on each of the three sides (viz. S.W. to S.E. ; S.W. to N.W. ; N.W. to N.E.) whilst muttering the respective texts. Before doing so he has, however, to ask and receive the permission of the Brahman, mutatis mutandis, in the usual way (cf. p. 7 note): the same forms have to be gone through at the marking of the second and third enclosures. Kâty. II, 6, 25 seq. On the ritualistic application of the metres, see note on I, 3, 2, 9.

fire on the east, there was no (means of) escaping: he then hid himself among the roots of plants.

9. The gods said: 'What has become of Vishṇu? What has become of the sacrifice?' They said: 'On all (three) sides he is enclosed by the metres, with Agni to the east, there is no (way of) escaping: search for him in this very place!' By slightly digging they accordingly searched for him. They discovered him at a depth of three inches (or thumb's breadths): therefore the altar should be three inches deep; and therefore also Pāñḍī¹ made the altar for the Soma-sacrifice three inches deep.

10. This, however, one must not do. Among the roots of the plants he (Vishṇu) hid himself: therefore let him (the Adhvaryu) bid (the Âgnîdhra) to cut out the roots of the plants. And since they found (anu-vid) Vishṇu in that place, therefore it is called vedi (altar).

11. When they had found him, they enclosed him with a second enclosure, saying (Vâg. S. I, 27), 'Of good soil art thou, and auspicious art thou!' on the south side; for when they had thus obtained this earth they made it of good soil and auspicious;— 'Pleasant art thou, and soft to sit upon!' they said on the west side, for when they had thus obtained this earth, they made it pleasant and soft to sit upon;— 'Abounding in food and drink art thou!' they said on the north side, for when they had thus obtained this earth, they made it abounding in food and drink.

¹ This teacher is mentioned again, Sat. Br. II, 1, 4, 27, along with two others, viz. Âsuri and Mâdhuki, but nothing further is known of him. According to the Black Yagur the altar is made four (not three) aṅgulas deep.

12. Threefold¹ he draws round the first line of enclosure, threefold the second: hence sixfold (the two); for six seasons there are in the year, and the year, as Pragâpati (Lord of Creation), is the sacrifice². As large as the sacrifice, as wide as its extent is, so wide does he thereby enclose it.

13. With six sacred words³ he draws around the first line of enclosure, with six the second: thus (together) twelvefold, for twelve no doubt are the months of the year; and the year, as Pragâpati, is the sacrifice. As large as the sacrifice, as wide as its extent is, so wide does he thereby enclose it.

14. 'Let it (the altar) measure a fathom⁴ across on the west side,' they say: that, namely, is the size of a man, and it (the altar) should be of (the) man's size. 'Three cubits long (should be) the

¹ Viz. each enclosing line consists of three divisions corresponding to the three sides (S., W., N.) of the altar.

² Pragâpati (Lord of Creation) is here, as elsewhere, identified with the year (probably as the representative of the eternal process of regeneration) and consequently with the annual cycle of sacrificial performance, or the sacrifice itself. Cf. Sat. Br. I, 5, 2, 16; X, 4, 3, 1.

³ According to Sâyana, because each of the three mantras, 'gâyatreṇa (traishubhena, gâgatena resp.) tvâ khandasâ pari grihnâmi,' consists of two parts, the first ending with tvâ, the second with grihnâmi, which makes together six. Similarly with the second triad of mantras. In the former case the Taittiriya text (Taitt. S. I, 1, 9, 3), 'The Vasus may enclose thee with the Gâyatrî metre, the Rudras with the Trishubh metre, the Âdityas with the Gagatrî metre!' would furnish a more natural explanation of the six sacred words.

⁴ Vyâma, the space between the extreme ends of the outstretched arms. It is doubtful whether it is here intended for a fixed measure, or whether it is a relative one, depending on the size of the respective sacrificer. The size of a man was supposed to be equal to the extent of his outstretched arms.

“easterly line¹,” for threefold is the sacrifice,’ (so they say, but) in this there is no (fixed) measure: let him make it as long as he thinks fit in his own mind!

15. The two shoulders (of the altar) he carries along both sides of the (Âhavantya) fire. For the altar (vedi, fem.) is female and the fire (agni, masc.) is male; and the woman lies embracing the man: thereby a copulation productive of offspring is obtained. For this reason he carries the two shoulders (of the altar) along both sides of the fire.

16. It (the altar) should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: ‘broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist).’ Thereby he makes it (the altar) pleasing to the gods.

17. It should be sloping towards east, for the east is the quarter of the gods; and also sloping towards north, for the north is the quarter of men. To the south side he sweeps the rubbish (loose soil), for that is the quarter of the deceased ancestors. If it (the altar) were sloping towards south, the sacrificer would speedily go to yonder world; and thus (by making the altar in the prescribed way) the sacrificer lives for a long time: for this reason he sweeps the loose soil to the south side. Let

¹ I. e. a line drawn from the middle of the western side through the centre of the altar to the Âhavantya fire. The same line prolonged from the western side of the altar westwards to the Gârhapatya would measure eight (eleven or twelve) steps (prakrama or vikrama, of two feet or pada each) from fire to fire. See I, 7, 3, 23-25.

him then cover it (the altar) over with (fresh) rubbish : for rubbish means cattle, and well-stocked with cattle he thereby makes it ¹.

18. He (the Âgñîdhra) smooths it down (from east to west). The gods, namely, when they were preparing for the contest, said to one another : 'Come, let us remove to the moon for safety what imperishable place of worship there is on this earth ; so that if the Asuras, on vanquishing us, should drive us away from here, we may afterwards, by praising and mortifying, prevail again!' They accordingly removed to the moon what imperishable place of worship there was on this earth. That now is the black (spots) in the moon : hence they say, 'In the moon is the place of worship for this earth.' It is in this place of worship also that his sacrifice is performed : for that reason he smooths (the altar) down ².

19. He smooths it down, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 28) : 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings hither and thither ³, O mighty one!' the bloody one no doubt is the battle, for in battle

¹ Purîsha, rubbish ; 'sandy or gravel-like soil,' Sây. on Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 12 ; purîsha also means 'fæces, manure,' in which sense it is probably taken symbolically for 'cattle.' The Taitt. Br. better : 'well supplied with cattle he thereby makes him (the sacrificer).'

² ? By stroking along the altar he shifts it to the moon.

³ The interpretation of purâ krûrasya visrîpâh here given by the author, and also by Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. I, 28, is more than doubtful. Sâyana on Taitt. S. I, 1, 9 is probably more correct in taking purâ visrîpâh (abl. or gerund) krûrasya to mean 'before the sneaking away of the cruel enemy (Araru, lying fettered on the heap of rubbish)'—he supplies : 'thou, O altar, containest merely the divine oblations, but since his removal thou containest everything.' Cf. also Weber, Ind. Streifen, II, p. 463.

bloody deeds are done, and slain lie man and horse; and before that battle they removed it (the altar to the moon); therefore he says, 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings hither and thither, O mighty one!'—'lifting up the life-bestowing earth,' for after lifting up what was living on this earth, they removed it to the moon; therefore he says, 'lifting up the life-bestowing earth;'—'which they raised to the moon by prayers,' 'which they placed in the moon by worship,' he thereby says,—'that (earth) the wise still point out and worship,' to that they accordingly address their worship; and the offering of him also who so understands this, is performed in that place of worship.

20. He now says (to the Âgñidhra; Vâg. S. I, 28), 'Put the sprinkling-water down (on the altar)!' That thunderbolt, the wooden sword, and the priest (brâhmaṇa) have hitherto defended that sacrifice. Now the water also is a thunderbolt: that thunderbolt he thereby lays down for its defence. While the sprinkling-water is being held close above the wooden sword, he takes up the latter. If he were to set the sprinkling-water down, while the wooden sword is still lying, the two thunderbolts would come into collision with each other; but in this way the two thunderbolts do not come into collision with each other: for that reason he takes up the wooden sword, while the sprinkling-water is being held close above it.

21. He pronounces this (entire) speech:—'Put the sprinkling-water down (on the altar)! put fuel and barhis (sacrificial grass) beside it! wipe the ladles! gird the (sacrificer's) wife! come hither with the clarified butter!' This is a direction (given to

the Âgntdhra); he (the Adhvaryu) may pronounce it, if he choose; or, if he so choose, he may omit it: for he (the Âgntdhra) himself knows that this work has now to be done.

22. He then flings the wooden sword northwards (on the heap of rubbish). If he wishes to exorcise¹, (he does so), with the text, 'I fling thee as a thunderbolt for so and so!' and as a thunderbolt the wooden sword accordingly strikes down (the enemy).

23. He then washes his hands²; for what there was bloody (or injured) on it (the altar) that he thereby removes from it: that is why he washes his hands.

24. Now those who made offerings in former times, touched (the altar and oblations) at this particular time, while they were sacrificing. They became more sinful. Those who washed (their hands) became righteous. Then unbelief took hold of men: 'Those who sacrifice become more sinful, and those who sacrifice not become righteous,' they said. No sacrificial food then came to the gods from this world: for the gods subsist on what is offered up from this world³.

25. The gods thereupon said to Brîhaspati Âṅgiras, 'Verily, unbelief has come upon men; ordain thou the sacrifice to them!' Brîhaspati Âṅgiras then went and said, 'How comes it that you do not sacrifice?' They replied, 'From a desire for what

¹ Otherwise he uses the text (Vâg. S. I, 28): 'A killer of the enemy art thou!' Kâty. II, 6, 42.

² He does so (on the utkara) and then lays down the wooden sword west of the prañtâ water. Kâty. II, 6, 43.

³ Men, on the other hand, subsist on what is bestowed on them from yonder world. Taïtt. S. III, 2, 9, 7; Taïtt. Br. II, 2, 7, 3.

should we sacrifice, since those who sacrifice become more sinful, and those who sacrifice not become righteous?’

26. *Br̥haspati* Āṅgīrasa then said, ‘What we have heard of as produced¹ for the gods that is this sacrifice, that is to say, the cooked oblations and the prepared altar; therewith you have performed while touching: that is why you have become more sinful. Sacrifice therefore without touching, for thus you will become righteous!’ How long?’ they asked. ‘Till the spreading of the sacrificial grass (on the altar),’ he said. By the sacrificial grass, namely, it (the altar) becomes appeased. If, therefore, before the spreading of the sacrificial grass anything were to fall on it, let him only remove it at the time when he spreads the sacrificial grass; for when they spread the sacrificial grass, then they also step on it with the foot. He who knowing this sacrifices without touching, becomes indeed righteous: let him therefore sacrifice, without touching (the altar and oblations).

THIRD ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He (the Āgnīdhra) now brushes the spoons² (with the grass-ends). The reason why he brushes

¹ Parishūtam, which Sāyana interprets by parigrīhitam, ‘hedged round’ [‘set apart’]. The Kāṇva MS. reads parishutam.

² Besides the Agnihotra-havanī, or milk ladle used at the morning and evening oblations (see p. 11, note 2; and II, 3, 1, 17), three different sruṅ or offering-spoons are used, viz. the guhū, upabhr̥it, and dhruvā. They are made each of a different kind of wood, of an arm’s length (or, according to others, a cubit long), with a bowl of the shape and size of the hand, and a hole cut through the bark and front side of the bowl and fitted with a spout some eight or nine inches long, and shaped like a goose’s bill. The sruva or dipping-spoon, on the other hand, chiefly used for ladling the clarified

the spoons is that the course¹ pursued among the gods is in accordance with that pursued among men. Now, when the serving up of food is at hand among men,—

2. They rinse the vessels, and having rinsed them, they serve up the food with them : in the same way is treated the sacrifice to the gods, that is to say, the cooked oblations and the prepared altar ; and those vessels of theirs, the sacrificial spoons.

3. Now, when he brushes (the spoons), he in reality rinses them, thinking, 'with these rinsed ones I will proceed.' He thereby rinses them with two substances for the gods, and with one for men ; viz. with water and the brahman (spirit of worship) for the gods,—for the water is (represented by) the sacrificial grass², and the brahman (by) the sacrificial formula ;—and with one for men, that is with water alone : and thus this takes place separately³.

4. He, in the first place, takes the dipping-spoon

butter (or milk) from the butter vessel into the offering-spoons, is of khadira wood (*Acacia Catechu*), a cubit long, with a round bowl measuring a thumb's joint across, and without a spout. In our text the term *sruḥ* is used both in the general sense of 'spoon' and in the narrower one of 'offering-spoon,' as distinguished from the *sruva* or 'dipping-spoon.'

¹ The brushing of the spoons is here compared with the rinsing of vessels preparatory to their being used for serving up the food. At the same time, we shall see further on (I, 8, 3, 26–27) that the two principal offering-spoons, the *guhû* and *upabhrit*, are looked upon as yoke-fellows, they being the two horses that are supposed to convey the sacrifice (and consequently the sacrificer himself) to the world of the gods ; hence this process of cleaning also corresponds to the rubbing down of the horses preparatory to the setting out of the sacrificer on his progress to the world of the gods.

² See I, 1, 3, 5.

³ It is doubtful to me whether this last passage merely refers to the several spoons, or whether it refers to the symbolical meaning

(sruva, masc.) and makes it hot (on the Gârhapatya fire), with either of the texts (Vâg. S. I, 29), 'Scorched is the Rakshas, scorched are the enemies!' or, 'Burnt out is the Rakshas, burnt out are the enemies!'

5. For when the gods were performing sacrifice they were afraid of a disturbance on the part of the Asuras and Rakshas. Hence by this means he, from the very opening of the sacrifice, expels from here the evil spirits, the Rakshas¹.

6. He brushes it thus inside with the (grass-)tops (cut off from the grass in tying the veda), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 29), 'Not sharp² art thou, (but yet) a destroyer of the enemies!' he says this in order that it may unceasingly destroy the enemies of the sacrificer. Further, 'Thee, the food-abounding (masc.), I cleanse for the kindling of food³!'— 'thee that art suitable for the sacrifice, I cleanse for the sacrifice,' he thereby says. In the same way he brushes all the spoons, saying, 'Thee, the food-abounding (fem.) . . .,' in the case of the offering-spoon (sruk, fem.). The prâsitraharana⁴ (he brushes) silently.

of the wiping with sacrificial grass and the accompanying formula. In the latter case it might mean: 'and thus that (act) becomes different (i.e. has a different significance).'

¹ Cf. I, 1, 2, 3, and note.

² A-nisita, 'not sharpened,' from sâ (so), 'to sharpen' (thus also Mahîdh.). If, however, anuparata, 'unceasing,' in the text is intended by the author to explain anisita, he would seem to identify the root sâ with sâ (so), 'to bring to an end, to finish.' The spoon is sharpened by the wiping, cf. Taïtt. Br. III, 3, 1, 1.

³ Vâgedhyâyai, 'for the lighting (brightening) of the sacrifice (by means of the butter which is poured into the fire), the sacrifice being the food of the gods,' Mahîdh. The St. Petersburg Dictionary suggests vâgetyâyai, 'thee, the courser, I wipe for the race!' Cf. p. 68, note 1.

⁴ The prâsitraharana is a pan of khadira wood, either

7. Inside he brushes with the (grass)-tops thus (viz. from the handle to the top, or in a forward, eastward direction from himself); outside with the lower (grass)-ends thus (viz. in the opposite or backward direction, towards himself)¹: for thus (viz. in the former way) goes the out-breathing, and thus (in the opposite way) the in-breathing. Thereby he obtains out-breathing and in-breathing (for the sacrificer): hence these hairs (on the upper side of the elbow) point that way, and these (on the lower side) point that way².

8. Each time he has brushed and heated (a spoon), he hands it (to the Adhvaryu). Just as, after having rinsed (the eating vessels) while touching them, one would finally rinse them without touching them, so here: for this reason he hands over each (spoon) after heating it³.

square or round (? oval, of the shape of a cow's ear, Sâya.; of the shape of a mirror, Kâty.), used for holding the Brahman's portion (prâsitra) of the sacrificial cake. According to Kâty. II, 6, 49, the *srîstâvadânam* (cake-cutter) and (*purodâsa*-)pâtîrî (cake-dish) also have to be cleaned on this occasion.

¹ While brushing the spoons he stands east of the Âhavanîya fire-house, looking toward east. The way of brushing, prescribed by the Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. III, 3, 1, 3-4; comm. on Taitt. S. I, 1, 10), seems to be more complicated.

² Viz. the former ('aratner uparibhâgasya lomâni'), according to Sâyana, point in a forward direction (away from the body), and the latter ('prîsh/ababhâgasya lomâni') in a backward direction. The Taitt. Br. III, 3, 1, 4 has 'on the elbow (aratnau) the hairs above (point) forward, those below backward,' which Sâyana (Taitt. S. I, 1, 1, 10) explains by 'the short hairs above the wrist (? *manibandhâd ūrdhvam*) are forward-pointed (*prânmukha*), but those below are backward-pointed (*pratyañî*).'

³ That is to say, the heating of the spoons corresponds to the usual final rinsing of household vessels with water without touching them. Sâyana.

9. The dipping-spoon (sruva, masc.) he brushes first, and then the other spoons (sruḥ, fem.). The offering-spoon (sruḥ), namely, is female, and the dipping-spoon is male, so that, although in this way several women meet together, the one that is, as it were, the only male youth among them, goes there first, and the others after him. This is the reason why he brushes the dipping-spoon first, and afterwards the other (offering-)spoons.

10. Let him brush them so as not to spatter anything towards the fire, as he would thereby bespatter him, to whom he will be bringing food, with the slops of the vessels: therefore let him brush them so as not to spatter anything towards the fire, that is to say, after stepping outside (the Âhavanīya fire-house) towards the east.

11. Here now some throw the grass-ends used for cleaning the spoons into the (Âhavanīya) fire. 'To the veda (grass-bunch) they assuredly belonged, and the spoons have been cleaned with them: hence it is something that belongs to the sacrifice, and (we throw it into the fire) in order that it should not become excluded from the sacrifice,' thus (they argue). Let him, however, not do so, since he would thereby make him to whom he will offer food, drink the slops of the vessels¹. Let him therefore throw them away (on the heap of rubbish).

12. He (the Āgnīdhra) then girds the wife (of the

¹ The Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. III, 3, 2, 1) prescribes that the grass-ends, after the brushing, should be thrown into the fire, and not on the heap of rubbish, as some do; or at all events they should not be thrown on the utkara, without their having been previously washed with water, as they would otherwise bring ill-luck to the cattle.

sacrificer)¹. She, the wife, truly is the hinder part of the sacrifice. 'May the sacrifice go on increasing before me!' thus (she thinks while) he girds her, thinking, 'may she sit thus girt by my sacrifice!'

13. He girds her with a cord (yoktra): for with a cord (yoktra) they yoke the draught-animal (yogya). Impure indeed is that part of woman which is below the navel; and therewith she will be facing the sacrificial butter; that part of her he thereby conceals with the cord, and only with the pure upper part of her body she then faces the sacrificial butter. This is the reason why he girds the wife².

14. He girds her over the garment. Now the garment represents the plants, and (the cord represents) Varuṇa's noose³ (raggu): hence he thereby places the plants between (her and the noose), and

¹ The mistress of the house is seated south-west of the Gârhapatya fire [with bent (or raised) knees and her face turned towards north-east]. The Âgnîdhra then girds her round the waist, outside the garment, with a triple cord of reed-grass (muñga). Kâty. II, 7, 1; and Sâyaṇa on our passage.

² According to Taitt. Br. III, 3, 3, 2-3 the symbolical meaning of this act is, that it represents the vratopanayana, or initiation of the wife into the sacred rite. The girding of the wife would thus possess a significance similar to that of the ordinary upanayana, or investiture of the youth with the sacred cord.

³ The noose (pâśa) is one of the chief attributes of God Varuṇa, the symbol of his supreme power and his abhorrence of sin. Thus we read in Atharva-veda IV, 16, 4 seq.: 'And if one were to flee far beyond the sky, one would not escape from king Varuṇa. From heaven his spies issue forth to this (world), and with their thousand eyes survey the earth. King Varuṇa sees all that happens between heaven and earth and beyond them: the very twinklings of the eyes of men are numbered by him. . . . May all those baleful nooses of thine, O Varuṇa, that are thrown sevenfold and three-

thus that noose of Varuṇa does not injure her. This is the reason why he girds her over the garment.

15. He girds her, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30), 'A zone art thou for Aditi!' Aditi, indeed, is this earth. She is the wife of the gods, and that one is his (the sacrificer's) wife. It is for the latter, accordingly, that he makes it a zone instead of a noose (or string). A zone means a girdle, and he thereby makes it this for her.

16. Let him not make a knot¹, for the knot is Varuṇa's (attribute); and Varuṇa would lay hold on the (sacrificer's) wife, if he were to make a knot. For this reason he does not make a knot.

17. He twists it through upwards², with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30), 'The pervader³ of Vishṇu art thou!' Let her not sit to the west of the sacrifice, with her face towards the east. For Aditi is this earth⁴, she is the wife of the gods, and she indeed sits on the west of the sacrifice of the gods, with her face turned

fold, ensnare him who speaks untruth, and pass by him who speaks the truth !'

¹ Taitt. Br. III, 3, 3, 4, on the contrary, prescribes a knot (granthim grathnâti), as the symbol which is to secure all blessings for her.

² He winds the cord round her waist from left to right (pradakṣiṇam), and having fixed the southern end by twice twisting round the northern one, he draws the southern end through the encircling cord upwards (so as to hang down, uparishāl lambayet, Sâyana. Kâty. II, 7, 1, &c., Scholl.).

³ Veshya=vyâpaka, Mahîdh.; 'perhaps a headband,' St. Petersburg. Dict. It is apparently an etymological play on the name of Vishṇu (? the all-pervading sun). The formula, according to Mahîdhara, is addressed to the southern end of the cord which is drawn through the girdle (? the pervading ray of Vishṇu).

⁴ Aditi is the earth and therefore the altar, which represents the earth : hence Aditi, in the shape of the altar, looks towards the east.

towards the east: and this lady would, therefore, raise herself to her (Aditi), and would speedily go to yonder world. And thus (viz. by sitting in the prescribed way) she lives for a long time, thus she propitiates her (Aditi), and thus the latter harms her not. For this reason let her sit somewhat to the south.

18. She looks down upon the sacrificial butter¹; for assuredly that wife is a woman, and the butter (represents) seed: hence a productive union is thereby brought about. For this reason she looks towards the butter.

19. She looks, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30), 'With an unimpaired eye I look on thee;' whereby she says, 'with an uninjured eye I look on thee.'—'Agni's tongue art thou!' for when they offer up that (butter) in the fire, then Agni's tongues, as it were, issue forth: therefore she says, 'Agni's tongue art thou!'—'A good caller² of the gods,' whereby she says, 'well for the gods;'—'be thou for every dainty (or, sacrificial site, dhâman), for every prayer of mine!' whereby she says, 'for every sacrifice of mine be thou (a good caller)!'

20. Having then taken up the butter (from the

¹ He takes the pot containing the clarified butter from the fire, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30): 'For juice thee!' [see I, 2, 2, 6,] puts it down on the ground before the sacrificer's wife and bids her look down on it. Kâty. II, 7, 4.

² Suhûk. The Kârva recension and Taitt. S. I, 1, 10, 3 have subhûk, 'well-being, good,' which reading seems also to be presupposed by our author's explanation 'well (or good) for the gods.' The Black Yagur assigns this entire mantra to the Adhvaryu, when he has taken the butter from the Âhavanîya, and puts it down north of the altar. In other respects also it differs considerably from the order followed by our author.

ground), he (the Āgñīdhra) carries it eastwards. In the case of one whose Āhavanīya fire is used for the cooking, he (now in the first place) puts it on the Āhavanīya, thinking, 'My oblation shall be entirely cooked on the Āhavanīya¹!' The reason why he first puts it thereon (viz. on the Gārhapatya) is, because he will have to make the wife look at it: for it would not be proper, if he were to take it (from the Āhavanīya) to the west in the midst of the performance, for the purpose of making the wife look at it; and if he were not to let the wife look at it at all, he would thereby exclude her from the sacrifice. And in this way, then, he does not exclude the (sacrificer's) wife from the sacrifice: therefore he does not take it eastwards till after melting it close by the wife (on the Gārhapatya), and making her look at it. In the case of one who (through death or from other causes) has not his wife with him, he puts it from the very beginning on the Āhavanīya. He then takes it again from thence and puts it down within the altar.

21. Here now they say,—'He must not place it within the altar; for from that (butter) they make the oblation to the wives of the gods²: he therefore excludes the wives of the gods from the company (of

¹ According to the ritual of the Black Yagus, the butter, after the sacrificer's wife has looked at it, is again heated on the Gārhapatya fire, in order to remove the impurity which has thereby been imparted to it.

² The *patnīsamīyāgas* are four oblations of butter to Soma, *Tvashṛī*, the wives of the gods, and Agni *Gārhapati* respectively, made at the end of these sacrifices. See I, 9, 2, 1. It would seem that, according to the ritual of the Black Yagus, the butter is not put on the altar, but on a line drawn with the wooden sword north of the altar. See p. 74, note 2.

their husbands)¹, and thereby his (the sacrificer's) wife becomes dissatisfied with her own husband.' Yâgñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point, 'Let it be so as it has been prescribed for the wife! who would care whether his wife may consort with other men²?' 'As the altar is (part of the) sacrifice, and the butter is (part of the) sacrifice, I will build up the sacrifice from out of the sacrifice!' thus thinking, let him place it within the altar.

22. The two strainers are lying in the sprinkling water. He takes them from thence and purifies (ut-pû) the butter with them. Now one of them is related to the wind (that blows) upwards (utpavana)³, so that he thereby makes it (the butter) sacrificially pure.

23. He clarifies it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 31), 'By the impulse of Savitrî I purify thee with a flawless purifier (strainer), with the rays of the sun!' The meaning (of this formula) is the same (as before).

24. He then purifies the sprinkling water with the strainers covered with butter, with the text (Vâg. S.

¹ Avasabhâh karoti=avagataganasamûhâh karoti, Sây.; the gods are supposed to be assembled around the altar (cf. I, 3, 8): hence by placing the butter, from which the oblations to the wives of the gods are to be made, within the altar, the Adhvaryu would separate the wives from their husbands.

² I am not quite certain as to whether this last scornful remark is really to be assigned to Yâgñavalkya. The Kânva text has,—Yâgñavalkya, however, said, 'Let him place it within the altar!' thus he said. 'Let it be so as it has been prescribed for the wife,' thus (thinking) let him place it, whether or not she consort with other men.

³ Probably the same as ud-âna (breathing upwards or inspiration), which one of the strainers is said to represent in I, 1, 3, 2. See also I, 1, 3, 6; Taitt. Br. III, 3, 4, 4. The St. Petersburg Dictionary proposes the meaning 'an implement for cleaning' for utpavana in this passage.

I, 31), 'By the impulse of Savitrī I purify you (O waters) with a flawless purifier, with the rays of the sun!' The meaning is the same (as before).

25. The reason why he purifies the sprinkling water with the strainers covered with butter is, that he thereby puts milk into the water, and that the milk thereby (becomes) beneficial¹ in the water, for, when it rains, plants are thereby produced; and on eating the plants and drinking the water, vital fluid (serum) results therefrom: and thus (he does this) in order to supply the vital fluid (of the sacrificer).

26. He then looks down on the butter. Here now some make the sacrificer look down. Yāgñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point,—'Why do not (the sacrificers) themselves become (act as) Adhvaryu priests? and why do not they (the sacrificers) themselves recite when far higher blessings are prayed for?² How can these (people) possibly have faith in this?³ Whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke during the sacrifice that is for the benefit of the sacrificer alone.' The Adhvaryu should accordingly look down on it.'

¹ A play on the word *hitam*, which means both 'put, placed,' and 'beneficial, salutary.'

² The Kāṇva text has as follows,—Here now some make the sacrificer eye it, arguing, 'whatever blessing (resides therein) that he should himself pray for.' Yāgñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point, 'Why then does not he himself become Adhvaryu? and why does he not recite (the solemn prayers of the Hotrī priest), and that when they pray for higher blessing? Whatever blessing the priests invoke at the sacrifice, that they invoke for the sacrificer alone;' thus he said. The Adhvaryu, therefore, should look down on it.

³ Teshām sākṣhinām atraivāvekṣaṇam yagamānenaiva kartavyam iti kasmāt kāraṇāt śraddhā gātā, evam tām śraddhām prahasya, Sāy. The Kāṇva text omits this derisive remark.

27. He looks down on it. The eye assuredly is the truth, for the eye is indeed the truth. If, therefore, two persons were to come disputing with each other and saying, 'I have seen it!' 'I have heard it!' we should believe him who said, 'I have seen it' and not the other: hence he thereby causes it (the butter) to increase by means of the truth.

28. He looks down on it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 31), 'Lustrous art thou! resplendent art thou! immortal (or, ambrosia) art thou!' That prayer is indeed true, for that (butter) is lustrous, it is resplendent, it is immortal: hence he thereby causes it to increase by that (prayer) which is true.

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. Now the sacrifice is the man. The sacrifice is the man for the reason that the man spreads (performs) it; and that in being spread it is made of exactly the same extent as the man¹: this is the reason why the sacrifice is the man.

2. The *guhû* (spoon) further belongs to that (man-shaped sacrifice) and so does the *upabhrîit*; and the *dhruvâ*² represents its trunk. Now it is from the

¹ The sacrifice is the representation of the sacrificer himself; and hence its dimensions are to be those of a man, viz. the altar (*vedi*) on its western side is to measure a fathom, or space between the extreme ends of the outstretched arms (? of the sacrificer), which is supposed to be equal to the size of a man; see I, 2, 5, 14. Originally these measurements were no doubt relative to the size of the sacrificer; but it is doubtful whether this was still the case at the time of our author.

² For a description of these spoons, see p. 67, note 2. The *guhû* is supposed to represent the right, and the *upabhrîit* the left arm, and the *dhruvâ* the trunk.

trunk that all these limbs proceed, and for this reason the entire sacrifice proceeds from the dhruvâ.

3. The dipping-spoon (*sruva*, masc.) is no other than the breath. This breath passes through (or, goes to) all the limbs, and for that reason the dipping-spoon goes to all the offering-spoons (*sruḥ*, fem.).

4. That *guhû* further is to him no other than yonder sky, and the *upabhṛit* this atmosphere, and the *dhruvâ* this same (earth). Now it is from this (earth) that all the worlds originate: and from the *dhruvâ*, therefore, the whole sacrifice proceeds.

5. The dipping-spoon then is no other than that blowing one (the wind); it is this that sweeps across all these worlds: and for that reason the *sruva* goes to all the offering-spoons.

6. Now when this sacrifice is being performed, it is performed for the gods, the seasons, and the metres (or sacred texts). To the gods belongs what sacrificial food there is, to wit, king Soma and the sacrificial cake: all this he takes, while announcing it with the formula, 'I take thee, agreeable to so and so!' for thus it becomes theirs.

7. And whatever oblations of butter are taken, they are taken for the seasons and the metres. Every one of them he takes in the form of butter without announcing it (to any particular deity). In the *guhû* he takes of it four times (with the *sruva* from the pot), in the *upabhṛit* eight times¹.

8. Now when he takes of it four times (with the *sruva*) in the *guhû*, he takes it for the seasons, since

¹ He takes butter in the *guhû* and *upabhṛit* by four or eight ladlings with the dipping-spoon. As we learn further on, the quantity taken in the *guhû*, by ladling four times, should exceed that in the *upabhṛit*, although the latter requires eight ladlings. Cf. *Kāty.* II, 7, 13.

he takes it for the fore-offerings¹, and the fore-offerings are the seasons: all this he takes in the form of butter without making any announcement, in order to avoid sameness; for if he were to take it with the formulas 'For Spring (I take) thee!' 'For Summer—thee!' he would commit (the fault of) a repetition²: he therefore takes it in the form of butter without making any announcement.

9. When, on the other hand, he takes eight times (with the *sruva*) in the *upabhr̥it*, he takes it for the metres³, since it is for the after-offerings¹ that he takes it; and the after-offerings are the metres: all this he takes in the form of butter without making any announcement, in order to avoid sameness; for were he to take it with the formulas 'For the *Gâyatri*—thee!' 'For the *Trishubh*—thee!' he would commit a repetition: he therefore takes it in the form of butter without making any announcement.

10. Again, when he takes four times (with the *sruva*)

¹ On the *prayâgas*, or oblations of clarified butter introductory to, and the *anuyâgas*, oblations of the same material made subsequently to, the chief sacrifice, see I, 5, 3, 1 seq. and I, 8, 2, 1 seq.

² Repetition of one and the same sacrificial act on the same day is to be avoided, as far as possible. The repetition in the present case would consist in his announcing the butter-oblations to the several deities in the same way as he has done in regard to the rice-portions. See I, 1, 2, 17-18.

³ On the frequent symbolical employment of the metres in the ritual, as the embodiment of supreme harmony and the efficacy of prayer, see Weber, Ind. Stud. VIII, 8 seq. The three principal Vedic metres are the *gâyatri* (three times eight syllables), the *trishubh* (four times eleven syllables), and the *gagatî* (four times twelve syllables); and three *anuyâgas* there are at these sacrifices, viz. to the *barhis* or sacrificial grass, to *Narâsamsa* and *Agni Svish-takr̥it* respectively. In the present instance (see par. 16) the *trishubh* and *gagatî* metres are taken together as one, and as a fourth is added the *anushubh* (four times eight syllables).

in the *dhruvâ*, he takes it for the whole sacrifice, and all this he takes in the form of butter without making any announcement. To whom indeed should he announce it, since he cuts it off for all the deities? He therefore takes it in the form of butter without making any announcement.

11. Now the sacrificer stands behind the *guhû*, and he who means evil to him stands behind the *upabhrît*. The eater stands behind the *guhû*, and what (or, he who) is to be eaten stands behind the *upabhrît*. And the *guhû*, indeed, is the eater, and the *upabhrît* is that which is to be eaten. In the *guhû* he takes four times (with the *sruva*), and in the *upabhrît* eight times.

12. Now when he takes four times (butter) in the *guhû*, he thereby makes the eater more limited, smaller; and when he takes eight times in the *upabhrît*, he makes that which is to be eaten more unlimited, more abundant: for a flourishing condition indeed exists where the eater is smaller and that which is to be eaten more abundant.

13. In taking four times in the *guhû*, he takes (altogether) more butter, and in taking eight times in the *upabhrît* he takes less butter.

14. For when, in taking four times (butter with the *sruva*) in the *guhû*, he takes more butter, he thereby, in making the eater more limited, smaller, imparts vigour and strength to him. And when, in taking eight times in the *upabhrît*, he takes less butter, he thereby, in making that which (or, him who) is to be eaten more unlimited, more abundant, makes it (or, him) vigourless and weaker. And thus a king who has established himself among a numberless people, subdues them even from a single dwelling,

and takes possession of whatever he likes ¹: with that very same energy (the Adhvaryu acts) when he takes a greater quantity of butter in the *guhû*. Now what he takes in the *guhû*, that he offers with the *guhû*; and what he takes in the *upabhṛit*, that also he offers with the *guhû*.

15. And in reference to this point they say: 'Wherefore then is he to take it in the *upabhṛit*, if he does not offer it with the *upabhṛit*?' Now, if he were to offer it with the *upabhṛit*, those subjects (of the king) would assuredly become separated from him, nor would there be either an eater or what is to be eaten. When, on the other hand, he pours (the butter) together and thus offers it with the *guhû*, thereby the people pay tribute to the Kshatriya. Hence by what he takes in the *upabhṛit*, the Vaisya (man of the people), under the rule of the Kshatriya, becomes possessed of cattle; and when he pours (the butter) together and offers it with the *guhû*, thereby the Kshatriya, whenever he likes, says, 'Hallo Vaisya, just bring to me what thou hast stored away!' Thus he both subdues him and obtains possession of anything he wishes by dint of this very energy.

16. These butter-portions, then, are taken for the metres. Now what he takes in the *guhû* (by ladling) four times (with the *sruva*), that he takes for the *gâyatri*; and what he takes in the *upabhṛit* (by ladling) eight times, that he takes for the *trishubh* and *gagati*; and what he takes in the *dhruvâ* (by

¹ Tasmâd uta râgâpârâṁ viṣam prâvasâyâpy ekaveṣmanaiva ('by one who has a single dwelling, i. e. by himself,' *Sâyana*) ginâti tvad yathâ tvat kâmayate tathâ saṁate. The MS. of the *Kâṇva* text has: 'Tasmât kshatriyo râgotâpârâd viṣam prâvasâya ginâti tvad yathâ tva(t) kâmayate tat karoti.'

ladling) four times, that he takes for the anushṭubh. For the anushṭubh is speech, and from speech all this (universe) springs: hence it is from the dhruvâ that the whole sacrifice originates. The anushṭubh also is this (earth), and from it all this (universe) originates: hence it is from the dhruvâ that the whole sacrifice originates.

17. He takes (butter with the sruva), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 31), 'Verily, thou art the favourite resort (or, dainty) of the gods!' He thereby makes that butter the most favourite resort of the gods: for this reason he says, 'verily, thou art the favourite resort of the gods!'—'An unassailable means of worship!' the butter is indeed a thunderbolt: therefore he says, 'an unassailable means of worship!'

18. Once he puts (butter with the sruva) into the guhû with this formula, three times silently. With the same formula he puts (butter) once into the upabhrîṭ, seven times silently. With the same formula he puts once (butter) into the dhruvâ, three times silently. Now, as to this, they say, 'Thrice he should take with the formula in each case, for three-fold is the sacrifice.' Nevertheless (it is done) only once with each (spoon), for it is just in this way that the taking thrice (with a formula) is accomplished.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The Adhvaryu takes the sprinkling-water, and sprinkles in the first place the fire-wood¹, with the

¹ The fire-wood had been brought by the Âgnîdhra and laid down on the altar. The Adhvaryu now unties and sprinkles it. [Before doing so he has, as usual, to ask and obtain the permission of the Brahman. The same is the case in regard to the barhis, but not in regard to the altar.] Kâty. II, 7, 19.

text (Vâg. S. II, 1), 'A black deer, living in the den, art thou¹; I sprinkle thee, agreeable to Agni!' He thereby makes it sacrificially pure for Agni.

2. He then sprinkles the altar, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 1), 'Thou art the altar; I sprinkle thee, agreeable to the barhis (sacrificial-grass covering)!' He thereby makes it sacrificially pure for the grass covering.

3. He (the Âgnîdhra) then hands the sacrificial grass² to him (the Adhvaryu). The latter puts it down (on the altar) with the knot turned to the east, and sprinkles it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 1), 'Barhis art thou! I sprinkle thee, agreeable to the spoons!' He thereby makes it sacrificially pure for the spoons.

4. Thereupon he pours the sprinkling-water

¹ ? Âkhare-sh/â; it probably has a double meaning in this place, viz. 'that which dwells in a den (âkhara)' and 'that which has its place on the hearth (khara).'

² 'At the beginning of the sacrifice the Adhvaryu makes of the load of Darbha or sacred grass, which has been brought to the sacrificial compound, seven mush/is or bunches, each of which is tied together with a stalk of grass, just as the Baresma (Barsom) of the Parsis. The several names of these seven bunches are, 1. Yagamânamush/i, the bunch kept by the sacrificer himself in his hand as long as the sacrifice lasts. 2. Three bunches from the Barhis, or the covering of the Vedi on which the sacrificial vessels are put. These are unloosened and spread all over the Vedi. 3. Prastara. This bunch, which must remain tied, is put over the Darbha of the Vedi. 4. Paribhoganî. From this bunch the Adhvaryu takes a handful out for each priest, and the sacrificer and his wife, which they then use for their seat. 5. The Veda. This bunch is made double in its first part; the latter part is cut off and has to remain on the Vedi; it is called parivâsana. The Veda itself is always wandering from one priest to the other, and is given to the sacrificer and his wife. It is handed over to the latter only when one of the priests makes her recite a mantra.' Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. p. 79.

which is left on the roots of the (grass) plants, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'A moistening art thou for Aditi!' Aditi, indeed, is this earth; hence it is for the latter that he thus moistens the roots of the plants: thereby these plants become root-moistened; and even if their tops are dry, their roots at least remain moist.

5. Having thereupon untied the knot, he takes the prastara bunch from the front (of the barhis), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'Vishnu's crest art thou!' Vishnu, namely, is the sacrifice, and this (the prastara) is his top-knot or crest: this he thereby makes it at this sacrifice¹. From the front he takes it, because this top-knot also is (worn) on the front (of the head): for this reason he takes it from the front.

6. He then undoes the band (of the barhis). 'His (the sacrificer's) wife is sure to bring forth without difficulty²,' thinking thus he undoes the band. He puts it down on the right hip (of the altar); for this represents his (the sacrificer's) waist-band, and it is on the right side that the waist-band is (tied): this is the reason why he puts it down on the right hip. He again covers it over (with sacrificial grass); for the waist-band also is covered (by the upper garment): for this reason he again covers it.

7. He now spreads the barhis (on the altar). For the prastara is the top-knot; and this other

¹ Because, according to Sâyana, it lies on the front, or eastern side of the altar, near the Âhavanîya fire, and men also wear their top-knot (in the form of a ball or lump) on the fore-part of their head. The prastara he hands to the Brahman-priest. Kâty. II, 7, 22.

² Prakṛiptam; Sâyana takes it in the sense of 'a completely formed (child).'

sacrificial grass is for this (sacrifice) what other hair there is below that (top-knot, viz. the beard, &c.):— that (hair) he thereby puts on it, and for this reason he spreads the barhis.

8. Now the altar (vedi, fem.) is a woman, and around her sit the gods and those priests who have studied and teach revealed lore¹; and as they thus sit around her, he makes her not naked: hence it is in order to avoid nudity (on her or the altar's part) that he spreads the barhis.

9. As large as the altar is, so large is the earth; and the plants (are represented by) the barhis; so that he thereby furnishes the earth with plants; and those plants are firmly established in this earth: for this reason he spreads the barhis.

10. Here now they say, 'Let him strew abundantly; for where the plants are most abundant on her, there the means of subsistence are most amply afforded by her: let him therefore strew abundantly!' It is in favour of him (the sacrificer) who procures (the sacrificial grass), then, (that this is done.) He strews it threefold², for threefold is the sacrifice. Or he may also spread it whilst lifting up (the tops)³; for

¹ 'Around her on the south sit the gods and those man-gods (manushyadevâḥ), the priests who have studied and teach revealed lore.' Kâṇva recension.

² Viz. in three layers, one beside the other, each consisting of one handful of grass. He first spreads a layer on the east side from the southern to the northern shoulder of the altar, with the tops of the blades turned towards the east; then a second one west of it, so as to cover the roots of the first with the tops of the second layer; and in the same way a third one on the west side of the altar. If he thinks fit, he may make more than three layers, but their number should be uneven. Kâty. II, 7, 22-26 (schol.).

³ That is to say, he is to begin on the west side, and in laying down the successive layers, he is to lift up (with a stick or some

it has been said by the seer (Vâg. S. VII, 32), 'They spread the barhis continuously.' He spreads it with the roots below (the tops); for it is with their roots below that those plants are firmly established in this earth: for this reason he spreads it with the roots below.

11. He spreads it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'I spread thee, soft as wool, pleasant to sit upon for the gods!'—when he says 'thee, soft as wool,' he thereby means to say 'agreeable to the gods;' and by 'pleasant to sit upon for the gods,' he means to say 'forming a good seat for the gods.'

12. He now trims the fire¹. The Âhavanīya, doubtless, is the head of the sacrifice, for the head is the fore-part²: that fore-part of the sacrifice he thereby trims. He trims it while holding the prastara (which he has received back from the Brahman) close over it; for the prastara is the top-knot, and it is this which he thereby puts on it: for this reason he trims (the fire) while holding the prastara close over it.

13. He then lays the (three) enclosing-sticks (paridhi) around (the fire). The reason why he lays the enclosing-sticks around (is this). When at first the gods chose Agni for the office of Hotṛi, he said: 'Verily, I am not equal to this, that I should be your Hotṛi, and that I should carry your oblation. Already you have chosen three before,

other object) the heads of the preceding layer and push the roots of the succeeding one under them. Ib. 27 (schol.).

¹ He takes one stick from the fuel and gets the fire ready (for the oblations, either by throwing the stick into it, or by stirring it with the stick). Ib. 29.

² The Âhavanīya is at the foremost or eastern end of the sacrificial ground.

and they have passed away¹. Restore them to me: then I shall be equal to this, that I should be your Hotri and that I should carry your oblation!' They said, 'So be it!' and they restored to him those (three former Agnis): they are these enclosing-sticks.

14. He then said, 'The thunderbolt, (in the shape of) the vasha²-call, has struck these down: I am afraid of that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call. Lest that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call, should strike me down, enclose me by those (three Agnis, or paridhis); and thus that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call, will not strike me down.' They said, 'So be it!' and they enclosed him with those (three sticks), and that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call, did not strike him down. When he encloses Agni with those (sticks) he buckles armour on him.

15. They (the other three Agnis) then said, 'If you join us with the sacrifice in this wise, then let us also have a share in the sacrifice!'

16. The gods said: 'So be it! What shall fall outside the enclosure, that is offered unto you; and what they shall offer just upon you, that will sate

¹ See I, 2, 3, 1.

² The call 'vasha' (or vausha), apparently signifying 'may he (Agni) carry it (the oblation) up!' (from vah, to bear, carry), is pronounced by the Hotri at the end of the yâgyâs or offering prayers (see note on I, 5, 1, 16). Professor Weber has somewhere proposed to derive it from vaksh, to grow, increase, hence 'may it prosper, or agree, with you!' Different, but quite fanciful, interpretations of vasha are given Sat. Br. I, 5, 2, 18; Ait. Br. 3, 6. As to the awful solemnity of this formula, and the danger arising from a careless use of it, see Ait. Br. 3, 8, on which Haug remarks, 'Up to the present day the Shrotriyas or sacrificial priests never dare to pronounce this formula save at the time of sacrificing. They say that if they would do so at any other time, they would be cursed by the gods.'

you ; and what they shall offer up in the fire that will sate you !' Thus what they offer up in the fire, that satisfies them (the Agnis) ; and what they offer up just upon them (the enclosing-sticks, or Agnis), that satisfies them ; and what is spilled outside the enclosure, that is offered to them¹ : hence no sin attaches to what (butter) is spilt ; for into this earth they entered (when they, the Agnis, passed away), and whatever is spilt here,—all that remains indeed in her.

17. That which is spilt he touches, with the formulas (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'To the Lord of the Earth—svâhâ !' 'To the Lord of the World—svâhâ !' 'To the Lord of Beings—svâhâ !' These, indeed, are the names of those Agnis,—to wit, Lord of the Earth, Lord of the World, and Lord of Beings. Thus in like manner as that (oblation) which is accompanied by 'Vashat' is offered up (to the particular deity to which it is announced), so is this (offered up) on his (the sacrificer's) part to those Agnis.

18. Here now some people take the sticks they lay around from the fire-wood ; but let him not do so, for unsuitable for laying around are those which they take from the fire-wood, since the fire-wood is prepared for the purpose of being put upon (the fire) ; but what other (kind of sticks) they bring to him, called 'enclosing-sticks (paridhis),' they are indeed suitable for his purpose : let them therefore bring others.

19. Indeed, they should be of Palâsa wood

¹ The Kāṇva text has as follows :—They said, 'So be it ! what shall fall outside the enclosure that shall be yours ! and what they shall offer just upon you that shall sate you !' for what they offer just upon them that does indeed sate them (enân) ; and what they offer up in the fire that is theirs (eshâm, ? the gods') ; and what falls outside the enclosure by that he shall incur no guilt, &c.

(*Butea Frondosa*); for the *Palāsa* tree, doubtless, is the Brahman¹, and *Agni* also is the Brahman: for this reason the *Agnis* should be of *Palāsa* wood.

20. Should he be unable to procure them of *Palāsa* wood, they may be of *Vikankata* wood (*Flacourtia Sapida*); and if he be unable to procure any of *Vikankata*, they may be of *Kārshmarya* wood (*Gmelina Arborea*); and if he be unable to procure any of *Kārshmarya* wood, they may be of *Vilva* (*Aegle Marmelos*), or of *Khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*), or of *Udumbara* wood (*Ficus Glomerata*). These, doubtless, are the trees that are suitable for sacrificial purposes, and from these trees they (the enclosing-sticks) are therefore (taken).

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. They should be green (fresh); for that is (what constitutes) their living element, by that they are vigorous, by that possessed of strength: for this reason they should be green.

2. The middle stick he lays down first (on the west side of the fire), with the text (*Vāg. S. II, 3*), 'May the *Gandharva Visvāvasu*² lay thee around

¹ The Brahman, or supreme spirit (? or, sacred writ), is more than once identified with the *Palāsa* tree in the *Satapatha Br.*, as in *V, 2, 4, 18*; *VI, 6, 3, 7*; *XII, 7, 2, 15*; and with the leaf of that tree (*palāsasya palāsam*) in *II, 6, 2, 8*. [? Cf. *Rig-veda X, 31, 7*, 'Which was the wood, which was the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth?' and *Taitt. Br. II, 8, 9, 6*, 'Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree out of which they fashioned heaven and earth;' also *Ath.-veda X, 7, 38*, 'The gods form part of the divine essence (*Skambha-Brahma*) as branches of a tree.']

² The genius *Visvāvasu* is already mentioned in *Rig-veda X, 85, 21 seq.*, and *X, 139, 4*, where *Grassmann* identifies him with the rainbow (cf. *Roth, Nirukta notes, p. 145*). See also *Sat. Br. III, 2, 4, 2*; *XIV, 9, 4, 18*.

for the security of the All! Thou art a fence to the sacrificer, thou (art) Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!

3. He then lays down the southern one, with the text (ib.), 'Thou art Indra's arm for the security of the All! Thou art a fence to the sacrificer; thou Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!'

4. He then lays down the northern one, with the text (ib.), 'May Mitra-Varuṇa lay thee around in the north with firm law for the security of the All! Thou art a fence to the sacrificer, thou Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!' They are indeed Agnis, and for that reason he says, 'Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!'

5. Thereupon he puts on (the fire) a samidh (kindling-stick). He first touches with it the middle enclosing-stick: thereby he first kindles those (three Agnis). After that he puts it on the fire: thereby he kindles the visible fire.

6. He puts it on¹, with the gâyatrî stanza (Vâg. S. II, 4), 'Thee, O Sage, who callest (the gods) to the feast, we will kindle so as to shine brilliantly; thee, O Agni, mighty at the sacrifice!' He thereby kindles the gâyatrî²; the gâyatrî, when kindled, kindles the other metres; and the metres, when kindled, carry the sacrifice to the gods.

¹ According to Sâyana, the two sticks or pieces of wood are put on the fire in a manner similar to that in which the two âghâras or sprinklings of clarified butter are made (see I, 4, 4-5); viz. the first in the direction north-west to south-east, and the second from south-west to north-east.

² The gâyatrî is the first of the three principal metres, cf. p. 80, note 3. It consists of three octo-syllabic pâdas, of which Rig-veda I, 164, 25 says,—'The gâyatra, they say, has three flames (or fire-brands, samidh): therefore it excelled in grandeur and power.'

7. By the second kindling-stick (samidh), which he now puts on, he kindles the spring; the spring, when kindled, kindles the other seasons; and the seasons, when kindled, cause living beings to be produced and the plants to ripen. He puts it on, with the formula (Vâg. S. II, 5), 'A kindler (samidh) art thou!' for the spring is indeed a kindler.

8. When he has put it on, he murmurs (ib.), 'May the sun guard thee from the east against any imprecation!' for the enclosing-sticks serve for protection on all (the other three) sides; and thereby he makes the sun the protector on the east side, fearing 'lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should rush in from the east:' for the sun is the repeller of the evil spirits, the Rakshas.

9. By that third kindling-stick, then, which he puts on at the after-offerings¹, he kindles the officiating priest (brâhmana); and he, the priest, when kindled, carries the sacrifice to the gods.

10. He now returns to the altar covered (with sacrificial grass). Having taken two stalks of grass, he lays them down across (the barhis or grass covering, with the tops to the north), with the formula (Vâg. S. II, 5), 'Savitṛ's arms² are ye!' The prastara bunch is indeed the top-knot (of the sacrifice); and he now lays down these two cross-wise as its eye-brows: thereby these two (represent) the transverse eye-brows. The prastara, further,

¹ See I, 8, 2, 3.

² Bâhû, 'the two arms,' is apparently taken here by our author both in its natural sense and as the arms of the bow or arch, formed by the eye-brows. The barhis, or grass covering of the altar, was, as we saw (I, 3, 3, 7), identified with the beard and other hair of the body.

(represents) the kshatra (or military class); and the other barhis the vis (or, the common Âryan people);—(and the two stalks he puts down between them) for the sake of separating (vidhṛiti) the kshatra and the vis: for this reason he lays them down crosswise; and for this reason these two (stalks) are called vidhṛiti.

11. On them he spreads the prastara, with the formula (Vâg. S. II, 5), 'I spread thee, soft as wool, pleasant to sit upon for the gods!' When he says 'thee, soft as wool,' he means to say 'agreeable to the gods;' and by 'pleasant to sit upon for the gods' he means to say 'forming a good seat for the gods.'

12. He presses it down (with his left hand), with the text (ib.), 'May the Vasus, the Rudras, the Âdityas sit on thee!' These three, that is, the Vasus, the Rudras, and the Âdityas, namely, are (classes of) gods; and these, he means to say, are to sit down on it. While it is still being held down with his left hand,—

13. He seizes the guhû with his right, fearing 'lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should enter there in the meantime;' for the officiating priest (brâhmana) is the repeller of the Rakshas: therefore, while it (the prastara) is still being held down with his left hand,—

14. He seizes the guhû, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 6), 'Fond of butter art thou, Guhû by name!' for fond of butter indeed it is, and Guhû by name;—'Sit down here with the favourite resort¹ (or dainty) on the favourite seat!' The upabhṛit (he takes), with the formula (ib.), 'Fond of butter art thou, Upabhṛit

¹ Viz. the butter, which is the dear resort, or home, of the gods; see I, 3, 2, 17. Possibly, however, dhâman may here mean 'dainty.'

by name!' for fond of butter indeed it is, and Upa-
bhṛit by name;—'Sit down here with the favourite
resort on the favourite seat!' The dhruvâ (he takes)
with 'Fond of butter art thou, Dhruvâ by name!' for
fond of butter indeed it is, and Dhruvâ by name;
—'Sit down here with the favourite resort on the
favourite seat!' What other sacrificial food there is,
(he puts down on the prastara), with the formula,
'With the favourite resort sit down on the favourite
seat!'

15. He lays the *guhû* down on (the prastara),
and the other spoons down below, (viz. on the
barhis, north of the *guhû*, and so as not to touch
it or one another); for the *guhû* assuredly is the
kshatra, and the other spoons (*sruḥ*) are the
vis: he thereby makes the kshatra superior to
the *vis*. Hence the people here serve, from a
lower position, the Kshatriya seated above them:
for this reason he places the *guhû* upon (the pra-
stara) and the other spoons down below it.

16. He touches the offerings, with the text (*Vâg.*
S. II, 6), 'Safely they have sat down,' for safely
indeed they sat down;—'in the lap (*yoni*) of divine
truth!' for the sacrifice is indeed the lap of divine
truth, and in the sacrifice they sat down;—'Protect
these, O Vishṇu! protect the sacrifice! protect the
lord of sacrifice!' thereby he refers to the sacrificer;
—'Protect me, the leader of the sacrifice!' thereby
he does not exclude himself either from the sacrifice.
Vishṇu, assuredly, is the sacrifice: hence it is to the
sacrifice that he makes all that over for protection.
This is the reason why he says, 'Protect these,
O Vishṇu!'

FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

THE KINDLING OF THE FIRE, THE PRAVARA, AND THE TWO
LIBATIONS (ÂGHÂRA) OF BUTTER.

1. With the fire-wood (idhma, lighting material) the Adhvaryu lights (indh) the fire: hence it is called fire-wood. And with the kindling verses (sâmidhent) the Hotri kindles (sam-indh, to make blaze): hence they are called kindling verses.

2. He (the Adhvaryu¹) says (to the Hotri): 'Recite to the fire as it is being kindled!' for it is to the fire, when it is being kindled, that he recites.

3. Here now some people say, 'O Hotar, recite to the fire as it is being kindled!' But let him not say so; for that (priest) is not a Hotri as yet; only when he (the sacrificer) elects him², does he

¹ The Adhvaryu, in the first place, prepares a seat for the Hotri, either west of the altar or north of its left hip; and covers it with dry Kusa grass. [He then calls, 'O Hotri, come!'] The Hotri, having rinsed his mouth north-east of the Âhavanîya, with his face to the east, turns round from left to right and betakes himself to the sacrificial ground, always keeping his right foot before the left. He finally takes up his position so as to have the heel of the right foot in a line with the north hip of the altar, and the toes on the barhis; whilst he keeps the hands on a level with the heart, spread open and joined together, and looks towards the junction of the earth and sky. The Adhvaryu then takes a samidh (kindling-stick) and calls on him as above. The Hotri now mutters the formulas 'Adoration to the teacher! Adoration to the observer! Adoration to the promulgator!' &c. (Âsv. Srautas I, 2, 1). The sacrificer then takes the wooden sword and says, 'Recite for me, as it were, stretching along (i. e. continuously)!' whereupon the Hotri, having asked and received the permission of the Brahman, proceeds to recite the kindling verses. Kâty. III, 1, 1 seq.; Âsv. I, 1, 4 seq.

² This does not take place until the pravara or invitation addressed to Agni, the Hotri of the gods, to assist in calling the

become a *Hotri*. Let him therefore say, 'Recite to the fire as it is being kindled!'

4. He recites (verses) addressed to Agni: he accordingly kindles it (the fire) with the aid of its own deity. In the *gâyatrī* metre (are the verses which) he recites; for the *gâyatrī* is Agni's metre: by means of its own metre he thereby kindles it. The *gâyatrī* is vigour, the *gâyatrī* is the brahman¹ (the priestly order): with vigour he thereby kindles it.

5. Eleven (verses) he recites; for of eleven syllables consists the *trishūbh* metre. The *gâyatrī* is the brahman and the *trishūbh* is the *kshatra* (or military order)². With the aid of these two energies he thus kindles it: for this reason he recites eleven (verses).

6. Thrice he recites the first verse, and thrice the last one; for of threefold beginning are sacrifices, and of threefold termination: therefore he recites thrice the first and the last (verses).

7. Fifteen *sâmidhent* verses result (from this repetition of the first and last of the eleven verses). The fifteen-versed chant³, doubtless, is the thunderbolt,

gods to the sacrifice, cf. *Sâyana* and *Sat. Br. I, 5, 1, 1* seq. According to some authorities, however, the choosing of the *Hotri* seems to take place at this particular time, or even before, at the time of the *agnyanvâdhâna*; cf. *Hillebrandt*, p. 73.

¹ The *gâyatrī* (though it is not the most frequent metre) is considered as the first, as it is the shortest, of Vedic metres. The hymns addressed to Agni are mostly in the *gâyatrī* metre.

² The hymns celebrating the heroic deeds of Indra and his associates, the wind-gods, are almost entirely composed in the *trishūbh*, the most frequent of Vedic metres.

³ The *paññadāsa-stoma*, or form of recitation in fifteen verses at the Soma-sacrifice, is sacred to Indra (*Nirukta* 7, 10), the wielder of the thunderbolt.

and the thunderbolt means strength; so that he thereby converts the sâmidhenîs into strength: hence, if he should hate any one, he may crush him with his great toes¹ at the time when those (verses) are recited. By saying, 'I here crush so and so!' he crushes him with that thunderbolt.

8. Fifteen nights indeed there are in a half-moon; and growing by half-moons the year passes: hence he thereby obtains the nights.

9. Now in the fifteen gâyatrl verses there are indeed three hundred and sixty syllables²; and three hundred and sixty days there are in a year: hence he thereby obtains the days, he thereby obtains the year.

10. For an ishîi (which is performed in order to obtain the fulfilment of a special wish)³ let him recite seventeen sâmidhent verses; for in a low voice he sacrifices to the deity to which he offers an ishîi.

¹ Or, with his thumbs (aṅgush/hâbhyâm). The Kânva text has 'pâdyâbhyâm aṅgush/hâbhyâm;' but Kâty. III, 1, 7 has 'aṅgush/hâbhyâm pâdyâbhyâm vâ,' which would seem to leave a choice between the thumbs and the great toes; the commentator, however, takes vâ in a restrictive sense. The sacrificer is to press down the earth with his great toes (or thumbs) each time when a kindling verse is recited.

² The gâyatrl verse consists of three times eight syllables, and $24 \times 15 = 360$. In the place of the last sâmidhent (called paridhânîyâ), however, the Vâsish/has have a trish/ubh stanza (4×11 syllables), so that the above computation of syllables does not hold good in their case. One might be inclined to infer from this that the trish/ubh was the more original, a gâyatrl being substituted later to yield the above symbolical number of syllables. Cf. Taitt. S. II, 5, 7 seq.; Taitt. Br. III, 5, 3.

³ The kâmyeshîs, and ishîs generally, are performed with certain modifications, on the model of the new and full-moon sacrifice, of which they are therefore said to be vikṛîtis or modifications.

Twelve months, namely, there are in a year, and five seasons¹: this (makes) the seventeenfold Pragâpati. For verily Pragâpati is all: hence for what wish he performs the ishî, that wish he thus accomplishes by means of the All. In a low voice he sacrifices to the deity; for what is spoken in a low voice is undefined (indistinct), and undefined is the 'All:' hence for whatever wish he performs the ishî, that wish he thus accomplishes by means of the All. This is the practice in regard to an ishî.

11. Some people say: 'Let him recite twenty-one sâmidhenî verses also at the full and new-moon sacrifice.' Twelve, doubtless, are the months of the year, five the seasons, and three these worlds: this (makes) twenty; and the twenty-first is this very (sun) that here shines: he is the resort, he the stay; thereby he (the sacrificer) obtains this resort, this stay. He may therefore recite twenty-one.

12. Let him recite them only for one of established prosperity (gatasrî), who would not wish to become either better or worse. For, what he for whom they recite is like, like that he will either be or worse², for whom, that knows this, they recite

¹ In other passages, and in later times generally, six seasons, comprising two months each, are counted, but the transitional season between winter and spring, *sisira*, is not unfrequently, as in our passage, combined with the winter season (*hemanta*), or partially with that and the spring (*vasanta*). On the identification of Pragâpati with the year, cf. note on I, 2, 5, 12.

² The condition of one who is *gatasrî* cannot be improved, but only impaired. The construction of this paragraph is somewhat doubtful to me. It runs thus: *Tâ haitâ gatasrî evânubhîyâd ya ikkhen na sreyânt syâm na pâptyân iti yâdrîsâya haiva sate 'nvâhus tâdrîñ vâ haiva bhavati pâptyân vâ yasyaivam vidusha etâ*

those (twenty-one verses). This, however, is mere speculation, for those (twenty-one verses) are not recited¹.

13. Thrice he should recite the first and thrice the last (verse), without drawing breath; for three are these worlds, so that he thereby spreads (santan) these worlds, gains these worlds. Also three breaths there are in man: this recitation thereby causes him (the sacrificer) to be extended (santata), not cut short (by death).

14. He (the Hotṛi) should endeavour to recite thus (uninterruptedly) as long as his strength lasts. If, on the other hand, he were to take breath in the middle (of the verse), it would be a slight on this very (sacrifice)²: by reciting this (holy) com-

anvāhuḥ so eshā mīmāṃsaiva na tv evaitā anūkyante. Sāyana seems to take it thus:—‘He should recite them only for a gatasrī. A householder who desires neither an improvement nor a lowering of his position, is just such a one or whom the Hotṛis recite the sāmīdhenīs in the appointed (niyatena) way. Further, for whomsoever, that thus knows the irregular ? aniyata, not regulated) way of recitation, they recite those twenty-one sāmīdhenīs, he becomes either worse or better. What is set forth in the words from “A householder who desires neither an improvement” &c. is mere speculation; the recitation is not to be performed in this way.’ The corresponding paragraph of the Kāṇva recension is much briefer and clearer:—Tad etad gatasrī eva kurvīta na ha sreyān na pāpīyān bhavati yasyaivam anvāhuḥ saishā mīmāṃsaiva na tv anūkyante, ‘only a gatasrī, however, should do this; for neither better nor worse becomes he for whom they recite thus. This is indeed speculation, but they (the twenty-one sāmīdhenīs) are not recited.’

¹ In the Taitt. S. II, 5, 10, the number of verses (effected by the repetition) is given as varying, according to the special object in view, between fifteen and forty-eight.

² ? Or, it would be an act of neglect on his, the sacrificer’s, part: by (the Hotṛi) reciting without fetching breath, that act, that neglect would be avoided.

position without taking breath, that slight will be avoided.

15. If, however, he do not care to undertake this, he may also recite one (verse) at a time without drawing breath: he thereby spreads those worlds one by one, gains those worlds one by one. The reason why he takes breath, is that the gâyatrl is indeed breath; and that by reciting a complete gâyatrl verse, he accordingly bestows complete breathing (on the sacrificer): let him therefore recite one (verse) at a time without breathing.

16. He recites them in a continuous, uninterrupted way: thereby he makes the days and nights of the year continuous, and in a continuous, uninterrupted way revolve those days and nights of the year. And in this way he gives no access to the spiteful enemy; but access he would indeed give, if he were to recite them discontinuously: he therefore recites in a continuous, uninterrupted way.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He recites after uttering (the syllable) 'Hiñ!' Sacrifice, they say, is not (performed) without the Sâman; and neither is the Sâman chanted without 'Hiñ' having been uttered. By his uttering 'Hiñ!' the peculiar nature (rûpam) of the word 'Hiñ' is produced (in the sacrifice); and by the sacred syllable (om) it assumes the nature of the Sâman. By uttering 'Om! Om¹!' this his entire sacrifice becomes endowed with the Sâman.

¹ That is, by uttering 'Om!' after each verse. The recitation of the first verse is preceded by the mystic words 'Hiñ bhûr bhuvaḥ svar om!' Âsv. S. I, 2, 3. Both syllables 'hiñ' and 'om' are essential elements in the recitation of Sâman hymns. See II, 2, 4, 11 seq.

2. And (another reason) why he utters 'Hiñ!' is this. The word 'Hiñ' means breath, for the word 'Hiñ' does indeed mean breath: he cannot therefore pronounce the word 'Hiñ,' when he closes his nostrils. The *rik* (verse) he recites with his voice. Now, voice and breath are a pair, so that a productive union of the sâmidhents is thereby effected at the outset: for this reason he recites, after uttering 'Hiñ!'

3. He utters the word 'Hiñ' in a low voice. Were he, on the contrary, to pronounce 'Hiñ' aloud, he would make 'voice' of both the one and the other: for this reason he utters the word 'Hiñ' in a low voice.

4. He recites with 'â (hither)!' and 'pra (forth or thither)!' He thereby joins a gâyatrî verse directed hitherward to one directed away from here: the one which tends from hence carries the sacrifice to the gods, and the one which tends hitherward pleases the men. For this reason he recites with 'â' and 'pra.'

5. And (another reason) why he recites with 'â' and 'pra,' is this. 'Pra (forth)' clearly means out-breathing, and 'â (hither)' means in-breathing: hence he thereby obtains out-breathing and in-breathing (for the sacrificer). For this reason he recites with 'â' and 'pra.'

¹ The particles pra and â were apparently used in phrases wishing one a safe journey and return (cf. Ait. Br. 3, 26, with Haug's note). The first sâmidhentî begins, 'prâ vo vâgâ abhîdyavaḥ' (forth go your viands, heavenward); and the second, 'âgna â yâhi vitâye' (come hither, Agni, to the feast!). It is from these verses that the above symbolical explanation is derived. Cf. Taitt. S. II, 5, 7, 3 [prâtinam reto dhîyate—pratikîh pragâ gâyante].

6. Yet (other reasons) why he recites with 'hither (â)' and 'thither (pra),' are these. 'Thither' the seed is cast, and 'hither' birth takes place. 'Thither' the cattle disperse (for grazing), 'hither' they return. Indeed, everything here (moves) 'hither' and 'thither:' for this reason he recites with 'â' and 'pra.'

7. He recites¹, 'Forth go your viands, heaven-

¹ The following is a connected translation (as literal as possible, if not elegant) of the eleven *sâmidhents*, or kindling verses, in the same octosyllabic metre as the original. The first and eleventh verses are recited three times; and when at the end of each verse the *Hotri* pronounces the syllable *om*, the *Adhvaryu* throws a stick (*samidh*) into the fire,—up to the eighth verse, at the end of which the tenth stick is thrown in. At the end of the ninth verse five of the remaining six sticks are thrown into the fire. The throwing of the first stick is accompanied by the sacrificer pronouncing the dedicatory formula (*tyâga*), 'For Agni this, not for me!'

1. Forth go your viands, heavenward,
In havis rich; with buttered (spoon)
He nears the gods, wishful of bliss.
2. Come hither, Agni, to the feast;
Invokéd for the offering-gift,
As *Hotri* on the barhis sit!
3. With *samidhs* thee, O *Ângiras*,
With butter we exhilarate:
Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!
4. Agni, do thou obtain for us
That region wide and glorious,
That great and mighty one, O God!
5. Praiseworthy he, adorable,
Visible through the veil of gloom,
Agni, the mighty one, is lit.
6. The mighty Agni is lit up,
Yea, as a horse that bears the gods:
With offerings him they glorify.
7. O mighty one! we mighty men
Do kindle thee, the mighty one,—
O Agni, thee that brightly shines.

ward!—hereby, then, the ‘thither’ is (realised). And (in the second verse), ‘Come hither, Agni, to expand¹!’—by this, on the other hand, the ‘hither’ is (realised).

8. Now, in reference to this point, some people say, ‘Both these (texts) surely result in a “thither².”’ This, however, is beyond the ordinary understanding: the text, ‘forth go your viands, heavenward!’ is clearly (directed) a way from (the sacrificer); and the text, ‘Come hither, Agni, to expand!’ is (directed) towards (him).

9. He recites (the first kindling verse), ‘Forth go your viands, heavenward!’ this, then, tends in a forward direction. ‘Viands’ (*vâga*)³ he says, because viands mean food: hence food is obtained (for the sacrificer) by this recitation. ‘Heavenward’ he says, because those that tend heavenward are the half-

8. Agni we choose as messenger,
As *Hotri* the all-knowing,—him,
Performing well this sacrifice.

9. He who is kindled at the cult,
Agni, the bright, the laudable,
The flaming-locked, him we adore.

10. O Agni, worshipped, thou art lit:
Adore, good worshipper, the gods!
Oblation-bearer, sure, art thou.

11. Make offerings! do reverence!—
Him, Agni, while the cult proceeds,
For your oblation-bearer choose!

¹ See further on, par. 22 seq.

² Inasmuch as Agni, whilst coming to the sacrifice, goes away from the gods. *Sây.*

³ In the *Taitt. S. II, 5, 7, 3-4* also *vâga* is in the first place rendered by ‘food,’ while afterwards it is identified with the months (i. e. the coursers? *gamanasîla*, *Sây.*); as *abhidyava* (in the sense of ‘shining in both directions,’ i. e. in the form of the waxing and waning moon, *Sây.*) is referred to the half-moons.

moons : it is, therefore, the half-moons which he obtains by this recitation. 'In havis rich' he further says, because those that are rich in havis (milk, butter) are the cattle ; it is cattle, therefore, that he thereby obtains through the recitation.

10. 'With buttered (spoon)—' he adds. Now Māthava, the (king of) Videgha¹, carried Agni Vaisvānara in his mouth. The R̥ishi Gotama Rāhūgana was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter), he made no answer to him, fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth.

11. He (the priest) began to invoke the latter with

¹ To this important legend attention was first drawn by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 170 seq. (cf. also Ind. Streifen, I, p. 13 ; J. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, II, p. 402). It was pointed out by Weber that this legend distinguishes three successive stages of the eastward migration of the Brāhmanical Hindus. In the first place the settlements of the Āryans had already been extended from the Pañjab (where they were settled in the times of the hymns of the Rig-veda) as far as the Sarasvatī. They thence pushed forward, led by the Videgha Māthava and his priest, according to our legend, as far east as the river Sadānīrā (that is, 'she that is always filled with water'), which, according to Sāyana, is another name for the Karatoyā (the modern Kurattee, on which Bograh lies), which formed the eastern boundary of the Videhas ; or more probably the Gandakī (the modern Gunduck, a noble river which falls into the Ganges opposite Patna, and) which formed the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas (cf. par. 17). It would appear from our legend, that for some time the Āryans did not venture to cross this river ; but at the time of the author the country to the east of it had long been occupied by them. Sāyana takes the hero of the legend to be Videgha, the Mādhava or son of Madhu ; but Videgha, an older form of Videha, is more probably intended here (as Weber takes it) for the name of that people and country (corresponding to the modern Tirhut). The Agni Vaisvānara (or Agni who is common to all men) of our legend Professor Weber considers a personification of Brāhmanical worship and civilisation and the destructive effects of their extension.

verses of the Rig-veda, 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, thee the radiant, the mighty caller to the sacrificial feast (Rig-veda V, 26, 3)!—O Videgha!'

12. He (the king) did not answer. (The priest went on), 'Upwards, O Agni, dart thy brilliant, shining rays, thy flames, thy beams (Rig-veda VIII, 44, 16)!—O Videgha-a-a!'

13. Still he did not answer. (The priest continued), 'Thee, O butter-sprinkled one, we invoke! (Rig-veda V, 26, 2);' so much he uttered, when at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaisvânara flashed forth from the (king's) mouth: he was unable to hold him back; he issued from his mouth, and fell down on this earth.

14. Mâthava, the Videgha, was at that time on the (river) Sarasvatî¹. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gotama Râhûgana and the Videgha Mâthava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that (river), which is called 'Sadânîrâ,' flows from the northern (Himâlâya) mountain: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brâhmins did not cross in former times, thinking, 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.'

15. Now-a-days, however, there are many Brâhmins to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadânîrâ) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaisvânara.

16. Now-a-days, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brâhmins have caused (Agni) to taste it through

¹ Or, according to Sâyana, he was then in the Sarasvatî, plunged into the river in order to quench the heat produced by Agni.

sacrifices. Even in late summer that (river), as it were, rages along¹: so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.

17. Mâthava, the Videgha, then said (to Agni), 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this (river) be thy abode!' said he. Even now this (river) forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas; for these are the Mâthavas (or descendants of Mâthava).

18. Gotama Râhûgana then said (to Mâthava), 'Why didst thou not answer when addressed by us?' He replied, 'Agni Vaisvânara was in my mouth; I did not reply, lest he should escape from my mouth.'

19. 'How then did this happen?'—'At the moment when thou didst utter the words, " (Thee), O butter-sprinkled one, we invoke!" just then, at the mention of butter, Agni Vaisvânara flashed forth from my mouth; I was unable to hold him back, he issued from my mouth.'

20. That (word) in the sâmidhents, therefore, which contains butter (*ghṛita*) is especially suitable for kindling (*sam-indh*); and by it he accordingly kindles him (Agni, the fire) and bestows vigour on this (sacrificer).

21. Now that (word) is *ghṛitâkyâ*, 'with the buttered (spoon).'¹—'He nears² the gods, wishful of bliss.' Wishful of bliss, truly, is the sacrificer, since he wishes to approach the gods, to go to³

¹ That is to say, it is not affected by the heat of the summer, as the other rivers, but rushes along as rapidly and as well-filled as ever.

² *Gigâti* is taken by Sâyana in the sense of 'he sings, praises.' Our author, on the other hand, seems to interpret it by 'he conquers (*gi*);' see, however, next note.

³ The text has, 'Sa hi devân *gigîshati* sa hi devân *gigâmsati*.' The Kânva recension has the same reading, except that it omits 'hi'

the gods: therefore he says, 'he nears the gods, wishful of bliss.' This (verse), which is addressed to Agni, is undefined (vague); and undefined, doubtless, is the 'All:': he thus commences (this holy work) with the All.

22. [He recites the second sâmidhenī]: 'Come hither, Agni, to expand!'—'To expand' he says, because at the beginning these worlds were well-nigh contiguous to one another: at that time one could touch the sky thus¹.

23. The gods desired, 'How could these worlds of ours become farther apart from one another? How could there be more space for us?' They breathed through them (the worlds) with these three syllables (forming the word) 'vītaye²,' and these worlds became far apart from one another; and there was then ampler space for the gods: ample space, therefore, he will have for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse) containing (the word) 'vītaye.'

24. He proceeds, 'Invoked for the giver of oblations!' 'The giver of oblations³,' of course, is the

in both cases. Instead of *gigâṃsati*, however, some MSS., as well as *Sâyana*, read *gighâṃsati* ('he wishes to conquer, or beat, the gods'), probably an old corruption, easily accounted for by the circumstance that *gigîshati* is the regular desiderative of *gi*, 'to conquer,' though it also occurs in some passages as the desiderative of *gâ*, 'to go.' *Sâyana*, however, though he reads *gighâṃsati*, here allows to the root *han* (with Naigh. 2, 14) the meaning of 'to go.' Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 406, note 4.

¹ Viz. by stretching the arms upwards. *Sâyana*.

² That is, *vi-itaye*, 'for going asunder,' a fanciful analysis of the word *vīti*; the correct rendering is 'for the meal or food,' 'for the feast.'

³ *Havyadâti*, the correct meaning of the word is 'the giving of oblations.'

sacrificer : hence 'invoked for the sacrificer' is what he thereby means to say.—'As Hotri' on the barhis sit!' Agni, indeed, is the Hotri, and the barhis (the covering of sacrificial grass on the altar) is this world : hence he thereby establishes Agni (the fire) in this world, as this fire is established (or, beneficial, hita) in this world. This (verse), then, is recited with reference to this world (the earth) : through it this world is conquered by him for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse).

25. [He recites the third sâmidhent]: 'With samidhs thee, O Âṅgiras!'—with samidhs (kindling-sticks), indeed, the Âṅgiras kindled him. 'O Âṅgiras!' he says, for Agni is indeed Âṅgiras¹.—'With butter we exhilarate!' This (viz. ghr̥itena, 'with butter') is a word which is especially suitable for the kindling of Agni : by it he kindles him, and bestows vigour on this (sacrificer).

26. 'Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!' he adds ; for brilliantly he shines, when kindled ; and 'O youngest!' he says, because he is really the youngest Agni² : therefore he says, 'O youngest!' This (verse) is recited with reference to yonder world, to wit, the aërial world ; hence this (verse), which is addressed to Agni, is undefined, for undefined is yonder world : that world he thereby gains, for whom, knowing this, they recite this verse.

27. [He recites the fourth sâmidhent]: 'Agni, do thou obtain for us that (region) wide and

¹ Rig-veda I, 31, 1, he is called the first of the Âṅgiras.

² The fire which has just been kindled is frequently called the youngest (yavish/ha). Sâyana takes it as 'the ever young.' See also the legend regarding the three Agnis who preceded the present Agni in the office of divine Hotri, I, 2, 3, 1 ; 3, 3, 13.

glorious!' For wide, indeed, is yonder (region) wherein the gods (dwell), and glorious is that (region) wherein the gods (dwell). When he says, 'Do thou obtain for us¹,' he means to say, 'make us go to it!'

28. 'That great and mighty one, O God!' For great, indeed, is yonder (region) wherein the gods (dwell), and mighty² is that wherein the gods (dwell). This (verse), then, is recited with reference to yonder world: that heavenly world he thereby gains, for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse).

29. He recites (the fifth sâmidhent): 'Praise-worthy he, adorable,' for worthy of praise he is, and worthy of adoration;—'visible through the veil of gloom,' for when kindled he is seen right through the gloom;—'Agni, the mighty one (bull), is lit,' for he is indeed lit up, the mighty one.

[He recites the sixth sâmidhent]: 'The mighty Agni is lit up,' for he is indeed lit up.

30. 'Yea³, as a horse that bears the gods,' for having become a horse he does indeed carry the sacrifice to the gods: the (word) 'na' which occurs in this verse has the meaning of 'om' (verily); hence he says, 'Yea, as a horse that bears to the gods.'

¹ Vivâsasi, Sâyana explains it by prakâsaya, 'illuminate it;' but cf. Sâyana on Rig-veda VI, 16, asmân *akṣha* abhigamaya, 'make it (dhanam) come to us.'

² Suvîrya is taken by our author as an adjective, co-ordinate with the others; but it is evidently a noun ('abundance of heroes' or 'manliness, manly power,' St. Petersburg Dictionary) qualified by the adjectives.

³ Na is taken by our author as a particle of asseveration; though in reality it is a particle of comparison. In later Sanskrit na is only used as particle of negation.

31. 'With offerings him they glorify,' for with offerings men indeed glorify him; therefore he says, 'with offerings him they glorify.'

32. [He recites the seventh sâmidhent]: 'O mighty one¹! we mighty men do kindle thee, the mighty one!' for they indeed kindle him;—'O Agni, thee that brightly shines!' for he indeed shone brightly when he was kindled.

33. He recites this tristich which contains the word (*vri*shan), 'mighty.' All these kindling verses, it is true, are addressed to Agni; Indra, however, is the deity of sacrifice, Indra is the mighty (hero); hence these his (the sacrificer's) kindling verses thereby become possessed of Indra: this is the reason why he recites the tristich containing the word 'mighty.'

34. He recites [the eighth sâmidhent]: 'Agni we choose as messenger!' Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprang from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. When they were thus contending, the gâyatrî stood between them. That gâyatrî was the same as this earth, and this earth indeed lay between them². Now both of them knew that whichever she would side with, they would be victorious and the others would be defeated. Both parties then invited her secretly to come to them. Agni acted as messenger for the gods; and an Asura-Rakshas, named Sa-

¹ *Vri*shan, 'the male, the vigorous one, the bull;' cf. Max Müller, Translation of Rig-veda Sanhitâ, I, p. 121 seq.

² 'On the top of Mount Meru lies the city of Amarâvatî, wherein the gods dwell; and beneath Meru lies Irâvatî, the city of the Asuras: between these two lies the earth.' *Sâyana*.

harakshas¹, for the Asuras. She then followed Agni: he therefore recites, 'Agni we choose for messenger,' because he was the messenger of the gods.—'As Hotri the all-knowing, him!'

35. Here now some people recite, 'He who is the Hotri of the all-knowing²;' lest (in saying 'for Hotri, the all-knowing, him') one should say to oneself 'enough (i.e. have done)!' This, however, he should not do; for by (doing) so they do at the sacrifice what is human; and what is human, is inauspicious at a sacrifice. Therefore, lest he should do what is inauspicious at the sacrifice, he should recite, just as it is recited by the *Rîk*, 'for Hotri, the all-knowing, him!' [He continues], 'Performing well this sacrifice!' for he, Agni, is indeed a good performer of the sacrifice: for this reason he says, 'performing well this sacrifice.' She (gâyatri, or the earth) sided with the gods, and the gods thereupon were victorious and the Asuras were defeated: and verily he for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse), is himself victorious and his adversaries are defeated.

36. He therefore recites this, the eighth (sâmidhent). This, indeed, is peculiarly a gâyatritrî verse, since it is of eight syllables that the gâyatritrî (metre) consists: for this reason he recites the eighth (sâmidhent).

¹ Cf. the corresponding passage in Taitt. S. II, 5, 11, 8, where Daivya is given as the name of the messenger of the Asuras.

² That is to say, instead of 'Hotâram visvavedasam,' they recite 'Hotâ yo visvavedasah;' for the reason that Hotâram (accusative of hotri) might be understood to be 'hotâ aram,' aram, 'enough,' being a particle implying a prohibition. Our author, however, promptly sets his face against this application of human reasoning to an inspired text.

37. Here now some people place the two (dhâyyâs) additional kindling verses before (the eighth sâmidhent), arguing, 'The two dhâyyâs¹ mean food: this edible food we place in front (or, in the mouth, mukhata~~h~~). But let him not do this: for with him who inserts the additional verses before (the eighth), the latter (the eighth) is clearly out of its place², since in that case it (and the succeeding verse) become the tenth and eleventh verses. With him, on the other hand, for whom they recite this as the eighth (kindling verse), it is indeed in its proper place: let him therefore insert the two additional verses after (the ninth).

38. [He recites the ninth kindling verse]: 'He who is kindled at the cult—the cult (adhvara), doubtless, is the sacrifice: 'he who is kindled at the sacrifice' he thereby says;—'Agni, the bright, the laudable,' for he is both bright and laudable;—'the flaming-locked, him we adore!' for when he is kindled, his locks, as it were, flame. Previously to (the beginning of the tenth verse), 'O Agni, worshipped, thou art lit!' let him (the Adhvaryu) put on

¹ Whenever thirteen kindling verses are recited instead of eleven (or counting the repetitions of the first and last verses, seventeen instead of fifteen), the two verses Rig-veda III, 27, 5 and 6 are inserted according to our author after the ninth, and according to others before the eighth, sâmidhent. They are called dhâyyâ, probably derived from dhâ, 'to put, add,' whilst those ritualists whose practice is here rejected apparently connect the word with the root dhâ (dhe), 'to suck.'

² According to Sâyana, because it no longer occupies the eighth place for which it is specially appropriate on account of its being, according to our author, 'peculiarly a gâyatrí (eight-syllabled) verse.' This reasoning is far from satisfactory, since the two dhâyyâs (Rig-veda III, 27, 5 and 6) are also gâyatrí verses.

all the kindling-sticks with the exception of the one stick (which is to be put on at the after-offerings¹); for it is now that the *Hotri* completes (the kindling); and what then is left of the kindling-sticks, other than the one stick, that is left (unused altogether); and what is left (unused) of the sacrifice, that is left for his (the sacrificer's) spiteful enemy: let him, therefore, previously to this (verse), put on all the *samidhs*, save one.

39. [He continues]: 'Adore, good worshipper, the gods!' worship (*adhvara*) doubtless means sacrifice: 'adore the gods, good sacrificer' he thereby says;—'Oblation-bearer, sure, art thou!' for he, Agni, is indeed the bearer of oblations: for this reason he says 'oblation-bearer, sure, art thou.'

[He recites the last *sâmidheni*]: 'Make offerings! do reverence! Him, Agni, while the cult proceeds, for your oblation-bearer choose!' by this (verse) he urges them on: 'make offerings and worship! do this for (the accomplishment) of whatever desire you kindled him!' this is what he thereby means to say. 'Him, Agni, while the cult proceeds,' he says, because cult means sacrifice: hence he thereby says, 'him, Agni, whilst the sacrifice proceeds;—'for your oblation-bearer choose!' for he, Agni, is indeed the oblation-bearer, and for this reason he says 'for your oblation-bearer choose (him)!'

40. This tristich, containing (the word) 'cult (*adhvara*),' he thus recites. For once when the gods were engaged in sacrificing, their rivals, the Asuras, wished to injure (*dhurv*, *dhvar*) them; but, though desirous of injuring them, they were

¹ See I, 8, 2, 3.

unable to injure them and were foiled : for this reason the sacrifice is called *adhvara* ('not damaged, uninterrupted'); and for whomsoever, that knows this, they recite this tristich containing (the word) *adhvara* ('cult, sacrifice'), his rival, though desirous of injuring him, is foiled; and he (the sacrificer), moreover, gains as much as one gains by offering a Soma-sacrifice¹.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now in former times the gods appointed Agni to the chief (office), namely, that of *Hotri*; and having appointed him to the chief (office) saying 'do thou carry this our oblation!' they cheered him up, saying, 'Surely, thou art vigorous; surely, thou art equal to this!' thereby endowing him with vigour, even as in our own days, when they appoint any one from among their kinsmen to the chief (office), they cheer him up saying 'surely, thou art vigorous; surely, thou art equal to this!' thereby endowing him with vigour. By what, therefore, he recites after this, he eulogizes him, puts vigour into him².

2. 'O Agni, thou art great! O priest (*brâhmana*), O *Bhârata*!' for Agni, indeed, is the *brahman*

¹ *Saumya adhvara* is the common designation of the solemn Soma-sacrifice; hence, our author argues, the word *adhvara* is here used for sacrifice (*yagña*) with a view to insure to this offering the efficacy of a Soma-sacrifice.

² The invocations he now proceeds to recite, on the termination of the *sâmidhents* or kindling verses, belong to the class of formulas called *nigada*. In the present case, they consist of the *pravara mantra*—or formula by which Agni is invited to assist the sacrificer as *Hotri* or Invoker on the present occasion, as he has of old assisted his ancestors (cf. the following note)—and of short detached formulas called *nivid*. *Sâyana* on Taitt. S. II, 5, 8.

(sacerdotium) : therefore he says 'O Brāhmaṇa !'— 'O Bhârata' he says, because he (Agni) bears (bhar) the oblation to the gods : therefore they say 'Agni is bhârata (the bearer).' Or, he, being the breath, sustains (bhar) these creatures : therefore he says 'O Bhârata (sustainer) !'

3. He now calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotri priest)¹. He thereby introduces him both to the Rishis and to the gods (as if he were to say), 'Of great vigour is he who has obtained the sacrifice !' This is the reason why he calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotri).

4. He calls from the remote end (of the sacri-

¹ Ârsheyam pravṛinīte, literally 'he chooses the ancestral' (rishi). I take 'ârshheyam' as a masculine adjective qualifying a supplied '(Agnim) hotâram.' In this way the formula is explained by Sâyana on I, 5, 1, 9 (*rishinâm sambandhinam adhvaryur hotâram vṛinīte*), and this seems to me the most natural interpretation. It is true, however, that, as the formula ('he chooses the ancestral') became stereotyped, its exact import became forgotten, and ârsheya was generally taken as a neuter, either adjective (viz. 'nâmadheyam,' 'apatyam'), or noun (ancestral lineage). Agni is invoked as the one who has of old officiated as the Hotri of the sacrificer's ancestors, three or five ancestral names being usually mentioned : thus, in the case of a sacrificer belonging to the Gâmadagna Vatsa family, claiming Bhrigu, Kyavana, Apnavâna, Aurva, and Gamadagni as its founders, Agni is invoked, on the present occasion, as 'Bhârgava Kyâvana Âpnavâna Aurva Gâmadagna !' (Âsval. Sr. 12, 10, 6 ; Sâyana on Taitt. S. II, 5, 8). If the sacrificer belongs to the Kshatriya or Vaisya castes, the priest substitutes for the sacrificer's ancestors those of his family priest (purohita) or his spiritual guide (guru) ; and in the case of kings the same course was adopted, or the names of their royal rishi ancestors (râgarshi) were chosen. As to the second pravara, or the election of the human Hotri, for the present sacrifice, see I, 5, 1, 1. Cf. Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 386 seq. ; A. Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 321 seq. ; X, 78 seq. ; M. Haug, Aitar. Br., Translation, p. 479.

ficer's ancestral line) downwards; for it is from the remote end downwards that a race is propagated. He (the Hotri) also thereby propitiates the lord of seniority for him (the Sacrificer); for here among men the father comes first, then the son, and then the grandson: this is the reason why he calls from the remote end downwards.

5. Having named (him as) the ancestral one, he says, '(thou wert) kindled by the gods, kindled by Manu;' for in olden times the gods did kindle him: for this reason he says 'kindled by the gods;' and 'kindled by Manu' he says, because in olden times Manu did kindle him: for this reason he says 'kindled by Manu.'

6. He continues, 'Praised by the *Rishis* (wert thou);' for in olden times the *Rishis* did praise him: for this reason he says 'praised by the *Rishis*.'

7. Further, 'Gladdened by bards (*vipra*);' for those bards, the *Rishis*, indeed gladdened him: for this reason he says 'gladdened by bards.'

8. Further, 'Celebrated by sages (*kavi*);' for those sages, the *Rishis*, indeed celebrated him: this is why he says 'celebrated by sages.'

9. Further, 'Sharpened by the brahman (the Veda or vedic formulas),' for he is indeed sharpened by the brahman;—'the receiver of butter-offerings,' for he is indeed the receiver of butter-offerings.

10. Further, 'The leader of oblations (*yagñā*), the carrier of (Soma-)sacrifices (*adhvara*),' for through him they lead forward all oblations, both the domestic oblations and the others: this is why he says 'the leader of oblations.'

11. 'The carrier (*rathi*) of sacrifices;' for being a cart (as it were) he conveys the sacrifice to the

gods: this is the reason why he says 'the carrier of sacrifices.'

12. Further, 'The unsurpassed Hotri, the surpassing bearer of oblations;' for him the Rakshas do not surpass (tar): for this reason he says 'the unsurpassed - (atârta) Hotri.' 'The surpassing (târni, rather 'swift') bearer of oblations,' for he overcomes (tar) every evil: therefore he says 'the surpassing bearer of oblations'¹.

13. Further, 'The mouth-vessel², the offering-spoon of the gods;' for he, Agni, is indeed the vessel of the gods: therefore they make offerings in Agni to all the gods, he being the vessel of the gods. And, verily, whosoever knows this, obtains the vessel of him whose vessel he desires to obtain³.

14. Further, 'The cup from which the gods drink;' for from him, being (as it were) a cup, the gods drink (the Soma-libations): for this reason he says 'the cup from which the gods drink.'

15. Further, 'Thou, O Agni! dost encompass the gods, as the felly the spokes;' 'in the same way in which the felly on all sides encompasses the spokes, so dost thou on all sides encompass the gods,' this is what he thereby says.

16. 'Bring hither the gods for the sacrificer!' this he says in order that he (Agni) may bring the gods

¹ At this point of the recitation a pause is made, during which (as already partly during the preceding recitation) the Adhvaryu and Âgnîdhra engage in the acts detailed in I, 4, 4, 13 seq. Cf. Hillebrandt, Neu und Vollm. p. 81.

² Âs-pâtram: the fire is, as it were, the vessel into which the sacrificial food is thrown and from which it is eaten by the gods.

³ ? Sâyana supplies 'food:' he obtains the vessel of that food of which he wishes to obtain the vessel.

to this sacrifice¹.—‘Bring Agni hither, O Agni!’ this he says in order that he may bring Agni to the butter-portion intended for Agni.—‘Bring Soma hither!’ this he says in order that he may bring Soma to the butter-portion intended for Soma.—‘Bring Agni hither!’ this he says in order that he (Agni) may bring Agni hither to that indispensable² cake which is offered to Agni on both occasions (at the new and the full-moon sacrifices).

17. And (in the same way) according to the respective deities³. He then continues, ‘Bring hither the butter-drinking gods!’ this he says in order that he may bring hither the prayâgas and anyâgas (fore and after-offerings), for the prayâgas and anyâgas (represent) indeed the butter-drinking gods.—‘Bring Agni hither for the Hotri⁴ship!’ this he says in order that he may bring Agni hither for the office of Hotri.—‘Your own greatness bring hither!’ this he says in order that he (Agni) may

¹ Here begins what is called the devatânâm âvahanam, or invitation (lit. bringing) of the deities to the oblations. Whilst the Hotri recites these formulas, the Adhvaryu performs what is set forth in I, 4, 5, 2 seq.

² *Akṣyuta*, lit. ‘not fallen,’ i. e. immutable, invariable. For the legendary explanation of this epithet of Agni and his oblation, see I, 6, 1, 6; 2, 5-6.

³ The three preceding invocations are used alike at the new and full-moon sacrifices, but the subsequent ones differ according to the oblations that are made, viz. a rice-cake to Indra-Agni (or an oblation of mixed milk and butter to Indra) at the new-moon ceremony; and to Agni-Soma at the full-moon sacrifice. Previously to these an *upâmsuyâga* or ‘low-voiced oblation’ is made by some to Agni-Soma at the full moon, and one to Vishṇu (or to Agni-Soma) at the new-moon sacrifice; according to others also one to Pragrâpati,—the names of the gods being whispered in the respective formulas.

bring hither his own greatness; his own greatness, in truth, is his voice: hence he says it in order that he may bring hither his voice¹.—‘Bring thou hither (the gods), O *Gâtavedas*², and offer up a good offering!’ what deities he bids him bring hither, with regard to those (deities) he thereby says ‘bring them hither!’ When he says, ‘offer up a good offering!’ he means to say, ‘sacrifice in the proper order!’

18. He recites (the invitatory prayer)³ while standing, since it is yonder (sky) which he thereby recites; for, indeed, the invitatory prayer (signifies) yonder (sky), and by it he recites that which is yonder (sky). This is the reason why he recites standing.

19. The offering-prayer³ he pronounces while sitting, since the offering-prayer (represents) this (earth): hence no one pronounces the offering-prayer while standing; for the offering-prayer is

¹ *Sâyana* on *Taitt. S. II, 5, 9* explains the formula ‘Bring hither the own greatness’ by ‘bring hither whatever greatness or power is peculiar to each of the havis-eating gods,’ and he remarks expressly that it is not to be referred to *Agni*, as our author certainly appears to do. Cf. I, 7, 3, 13.

² *Gâtavedas* probably means ‘he who knoweth (all) beings,’ but it is more generally explained by ‘he who possesseth riches (or wisdom),’ not to mention other interpretations. According to *Haug, Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 224*, the proper meaning of the term is ‘having possession of all that is born, i. e. pervading it.’ He further mentions that the *Rishis* are quite familiar with the idea of the fire being an all-pervading power; and that by *Gâtavedas* the ‘animal fire’ is particularly to be understood. Our present formula ‘â ka vaha gâtavedaḥ suyagâ ka yaga’ somewhat differs from the corresponding formula of the *Taitt. S. II, 5, 9, 5*, ‘â kâgne devân vaha suyagâ ka yaga gâtavedaḥ.’

³ For the *anuvâkyâ* or invitatory prayer, and the *yâgyâ* or offering-prayer, see p. 135 note.

this earth, and by it he pronounces that which is this (earth). This is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer while sitting.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The fire that has been kindled by means of the kindling verses, assuredly, blazes more brightly than any other fire; for, indeed, it is unassailable, unapproachable.

2. And in like manner as the fire blazes when kindled by means of the kindling verses, so also blazes the priest (brâhmana) that knows and recites the kindling verses; for, indeed, he is unassailable, unapproachable.

3. He recites, 'Pra va¹;' for the (word) prâna contains the syllable pra ('forwards'; or, is directed forwards): hence it is the prâna (out-breathing) which he kindles by this (the first sâmidhent). [He further recites the second verse], 'Come hither, Agni, to expand!' the backward breathing (apâna)², doubtless, is of this nature: the backward breathing he accordingly kindles with this (verse). Further (in the third verse), 'Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!' the high-flaming one³, indeed, is the upward breathing (udâna): the upward

¹ The first two words of the first sâmidhent, cf. p. 101 note. A mystic meaning is obtained for them by our author combining them and identifying the form obtained with the adjective pravant, meaning both 'containing the syllable pra' and 'directed forwards,' both of which meanings apply to the breathing-forth or expiration (prâna, cf. I, 1, 3, 2).

² Bahir nirgatasya vâyor âtmâbhimukhî vṛtitir hy apânaḥ, udâna-vâyur dehasyotkshepanâd adhikategoyuktaḥ. Sâyana.

³ The author apparently takes brîhakkhokâ(h) as a compound.

breathing he accordingly kindles with this (the third verse).

4. Further, 'Sa na¹ *prīthu sravāyyam*¹,' the 'far-hearing one,' indeed, is the ear, for it is with the ear that one hears here far or widely: the ear he accordingly kindles with this (the fourth verse).

5. Further, 'Praiseworthy he, adorable;' the praiseworthy² one, doubtless, is the voice; for it is the voice which praises everything here; by the voice everything is praised here: he accordingly kindles the voice with this (the fifth verse).

6. Further, 'Yea, as a horse that bears (to) the gods;' that which conveys to the gods is indeed the mind, for it is the mind which chiefly conveys the wise man (to the gods): the mind he accordingly kindles with this (the sixth verse).

7. Further, 'O Agni, thee, that brightly shines!' the eye, assuredly, shines: the eye he accordingly kindles by this (the seventh verse).

8. Further, 'Agni we choose for messenger,'—what central breath there is (in the body), that he kindles with this (the eighth verse): that one indeed is the internal motive force of the breathings; from it (two) others tend upwards, and from it (two) others tend downwards, for it is indeed the internal motive force. And whosoever knows that internal motive force of the breathings, him they regard as the internal motive force.'

¹ 'That (region) wide and glorious' (do thou obtain for us); but the author takes *prīthu sravāyyam* as 'that widely hearing one' or 'the wide hearing.' *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S. II, 5, 8*, interprets it by 'that (holy work) which is extended and worthy of being heard by the gods.'

² He apparently takes *īdenya* in an active sense.

9. Further, 'The flaming-locked, him we adore!' the flaming-locked, doubtless, is the *sisna*, for it is that organ which chiefly burns (torments) him who is endowed with it: the *sisna* he accordingly kindles by this (the ninth verse).

10. Further, 'O Agni, worshipped, thou art lit!' what downward breathing there is that he kindles with this (the tenth verse); 'make offerings, do reverence!' with this (the eleventh verse) he kindles the entire body from the nails to the hair.

11. And if any one were to curse this one (the *Hotri*) at the (recitation of the) first kindling verse, then he (the *Hotri*) should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own out-breathing into the fire: by that out-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place.

12. If any one were to curse him at the second (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own in-breathing into the fire: by that in-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place.

13. If any one were to curse him at the third (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own up-breathing into the fire: by that up-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place.

14. If any one were to curse him at the fourth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own ear into the fire: by that ear of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become deaf!' for this is what would take place.

15. If any one were to curse him at the fifth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own voice into the fire: by that voice of

thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become dumb!' for this is what would take place.

16. If any one were to curse him at the sixth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own mind into the fire: by that mind of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt move about as one possessed with the (demon) "mind-stealer," as one deranged in mind!' for this is what would take place.

17. If any one were to curse him at the seventh (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own eye into the fire: by that eye of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become blind!' for this is what would take place.

18. If any one were to curse him at the eighth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own central breath into the fire: by that central breath of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt expire and die!' for this is what would take place.

19. If any one were to curse him at the ninth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own organ into the fire: by that organ of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become emasculate!' for this is what would take place.

20. If any one were to curse him at the tenth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own down-breathing into the fire: by that down-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt die from constipation!' for this is what would take place.

21. If any one were to curse him at the eleventh (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast

put thine entire body into the fire : with that entire body of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt swiftly pass to yonder world !' for this is what would take place.

22. For in like manner as one undergoes suffering on approaching the fire that has been kindled by means of the kindling verses, so also does one undergo suffering for cursing a priest (*brāhmaṇa*) who knows and recites the kindling verses.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. That same fire, then, they have kindled, (thinking), 'In it, when kindled, we will sacrifice to the gods.' In it, indeed, he makes these two first oblations¹ to Mind and Speech (or, Voice); for mind and speech, when yoked together, convey the sacrifice to the gods.

2. Now, what is performed (with formulas, pronounced) in a low voice, by that the mind conveys the sacrifice to the gods; and what is performed (with formulas) distinctly uttered by speech, by that the speech conveys the sacrifice to the gods. And thus takes place here a twofold performance, whereby

¹ Viz. the two *āghâras*, or pourings (libations) of butter. The first libation, which belongs to *Pragâpati*, is made by the *Adhvaryu*, while seated north of the fire, immediately after the commencement of the *pravara*, in a continuous line from west to east, on the north part of the fire. The second libation (cf. note on I, 4, 5, 3) is made by the *Adhvaryu* while standing on the south side, in the same way on the southern part of the fire. According to some authorities of the Black Yagus ritual (quoted by Hillebrandt, *Neu und Vollm.* pp. 80, 86) the sacrificer pronounces the *anumantranas*, 'For *Pragâpati* is this, not for me: thou art the mind of *Pragâpati*!' and 'Indra's voice (speech) art thou: enter into me with the voice, with Indra's power!' over the two libations respectively.

he gratifies these two, thinking, 'gratified and pleased, these two shall convey the sacrifice to the gods.'

3. With the dipping-spoon (*sruva*, m.) he makes that libation (of clarified butter) which he makes for the mind; for the mind (*manas*, n.!) is male, and male is the *sruva*.

4. With the offering-spoon (*sruk*, f.) he makes that libation which he makes for speech (*vâk*, f.); for speech is female, and female is the *sruk*.

5. Silently (without a formula) and even without 'svâhâ (hail)!' he makes that libation which he makes for the mind; for undefined (or indistinct) is the mind, and undefined is what takes place silently.

6. With a mantra he makes that libation which he makes for speech; for distinct is speech, and distinct is the formula.

7. Sitting he makes that libation which he makes for the mind, and standing that which he makes for speech. Mind and speech, when yoked together, assuredly convey the sacrifice to the gods. But when one of two yoke-fellows is smaller (than the other) they give him a shoulder-piece¹. Now speech is indeed smaller than mind; for mind is by far the more unlimited, and speech is by far the more limited (of the two); hence he thereby (by standing) gives a shoulder-piece to speech, and as well-matched yoke-fellows these two now convey the sacrifice to the gods: for speech, therefore, he sprinkles while standing.

8. Now the gods, when they were performing sacrifice, were afraid of a disturbance on the part

¹ Upavaha (m.; upavaḥas, n., Kâṇva rec.), explained by Sâyana as a piece of wood inserted under the yoke (and on the neck of an ox) in order to make it level with the height of the yoke-fellow.

of the Asuras and Rakshas. They, therefore, stood up erect against them on the south side (of the sacrificial ground); for strength is, as it were, erect; hence he makes the (second) libation while standing to the south (of the fire). When he makes a libation on each side (of the fire, north and south), this (pair), mind and speech, though indeed joined together, become separate: for one of the two libations is the head of the sacrifice and the other is its root.

9. With the dipping-spoon (*sruvā*) he makes that libation which is the root of the sacrifice, and with the offering-spoon (*sruk*) that which is the head of the sacrifice.

10. Silently he makes that libation which is the root of the sacrifice; for silent, as it were, is this root (of trees &c.), and in it the voice does not sound.

11. With a formula he makes that libation which is the head of the sacrifice; for the formula is speech, and from the head this speech sounds.

12. Sitting he makes that libation which is the root of the sacrifice; for seated, as it were, is this root. Standing he makes that libation which is the head of the sacrifice; for this head stands, as it were.

13. When he has made the first libation with the dipping-spoon, he says, 'Agnīdh, sweep (touch over) the fire¹!' In like manner as one would lay the yoke on (the shoulders of the team), so also he makes that first libation; for after laying on the yoke they fasten (the team to it).

14. He (the *Āgnīdhra*) then sweeps (the fire with

¹ See I, 4, 2, 12, with note.

the band of the fire-wood): he thereby harnesses it, thinking, 'Now that it has been harnessed, may it convey the sacrifice to the gods!' for this reason he sweeps it. While sweeping it he moves around, since in harnessing they move around the team. He sweeps thrice each time (i.e. thrice along each of the three enclosing-sticks): threefold is the sacrifice.

15. He sweeps (once), with the text (Vāg. S. II, 7 a), 'O Agni, food-gainer! I cleanse thee, the food-gainer, who art about to hasten to the food!' Whereby he says, 'I cleanse thee who art going to convey the sacrifice (to the gods), thee fit for the sacrifice!' He then sweeps thrice over (the fire) silently: for just as, after harnessing (the animal), one urges it on, saying, 'Go on! pull!' so does he thereby strike it with the lash¹, thinking, 'Go on and convey the sacrifice to the gods!' That is why he (sweeps) thrice over it silently; and in like manner as this act is performed between (the two sprinklings of butter), so this mind and speech, though forming one, thereby become, as it were, separate.

FIFTH BRĀHMAṆA

1. When he (the Adhvaryu) is about to make the second libation with the offering-spoon (sruk), he (twice) lays his joined hands (aṅgali) on the ground before the two offering-spoons (guhû and upabhrit), with the formulas (Vāg. S. II, 7 b), 'Adoration to the gods!' 'Svadhâ to the fathers!' Thereby he propitiates the gods and the fathers, now that

¹ The sweeping of the fire is performed with the straw-band with which the fire-wood was tied together (Kâty. III, 1, 13), and which is here compared with the lash of a whip.

he is about to perform the duties of the sacrificial priest. With the formula, 'May ye two be easy to manage for me!' he takes the two offering-spoons: he thereby means to say, 'May ye two be easy to handle for me; may I be able to handle you!'—He further says (*Vâg. S. II, 8*), 'May I this day offer up the butter to the gods unspilt!' whereby he means to say, 'May I to-day perform an undisturbed sacrifice to the gods!'

2. And again, 'May I not sin against thee with my foot, O Vishnu!' Vishnu, indeed, is the sacrifice: it is the latter therefore that he propitiates by saying, 'may I not sin against thee!' Further, 'May I step into thy wealth-abounding shade, O Agni!' whereby he says, 'may I step into thy auspicious shade, O Agni!'

3. Further, 'Thou art the abode of Vishnu!' Vishnu, indeed, is the sacrifice, and near to this he now stands: this is why he says, 'thou art the abode of Vishnu!'—'Here Indra performed his heroic deed²;' for it was while standing in this place that Indra drove off towards the south the evil spirits, the Rakshas: for this reason he says, 'here Indra performed his heroic deed.'—'Erect stood the cult;' cult,

¹ While he pronounces this formula (and while the *Hotri* recites the formula of invitation to the gods, cf. note on I, 4, 2, 16) the *Adhvaryu* steps to the south side of the altar (and *Âhavanîya* fire) and in so doing must take care always to keep the left foot before the right (*Kâty. III, 1, 16, 18*) and not to touch the top of the *prastara*, ib. 17, schol. In returning (par. 5) to his former position he has to keep the right foot before the left.

² With this and the succeeding formulas, the *Adhvaryu* makes the second libation (cf. note on I, 4, 4, 1). Before the butter is poured into the fire the sacrificer pronounces the dedicatory formula, 'Om! for Indra this, not for me!'

namely, means sacrifice, hence he thereby says 'erect stood the sacrifice.'

4. Further (Vâg. S. II, 9): 'O Agni, take thou upon thyself the office of Hotri, take thou upon thyself the part of messenger!' for Agni is both Hotri and messenger to the gods: hence he thereby says, 'know thou¹ both (offices) which thou art (holding) for the gods!'—'May earth and heaven guard thee! Guard thou earth and heaven!' there is nothing obscure in this.—'Indra, by this butter-oblation, may be the maker of good offering (svishṭakṛit) for the gods! Svâhâ!' Indra, indeed, is the deity of sacrifice; therefore he says 'Indra, by this butter-oblation. . .' 'It is for speech that he makes this sprinkling, and Indra is speech' so say some; and for this reason also he says 'Indra, by this butter-oblation. . .'

5. Having then returned (to his former position behind the altar), without letting the two offering-spoons touch each other, he mixes (some of the butter left in the guhû) with (that in) the dhruvâ. Now the second libation (which he has just offered) is the head of the sacrifice, and the dhruvâ is its body²: hence he thereby replaces the head on the body. And the second libation, moreover, is the head of the sacrifice, and the head (siras) represents excellence (srî), for the head does indeed represent excellence: hence, of one who is the most excellent (sreshṭha) of a community, people say that he is 'the head of that community.'

¹ Veḥ, in the formula, our author refers to vid, 'to know,' instead of to vî, 'to strive after, undertake.'

² Cf. I, 3, 2, 2, and Taitt. S. II, 5, 11, 7-8. The second libation (âghâra) has just been made with the guhû.

6. The sacrificer, assuredly, stands behind the dhruvâ, and he who means evil to him stands behind the upabhṛit¹. Hence if he were to mix (the butter remaining in the guhû) with (that in) the upabhṛit, he would bestow excellence on him who means evil to the sacrificer; but in this way he bestows that excellence on the sacrificer himself: for this reason he mixes (the butter in the guhû) with (that in) the dhruvâ.

7. He mixes it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 9 h), 'Light with light!' for light (lustre), indeed, is the butter in the one (spoon) and light also is that in the other. Thereby these two lights unite with each other, and for this reason he mixes (the butter) in this manner.

8. Now a dispute once took place between Mind and Speech as to² which was the better of the two. Both Mind and Speech said, 'I am excellent!'

9. Mind said, 'Surely I am better than thou, for thou dost not speak anything that is not understood by me; and since thou art only an imitator of what is done by me and a follower in my wake, I am surely better than thou!'

10. Speech said, 'Surely I am better than thou, for what thou knowest I make known, I communicate.'

¹ The same idea has been expressed above, I, 3, 2, 11.

² Cf. Taitt. S. II, 5, 11, 4: 'Mind and Speech (or Voice) were contending against one another.' 'I will carry the oblation to the gods!' said Speech. 'I (will carry it) to the gods!' said the Mind. They went to Pragâpati to question him. Pragâpati said (to Speech), 'Thou art the handmaid (dûtt) of the mind, for what one thinks in one's mind that one speaks with one's speech.' [Speech replied], 'Then indeed they shall not offer to thee with speech!' For this reason they offer to Pragâpati with the mind; for Pragâpati, as it were, is the mind, &c.

11. They went to appeal to Pragâpati for his decision. He, Pragâpati, decided in favour of Mind, saying (to Speech), 'Mind is indeed better than thou, for thou art an imitator of its deeds and a follower in its wake; and inferior, surely, is he who imitates his better's deeds and follows in his wake.'

12. Then Speech (vâk, fem.) being thus gainsaid, was dismayed and miscarried. She, Speech, then said to Pragâpati, 'May I never be thy oblation-bearer, I whom thou hast gainsaid!' Hence whatever at the sacrifice is performed for Pragâpati, that is performed in a low voice; for speech would not act as oblation-bearer for Pragâpati.

13. That germ (retas) the gods then brought away in a skin or in some (vessel). They asked: 'Is it here (atra)?' and therefore it developed into Atri. For the same reason one becomes guilty by (intercourse) with a woman who has just miscarried (âtreyi); for it is from that woman, from the goddess Speech, that these (germs) originate¹.

FIFTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He (the Adhvaryu) now utters his call for the Pravara (choosing of the Hotri)². The reason why he utters his call, is that the (Adhvaryu's) call is

¹ 'Tasmâd apy âtreyyâ yoshitainasvy etasyai hi yoshâyai vâko devatâyâ ete sambhûtâh,' [ete laukikâh sarve garbhâh sambhûtâh, Sây.].—The Kâṇva text has, 'Tasmâd api striyâtreyyainasvity âhur etasyâ hi sa yoshâyâ devatâyâ vâkaḥ sambhûta iti' ['—for it is from that woman, from the goddess Speech, that he (Atri) originated'].

² The Hotri, on concluding the invitation of the gods, sits down with raised knees in the same place where he has been standing (see p. 95, note 1), parts the sacrificial grass of the altar, and measures a span on the earth, with the text (Âsv. I, 3, 22), 'Aditi is his mother, do not cut him off from the air. With the aid of

the sacrifice: 'having bespoke the sacrifice, I will choose the *Hotri*,' thus (he thinks, and) for this reason he utters his call for the Pravara.

2. He utters his call after taking the fuel-band; for if the Adhvaryu were to utter his call without taking hold of the sacrifice, he would either be unsteady or meet with some other ailment.

3. Here now some utter the call after taking sacrificial grass (*barhis*) from the covered altar, or they utter the call after cutting off and taking a chip of fire-wood, arguing, 'this, surely, is something belonging to the sacrifice; after taking hold of this, the sacrifice, we will utter the call.' Let him, however, not do this; for that also wherewith the fire-wood was tied together and wherewith they sweep the fire¹ is, doubtless, something belonging to the sacrifice; and thus indeed he utters his call after taking hold of the sacrifice: for this reason let him utter the call after taking the fuel-band.

4. Having uttered the call, he in the first place chooses him who is the *Hotri* of the gods, that is, Agni. Thereby he propitiates both Agni and the gods: for by first choosing Agni, he propitiates Agni;

Agni, the god, the deity; with the threefold chant, with the *râthantara-sâman*, with the *gâyatri* metre, with the *agnish/oma* sacrifice, with the *vasha/-call*, the thunderbolt,—I here kill him who hates us, and whom we hate! The Adhvaryu having thereupon walked round the *Hotri* from left to right, steps behind the *utkara* (heap of rubbish) with his face to the east and the fuel-band in his hand, and calls on (*âsrâvayati*) the *Âgnîdhra*, with *Ô srâvaya* (or *Ôm srâvaya*, i.e. *â srâvaya*; or simply *srâvaya*;' cf. *Sâyana* on *Taitt. S. I, 6, 11*). The *Âgnîdhra* (whilst standing north of the Adhvaryu, with his face to the south, and taking the wooden sword and the fuel-band from the Adhvaryu) responds (*pratyâsrâvayati*) by '*astu srausha/*'

¹ See p. 127, note 1.

and by first choosing him who is the *Hotri* of the gods, he propitiates the gods.

5. He says, 'Agni, the god, the divine *Hotri*—,' for Agni is indeed the *Hotri* of the gods, therefore he says 'Agni, the god, the divine *Hotri*:' thereby he propitiates both Agni and the gods; for by his first mentioning Agni he propitiates Agni; and by his first mentioning him who is the *Hotri* of the gods, he propitiates the gods.

6. 'May he worship, knowing the gods¹, he the thoughtful one,'—for he, Agni, indeed, knows the gods well: hence he thereby says 'may he who knows them well worship (them) in due form!'

7. 'Like as Manu (did), like as Bharata;—Manu, indeed, worshipped with sacrifice in olden times, and doing as he did these descendants of his now sacrifice: therefore he says 'like as Manu.' Or, say they, (it means) 'at the sacrifice of Manu,' and therefore he says 'as (he did) with Manu.'

8. 'Like as (with) Bharata,'—for, say they, he bears (*bhar*) the oblation to the gods, hence Bharata (the bearer) is Agni; or, say they, he, having become the breath, supports (*bhar*) these creatures, and therefore he says 'like as Bharata.'

9. He then chooses (Agni as) the ancestral (*Hotri*). He thus introduces him both to the (ancestral) *rishis* and to the gods (as if he were saying), 'he is of mighty strength who obtained the sacrifice!' for this reason he chooses (him as) the ancestral one.

10. He chooses from the remote end (of the sacrificer's ancestral line)² downwards; for it is from the

¹ Thus our author. It should rather be 'May (he) worship the gods, he the wise, the considerate one.'

² Cf. p. 115, note 1.

remote end downwards that a race is propagated. Thereby he also propitiates the lord of seniority; for here among men the father comes first, then the son, and then the grandson: this is the reason why he chooses from the remote end downwards.

11. Having named the ancestral, he says, 'Like as Brahman;'—for Agni is the Brahman (the Veda, or the sacerdotium), and therefore he says 'like as Brahman;'—'may he bring (the gods) hither!' what deities he bids him bring hither, those he refers to in saying 'may he bring (them) hither.'

12. 'The Brāhmaṇas (priests) are the guardians of this sacrifice;' for guardians of the sacrifice, indeed, are those Brāhmaṇas who are versed in the sacred writ, because they spread it, they originate it: these he thereby propitiates; and for this reason he says, 'the Brāhmaṇas are the guardians of the sacrifice.'

13. 'N. N. is the man,' thereby he chooses this man for his Hotri; heretofore he was not a Hotri, but now he is a Hotri.

14. The chosen Hotri mutters,—has recourse to the deities: in order that he may give the vashaṭ-call to the gods in its proper order, that he may convey the oblation to the gods in its proper order, that he may not stumble, he has thus recourse to the deities.

15. He mutters on this occasion¹, 'Thee, O divine Savitri, they now choose,'—thereby he has recourse to Savitri for his impulsion (prasava), for Savitri is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods;—'(thee who art) Agni, for the Hotriship,' thereby he

¹ Except the beginning, these formulas are entirely different from those given by Âsv. S. I, 3, 23-24.

propitiates both Agni and the gods; for by first naming Agni, he propitiates Agni; and by first naming him who is the Hotri of the gods, he propitiates the gods.

16. 'Together with father Vaisvânara,'—for the father Vaisvânara ('common to all men'), doubtless, is the year, is Pragâpati (lord of creatures); hence he thereby propitiates the year and thus Pragâpati.—'O Agni! O Pûshan! O Brihaspati! speak forth and offer up sacrifice (pra-yag)!—he (the Hotri), namely, will have to recite the anuvâkyâs and the yâgyâs¹; he therefore now propitiates those gods: 'do ye recite, do ye offer!' thus (he thereby says).

17. 'May we partake of the bounty of the Vasus, of the wide sway of the Rudras! may we be beloved of the Âdityas for the sake of (aditi) security from injury, free from obstruction!'—these, to wit, the Vasus, Rudras, and Âdityas, namely, are three (classes of) gods: 'may we enjoy their protection' he thereby says.

18. 'May I this day utter speech that is agreeable to the gods;'—by this he means to say 'may I this day recite what is agreeable to the gods,' for auspicious it is when one recites what is agreeable to the gods.

19. 'Agreeable to the Brahmanas,'—by this he means to say 'may I this day recite what is agreeable to the Brâhmaṇas (priests);' for auspicious it is when one recites what is agreeable to the Brâhmaṇas.

¹ The yâgyâs (offering-prayers) are the prayers which the Hotri pronounces when the offerings are poured into the fire (this being done simultaneously with, or immediately after, the vaushaṭi, 'may he carry it,' with which the yâgyâ ends, is pronounced). At the chief oblations the offering-prayer is preceded by an anuvâkyâ or puro'nuvâkyâ (invitatory prayer) by which the gods are invited to come to the offering, and which ends with 'om.'

20. 'Agreeable to *Narâsamsa* ¹, — man (*nara*), namely, is a creature : hence he says this for all the creatures ; thereby it is auspicious, and whether or not he knows (forms of speech that are agreeable), they are uttered (and received with applause), 'well he has recited ! well he has recited !' — 'What at the *Hotri* choice may escape the crooked eye this day, that may *Agni* bring back here, he, the knower of beings (*gâtavedas*), the nimble one (*vikarshanî*) !' — by this he means to say, 'even as those (three) *Agnis*, whom they first chose for the *Hotriship*, passed away ², (but thou, the fourth *Agni*, wast then obtained,) so do thou make good for me whatever mistake may have been committed at my election !' and it is accordingly made good for him.

21. He now touches the *Adhvaryu* and the *Āgnīdhra* ; for the *Adhvaryu* is the mind, and the *Hotri* is speech : thus he thereby brings mind and speech together.

22. At the same time he mutters ³, 'From anguish may the six spaces protect me, fire, earth, water, wind, day, and night ⁴ !' — 'may these deities protect

¹ *Narâsamsa* ['the hope or desire (*âramsâ*) of man (*nara*)'] is a mystical form of *Agni*, invoked chiefly in the *Āpri*-hymns at animal sacrifices. 'Yathâ sarve'pi narâ â sarvataḥ samsanti tathâvidhâya.' *Sâyana*.

² See the legend I, 2, 3, 1 seq.

³ This and the succeeding formulas also are entirely different from those given in *Âsv. S. I, 3, 27* seq. The *Sânkhây. S. I, 6* (Hillebrandt, *Neu und Vollm.* p. 91) seems to coincide, to some extent, with those given by our author.

⁴ The six spaces or wide expanses (*urvî*) are several times referred to in Vedic texts, but the conception seems to have been very vague. They are generally supposed to include the space above, the space below, and the four quarters. In *Rig-veda VI, 47, 3-5* it is stated that they have been measured out

me from disease!' thus he thereby says; for he whom these deities protect from disease, will not stumble (or fail).

23. He steps beside the Hotri's seat, takes one stalk of (reed) grass from the Hotri's seat and casts it outside (the sacrificial ground), with the formula, 'Ejected is the wealth-clutcher (parâvasu, lit. "off-wealth")!' Formerly, namely, the Hotri of the Asuras was one Parâvasu by name: him he thereby ejects from the Hotri's seat.

24. He then sits down on the Hotri's seat, with the formula, 'I here sit down on the seat of the wealth-bestower (arvâvasu, lit. "hither-wealth")!' for one Arvâvasu by name was the Hotri of the gods¹, and on his seat he accordingly sits down.

25. At the same time he mutters, 'O All-maker, thou art the protector of lives! do not ye two (fires) scorch me away (from this)², injure me not! this

by Indra, and that outside of them there is no being (bhuvanam); and they are then enumerated thus: the expanse of the earth, the height (varshman, ? highest point or sphere) of the sky (div), the sap (pîyûsha) in the three elevations [? i. e. flowing, animating moisture, as rain, rivers, sap, &c.], the atmosphere, the ocean (? arṇas, ? of light, air), and the sky (div). The enumeration of six objects in Atharva-veda II, 12, 1 seems to refer to the same conception: heaven and earth (dyâvâprithivî), the wide atmospheric region, the genius (fem.) of the field (kshetrasya patnî), the far-strider (Sun, Light), the wide atmospheric region (uru-antariksham as before; cf. the double enumeration of div in the *Rik* passage); and what has the Wind for its guardian (vâtagopa). Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 164. Sâṅkh. Grîhyasûtra I, 6, 4 gives heaven and earth, day and night, water and plants (St. Petersburg Dictionary s.v.).

¹ According to the Kaushît. Br. VI, 10, Arvâvasu was the Brahman of the gods. Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 306.

² The Hotri's seat stands north of the north-west corner of the altar, the Âhavanîya and the Gârhapatya fires being about equidistant from it towards south-east and south-west respectively.

is your sphere ;' with this he moves slightly northwards: by this (mantra, he indicates that) he sits midway between the Âhavanīya and the Gârhapatya, and thus he propitiates these two ; and in accordance with what he says, 'do not scorch me away from this! injure me not!' they do not injure him.

26. He then mutters whilst looking at the (Âhavanīya) fire, 'All ye gods, instruct me, how and what I am to mind while seated here as the chosen Hotri! declare my share (of the sacrificial duties), how and by what road I am to convey the oblation to you!'—for as one says to those for whom food has been cooked, 'order me how I am to bring it you, how I am to serve it up for you!' in like manner he is desirous of directions regarding the gods, and for this reason he mutters thus, 'instruct me how I may utter the Vashaḥ-call for you in its proper order, how I may bring you the oblation in its proper order!'

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

THE FORE-OFFERINGS (PRAYĀGAS).

1. [The Hotri continues], 'May Agni, the priest (hotri), know (undertake) Agni's priestly duty (hau-tram),'—thereby he says 'may Agni, as Hotri, know this!' 'Agni's priestly duty' he says, because it is his duty that he must know ;—'that means of salvation¹,—the means of salvation, assuredly, is the sacrifice: 'may he know the sacrifice' is what he thereby says.—'Favourable to thee, O Sacrificer, is

¹ Prâvitram, literally 'that which promotes, protects' ('unser Hort'). Sâyana on Taitt. S. II, 5, 9, 5 explains it by 'prakrīṣṭam avitram phaladânarûpam asmadrakṣaṇam yasmin homânush/hâne tad idam prâvitram.' For this and the succeeding formulas, see Âsv. I, 4, 10-11.

the deity!' by this he says 'favourable is the deity to thee, O Sacrificer, whose Hotri is Agni!'— 'Take up' the spoon, O Adhvaryu, full of butter!' thereby he urges on the Adhvaryu. The reason why he mentions one (spoon) only (is this).

2. The Sacrificer, doubtless, stands behind the *guhû*, and he, who means evil to him, stands behind the *upabhrît*; and if he were to speak of two (spoons), he would cause the spiteful enemy to countervail the Sacrificer. Behind the *guhû* stands the eater, and behind the *upabhrît* the one to be eaten; and if he were to speak of two (spoons), he would make the one to be eaten countervail the eater. For these reasons he speaks of one (spoon) only.

3. [He continues], '—(the spoon which is) devoted to the gods, possessed of all boons,' he praises, he magnifies it when he says 'devoted to the gods, possessed of all boons.'—'Let us praise the gods, the praiseworthy! let us adore the adorable! let us worship the worshipful!' that is, 'let us praise those gods who are praiseworthy! let us adore those who are adorable! let us worship those who are worthy of worship!' the praiseworthy, to wit, are the men, the adorable the fathers, and the worshipful the gods.

4. For, indeed, the creatures that are not allowed to take part in the sacrifice are forlorn; and therefore

¹ Āsv. I, 4, 10, and Sâṅkh. I, 6 give as belonging to the text of the mantra: *yo agnim hotâram avrîthâh*, 'thou who hast chosen Agni for thy Hotri'; the same reading is mentioned in Taitt. S. II, 5, 9, 5.

² Thus Sâyana (*âsyasva* = *haste dhâraya*); 'schöpfe ein (ladle in),' St. Petersburg Dictionary; 'pour into the fire,' Hillebrandt, p. 93.

he makes those creatures here on earth that are not forlorn, take part in the sacrifice: behind the men are the beasts, and behind the gods are the birds, the plants, and the trees; and thus all that here exists is made to take part in the sacrifice.

5. These same (preceding formulas) are nine utterances; for nine, in number, are those breaths (or vital airs) in man¹, and these he thereby puts into him (the sacrificer): for this reason there are nine utterances.

6. The sacrifice fled away from the gods. The gods called out after it, 'Listen (â-sru) to us²! come back to us!' It replied, 'So be it!' and returned to the gods; and with what had thus returned to them, the gods worshipped; and by worshipping with it they became the gods they now are.

7. Now when he (the Adhvaryu) calls (on the Âgnîdhra), he thereby calls after the sacrifice, 'Listen to us! come back to us!' and when he (the Âgnîdhra) responds, then the sacrifice comes back, saying 'so be it!' and with it, thus passing over to them, as with seed³, the priests carry on the tradition, imperceptibly to the sacrificer; for even as people hand on from one to the other a full vessel⁴, in

¹ See p. 20, note 1.

² The legend is intended to explain the origin and symbolical meaning of the call (âsrâvana) of the Adhvaryu (viz. O srâvaya! 'make listen!') and the response (pratyâsravana) of the Âgnîdhra (viz. astu srausha!).

³ The sacrifice is the seed (vîga) that produces heaven as its fruit. Sâyana.

⁴ I. e. 'even as they pass on from hand to hand a pail (ghaṭa) filled with water when a tub is to be filled inside the house.' Sâyana.

the same way they (the priests) hand down that (sacrifice) from one to the other. They hand it down by means of speech, for the sacrifice is speech (prayer), and speech is seed : therefore they keep up the tradition by means of it.

8. After he has said (to the *Hotri*), 'Recite!' the Adhvaryu must utter nothing improper (worldly); neither must the *Hotri* utter anything improper. The Adhvaryu¹ utters his call : thereby the sacrifice passes on to the *Âgnîdhra*.

9. The *Âgnîdhra* must utter nothing improper until his response. The *Âgnîdhra* responds : thereby the sacrifice passes back to the Adhvaryu.

10. The Adhvaryu must utter nothing improper until he pronounces (the word) 'yaga (recite the offering-prayer) : ' in saying 'yaga' the Adhvaryu hands the sacrifice on to the *Hotri*.

11. The *Hotri* must utter nothing improper until his *vashaṭ*-call. By the *vashaṭ*-call he pours it (the sacrifice) into the fire, as seed into the womb; for the fire is indeed the womb of the sacrifice, from thence it is brought forth. So now at the *havis*-sacrifice. And at the *Soma*-cult,—

12. When he has drawn (the *Soma*), the Adhvaryu must not utter anything improper until his summons

¹ As soon as the *Hotri* has pronounced the formula 'O Adhvaryu, take up the spoon full of butter!' (par. 2 above), the Adhvaryu takes the two offering-spoons (*guhû* and *upabhṛit*) and steps back (from the west side along the north side of the altar and the west side of the fire) to the south side of the altar and the fire (the *yagati-sthâna*), and (with his face to north-east) utters his call, and (having been responded to by the *Âgnîdhra*) calls on the *Hotri* : 'samidho yaga (pronounce the offering-prayer to the kindling-sticks)!' *Kâty.* III, 2, 16.

(for the chanting of the stotra¹): with the call 'draw near!' the Adhvaryu hands the sacrifice on to the Udgâtrîs (chanters).

13. The Udgâtrîs must not utter anything improper until the last (stotra-verse): 'this is the last one,' thus thinking, the Udgâtrîs hand on the sacrifice to the Hotri.

14. The Hotri must utter nothing improper until the vashat-call. With the vashat-call he pours it (the sacrifice) into the fire, as seed into the womb; for the fire is indeed the womb of the sacrifice, since from thence it is brought forth.

15. If he whom the sacrifice approaches were to utter anything improper, he would waste the sacrifice, even as he might waste (water by spilling from) a full vessel. And where the officiating priests thus practice sacrifice with a perfect mutual understanding between them, there everything works regularly and no hitch occurs: therefore it is in this way that the sacrifice must be nursed.

16. Now there are here five utterances, viz. (1) 'Bid (him, Agni, or them) hear!' (2) 'Yea, may he (or, one) hear!' (3) 'Pronounce the prayer to the kindling-sticks!' (4) 'We who pronounce the prayer . . .' (5) 'May he bear (the sacrifice to the gods)²!' fivefold is the sacrifice, fivefold the animal victim, five are the seasons of the year: this is the one measure of the sacrifice, this its consummation.

¹ See IV, 2, 5, 7-8.

² (1) O srâvaya (for â srâvaya), the Adhvaryu's call; (2) astu srausha, the Âgnîdhra's response; (3) (samidho) yaga, the Adhvaryu's summons to the Hotri; (4) ye yagâmahe, the beginning of the Hotri's yâgyâ, or offering-prayer (see p. 135 note); (5) vausha, concluding formula of the yâgyâ.

17. These (five formulas) consist of seventeen syllables;—seventeenfold, indeed, is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the sacrifice: this is the one measure of the sacrifice, this its consummation.

18. With 'O srâvaya!¹' the gods sent forth the east wind; with 'Astu sraushat!¹' they caused the clouds to flow together; with 'Yaga (pronounce the yâgyâ)!' (they sent forth) the lightning; with 'Ye yagâmahe (we who pray),' the thunder; with the vasha²-call they caused it to rain³.

19. Should he (the sacrificer) be desirous of rain, or should he perform a special offering³, or even at the new- and full-moon sacrifice itself, he may say, 'Verily, I am desirous of rain!'—and he may also say to the Adhvaryu, 'Ponder thou in thy mind the east wind and the lightning!'—to the Âgnîdhra, 'Ponder thou the clouds in thy mind!'—to the Hotri, 'Ponder thou in thy mind the thunder and rain!'—to the Brahman, 'Ponder thou all these in thy mind!'—for where the officiating priests thus practice sacrifice with a perfect mutual understanding between them, there it will indeed rain.

20. With 'O srâvaya!' the gods called the shining one (virâg, viz. cow); with 'Astu sraushat!' they untied the calf and let it go to her; with 'Yaga!' they raised (its head to the udder of the cow)⁴; with

¹ For âsrâvaya (cf. p. 131, note 2), i. e. 'bid (him, Agni, or them) hear!' but the author here makes srâvaya the causative of sru (sru), 'to flow'; hence â srâvaya, 'make flow;' and astu sraushat [properly 'Yea, may he (or one) hear!'] he makes 'Yea, may it flow!'

² A fanciful etymology of vasha² from root vrîsh, 'to rain;' for the true derivation of the word, see p. 88, note 2.

³ I. e. an offering made with a view to the obtainment of some special wish (kâmyeshâ).

⁴ Thus (or 'they led it up to the udder of the cow') Sâyana

'Ye yagâmahe!' they sat down by her (for milking); with the vasha^t-call they milked her. The shining one, doubtless, is this (earth), and of her this is the milking: and for him who knows this to be the milking of the shining one, this shining (earth-cow) thus milks out all his desires.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The fore-offerings (prayâga), assuredly, are the seasons: hence there are five of them, for there are five seasons.

2. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprang from Pragâpati, were once contending for this sacrifice, (which is) their father Pragâpati, the year: 'Ours it (he) shall be!' 'Ours it (he) shall be!' they said.

3. Then the gods went on praising and toiling. They saw these fore-offerings and worshipped with them. By means of them they gained (pra-gi) the seasons, the year; they deprived their rivals of the seasons, of the year: hence (the fore-offerings are) victories (pragaya), for, assuredly, pragaya is the very same term as prayâga (fore-offering)¹. And in the same way this one (the sacrificer) wins by means of them the seasons, the year; deprives his rivals of the seasons, of the year. This is the reason why he performs the fore-offerings.

4. The sacrificial food at these offerings consists of

explains udanayan. In his commentary on Taitt. S. I, 6, 11 he interprets the analogous udanaishât by 'he raises (or brings) the milk-pail;' where the St. Petersburg Dictionary apparently takes it in the sense of 'he led the calf away from the cow.'

¹ In reality prayâga (from yag, 'to sacrifice') has, of course, nothing to do with pragaya (from gi, 'to conquer').

clarified butter. Now the butter, indeed, is a thunderbolt, and with that thunderbolt, the butter, the gods gained the seasons, the year, and deprived their rivals of the seasons, of the year. And with that thunderbolt, the butter, he now, in the same way, gains the seasons, the year, and deprives his enemies of the seasons, of the year. For this reason clarified butter forms the sacrificial food at these (offerings).

5. Now this butter is the year's own liquor: hence the gods gained it (the year) by means of its own liquor; and in the same way he also now gains it by means of its own liquor. This is the reason why clarified butter forms the sacrificial food at these (fore-offerings).

6. Let him (the Adhvaryu) not move from that same spot where he may be standing when he calls for the fore-offerings. A battle, it is true, is witnessed whenever any one performs the fore-offerings, and whichever of the two combatants is worsted, that one, no doubt, retreats; and he who obtains the victory, advances still nearer: he (the Adhvaryu) might therefore (feel inclined to) step nearer and nearer (to the fire), and offer the oblations (while moving) nearer and nearer¹.

7. This, however, he should not do; he should not move from that same spot where he may be standing when he calls for the fore-offerings. Let

¹ Though the author does not state expressly that this change of position in performing the five fore-offerings is advocated by some other ritualists, he apparently argues in this passage against an actually adopted theory and practice, which the Sûtras also mention as optional. In the case of the Adhvaryu changing his position, he is at each successive fore-offering to pour the butter on a part of the fire east of the preceding one. Kâty. III, 2, 18-21.

him rather offer the (five) oblations in that part (of the fire) where he thinks there is the fiercest blaze ; for only by being offered in blazing (fire), oblations are successful.

8. He (the Adhvaryu), having called (on, and having been responded to by, the Âgnîdhra), says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer (yâgyâ) to the Samidhs (kindling-sticks)!' Thereby he kindles the spring; the spring, when kindled, kindles the other seasons; the seasons, when kindled, generate the creatures and ripen the plants. In the same (formula) he also implies the (four) remaining seasons, and in order to avoid sameness, he introduces the others by merely saying each time, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' For were he to say, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât!' 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Ids!' and so on, he would commit (the fault of) repetition: hence he introduces the remaining (seasons or fore-offerings) by merely saying each time, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer'!¹

9. He (the Hotri) now pronounces the offering-prayer (yâgyâ) to the Samidhs. The samidh (kindler), doubtless, is the spring. The gods, at that time, appropriated the spring, and deprived their rivals of the spring; and now this one (the

¹ On the necessity of avoiding sameness of ritualistic practices cf. note on I, 3, 2, 8. The five fore-offerings (prayâga, here identified with the five seasons) are addressed respectively to the kindling-sticks (samidh), to Tanûnapât (or Narâsamsa, both mystical forms of Agni), to the Ids (personifications of the forms of devotional feeling), to the sacrificial grass-covering of the altar (barhis), and to Agni and Soma (or other deities). Since, in introducing the first fore-offering, the Adhvaryu has mentioned its recipient, he is not to do so in the case of the remaining four.

sacrificer) also appropriates the spring, and deprives his rivals of the spring: this is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer to the Samidhs.

10. After that he pronounces the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât. Tanûnapât, doubtless, is the summer; for the summer burns the bodies (tanûn tapati) of these creatures. The gods, at that time, appropriated the summer, and deprived their rivals of the summer; and now this one also appropriates the summer, and deprives his rivals of the summer: this is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât.

11. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Id's*. The *Id's* (praises), doubtless, are the rains; they are the rains, inasmuch as the vile, crawling (vermin)¹ which shrink during the summer and winter, then (in the rainy season) move about in quest of food, as it were, praising (*id'*) the rains: therefore the *Id's* are the rains. The gods, at that time, appropriated the rains, and deprived their rivals of the rains; and now this one also appropriates the rains, and deprives his rivals of the rains: this is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Id's*.

12. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the Barhis (covering of sacrificial grass on the altar). The barhis, doubtless, is the autumn; the barhis is the autumn, inasmuch as these plants which shrink during the summer and winter grow by the rains, and in autumn lie spread open after the fashion of barhis: for this reason the barhis is the autumn. The gods, at that time, appropriated the autumn, and deprived their rivals of the autumn;

¹ Such as lizards, alligators. Sâyana.

and now this one also appropriates the autumn, and deprives his rivals of the autumn : this is why he pronounces the prayer to the barhis.

13. He then pronounces the offering-prayer with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!¹' The Svâhâ-call, namely, marks the end of the sacrifice, and the end of the year is the winter, since the winter is on the other (remoter) side of the spring. By the end (of the sacrifice) the gods, at that time, appropriated the end (of the year); by the end they deprived their rivals of the end; and by the end this one also now appropriates the end; by the end he deprives his rivals of the end: this is why he pronounces the offering-prayers with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!'

14. Now the spring, assuredly, comes into life again out of the winter, for out of the one the other is born again: therefore he who knows this, is indeed born again in this world.

15. In order to avoid sameness he prays (alternately) with 'may they accept!' and 'may he (or it) accept!²' for he would commit (the fault) of repe-

¹ See further on, par. 22. As to Svâhâ! marking the conclusion of the sacrifice, see the Samish/ayagus I, 9, 2, 25-28.

² The first offering-prayer (to the logs) is 'yê yagâmahe samidhañ, samidho agna âgyasya vyantû vâusha!/' i.e. 'we who pronounce the offering-prayer to the Samidhs,—the Samidhs, O Agni, may accept the butter! vâusha!/' Similarly at the other fore-offerings; but at the second and fourth, where the object of worship is a single one (viz. Tanûnapât and the Barhis respectively), 'may he (or it) accept (vetu)!/' has to be substituted for 'may they accept (vyantu)!/' The difference of number in these verbal forms is symbolically explained as implying a distinction of sex, for the reason that there may be more wives to one man, but only one husband to a woman. The elliptic expression ye yagâmahe is thus explained by Sâyana on Taitt. S. I, 6, 11: 'All we Hotri priests that are urged on by the Adhvaryu calling "Recite (thou)!" we do recite, we do pronounce

tition, if he were to pray with 'may they accept!' each time, or with 'may he accept!' each time. By 'may they accept!' doubtless, females (are implied); and by 'may he accept!' a male (is implied): thereby a productive union is effected, and for this reason he prays (alternately) with 'may they accept!' and 'may he (or it) accept!'

16. Now at the fourth fore-offering, to the barhis, he pours (butter) together (into the *guhû*¹). The barhis, namely, represents descendants, and the butter seed: hence seed is thereby infused into the descendants, and by that infused seed descendants are generated again and again. For this reason he pours together (butter) at the fourth fore-offering, that to the barhis.

17. Now, a battle, as it were, is going on here when any one performs the fore-offerings; and whichever of the two combatants a friend (an ally) joins, he obtains the victory: hence a friend thereby joins the *guhû* from out of the *upabhṛit*, and by him it (or he) obtains the victory. This is why he pours together (butter) at the fourth fore-offering, that to the barhis.

18. The sacrificer, doubtless, (stands) behind the *guhû*, and he who means evil to him, (stands)

the *yâgyâ*.' This introductory part of the offering-formula is called *âgur*, 'acclamation, assent' (*Âsv.* I, 5, 4); it is alluded to in *Mahâbhâr. Vanap.* 12480 (cf. Muir, O. S. T. I, p. 135), and apparently by *Pân.* VIII, 2, 88 (cf. Haug, Ait. Br. II, p. 133 n.).

¹ In making the oblation, the Adhvaryu holds the *guhû* over the *upabhṛit* and pours some of the butter from the *guhû* over the spout of the *upabhṛit* into the fire. At the third *prayâga* he empties all the butter remaining in the *guhû* into the fire, and thereupon, for the fourth oblation, replenishes the empty spoon with half the contents of the *upabhṛit*, after which he proceeds as before.

behind the upabhr̥it: hence he thereby makes the spiteful enemy pay tribute to the sacrificer. The consumer, doubtless, (stands) behind the guhû, and the one to be consumed behind the upabhr̥it: hence he thereby makes the one that is to be consumed pay tribute to the consumer. This is the reason why he pours (butter) together at the fourth fore-offering, that to the barhis.

19. He pours (the butter) together without (the two spoons) touching (each other). If he were to touch (the one spoon with the other) he would touch the sacrificer with his spiteful enemy, he would touch the consumer with the one to be consumed: for this reason he pours (the butter) together without touching.

20. He holds the guhû over (the upabhr̥it). Thereby he keeps the sacrificer above his spiteful enemy, he keeps the consumer above the one to be consumed: for this reason he holds the guhû over (the upabhr̥it).

21. The gods once said, 'Well then, now that the battle has been won, let us establish the entire sacrifice on a firm basis; and should the Asuras and Rakshas (again) trouble us, our sacrifice will then be firmly established!'

22. At the last fore-offering they established the entire sacrifice by means of the Svâhâ ('hail!'). With 'Svâhâ Agni!' they established the butter-portion for Agni; with 'Svâhâ Soma!' they established the butter-portion for Soma; and with (the second) 'Svâhâ Agni!' they established that indispensable sacrificial cake which there is on both occasions (i.e. at the new and full-moon sacrifices).

23. And so with the (other) deities respec-

tively¹. With 'Svâhâ the butter-drinking gods!' they established the fore-offerings and the after-offerings (anuyâgas), for the fore-offerings and after-offerings, doubtless, represent the butter-drinking gods. With the formula 'May Agni graciously accept of the butter!' they established Agni as *Svishtakrit* ('maker of good offering'), for Agni is indeed the maker of good offering. And till this day that sacrifice stands as firm as the gods established it. This is the reason why at the last fore-offering he prays with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!' according to the number of oblations (there are at the chief sacrifice). After he (the sacrificer) has won his battle, he establishes the entire sacrifice on a firm basis, so that, if after this he should violate the proper order of the sacrifice, he need not heed it; for he will know that his sacrifice is firmly established. Now what with exclaiming 'Vashat,' with offering, and with calling out 'Svâhâ,' this same sacrifice was well-nigh exhausted.

24. The gods were anxious as to how they might replenish it, how they might again render it efficient and practise (worshipping) with it, when efficient.

25. Now what was left in the *guhû* of the butter wherewith they had established the sacrifice, with that they sprinkled the *havis* (dishes, or kinds, of sacrificial food) one after another, and thereby replenished them and again rendered them efficient, because the butter is indeed efficient. Hence after offering the last fore-offering, he sprinkles the *havis* one after another, and thereby replenishes them and again renders them efficient, because the butter is indeed efficient². Hence also from whatever sacrificial

¹ Cf. p. 118, note 3. The words 'Svâhâ Agnim' &c. are preceded by 'ye yagâmahe,' see before, p. 148, note 2.

² After the *Adhvaryu* has performed the last fore-offering, he

food he (afterwards at the principal oblations) cuts off (a portion for a deity), that he again sprinkles (with butter), that he replenishes and renders efficient for the (Svishṭakṛit) maker of good offering. But when he cuts off the portion for the maker of good offering, then he does not again sprinkle (the sacrificial food out of which the portion has been cut), since after that he will not make any other oblation in the fire from the sacrificial food¹.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He (accordingly) pronounces the offering-prayer to the Samidhs (kindling-sticks). The Samidhs (kindlers), doubtless, are the breaths (vital airs), and he thereby kindles the breaths; for this man (the sacrificer) is kindled (animated) by his breaths: hence if he (the sacrificer) be burning (with fever, &c.), he (the Adhvaryu) will say, 'Stroke (thyself)!' If he be hot, then one may feel confident, for then he is kindled; and if he be cold, then one need hope no longer. Thus he thereby puts the breaths into him: this is the reason why he pronounces the prayer to the Samidhs.

2. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât. Tanûnapât, doubtless, is seed; hence he thereby casts seed: this is why he pronounces the prayer to Tanûnapât.

steps back behind the altar and sitting down beside the dishes of sacrificial food, anoints, with the butter remaining in the guhû, first the (butter in the) dhruvâ, then the several sacrificial dishes, and finally the (butter in the) upabhrît. Kâty. III, 3, 9.

¹ What remains of the dish of sacrificial food, after the oblation to Agni Svishṭakṛit (I, 7, 3, 1 seq.) has been made, is eaten by the priests and the sacrificer, and in their case the several portions are basted with butter, as they are cut off, but not the dish of food from which the portions have been taken.

3. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Id*s. The *Id*s, doubtless, are offspring; when the seed thus cast springs into life, then it moves about in quest of food, as it were, praising (*Id*). Hence he thereby makes him (the sacrificer) propagate offspring: this is the reason why he pronounces the prayer to the *Id*s.

4. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Barhis*. The *barhis*, doubtless, means abundance, hence he thereby produces an abundance: this is why he pronounces the prayer to the *barhis*.

5. He then pronounces the offering-prayer with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!' The Svâhâ-call, indeed, is what the winter is among the seasons; for the winter subjects these creatures to its will: hence in winter the plants wither, and the leaves fall off the trees; the birds retire more and more, and fly lower and lower; and the wicked man has his hair, as it were, falling off¹; for the winter subjects these creatures to its will. And, verily, he who knows this, makes that locality wherein he lives, his own, for his own happiness and supply of food.

6. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were once contending for superiority. With staves and bows neither party were able to overcome the other. Neither of them having gained the victory, they (the Asuras) said, 'Well then, let us try to overcome one another by speech, by sacred writ (brahman)! He who cannot follow up our uttered speech by (making up) a pair, shall be defeated and lose everything, and the other party

¹ The Kâṇva recension has, 'the beasts retire more and more, and the birds fly lower and lower; and the vile-caste man (pâpa-varṇaḥ puruṣaḥ) has his hair, as it were, falling off.'

shall win everything!' The gods replied, 'So be it!' The gods said to Indra, 'Speak thou!'

7. Indra said, 'One (eka, m., unus) for me!' The others then said, 'One (ekâ, f., una) for us!' and thus found that (desired) pair, for eka (unus) and ekâ (una) make a pair.

8. Indra said, 'Two (dvau, m., duo) for me!' The others then said, 'Two (dve, f., duae) for us!' and thus found that pair, for dvau (duo) and dve (duae) make a pair.

9. Indra said, 'Three (trayaḥ, m.) for me!' The others then said, 'Three (tisraḥ, f.) for us!' and thus found that pair, for trayaḥ and tisraḥ make a pair.

10. Indra said, 'Four (kātṡvâraḥ, m.) for me!' The others then said, 'Four (kâtasraḥ, f.) for us!' and thus found that pair, for kātṡvâraḥ and kâtasraḥ make a pair.

11. Indra said, 'Five (pañka, m. f., quinque) for me!' Then the others found no pair, for after that (numeral four) there is no pair, for then both (masculine and feminine) are pañka. Thereupon the Asuras were defeated and lost everything, and the gods won everything from the Asuras, and stripped their rivals, the Asuras, of everything.

12. For this reason let him (the sacrificer) say¹, when the first fore-offering has been performed, 'One (eka) for me!' and 'One (ekâ) for him whom

¹ Viz. as anumantṛaṇa, or after-call, supplementary prayer, pronounced immediately after the oblation has been poured into the fire. According to Kâty. III, 3, 5, a second anumantṛaṇa has to be added each time, consisting of a single word, viz. 'brilliant,' 'respectable,' 'famous,' 'holy,' 'an eater of food' [suppl. 'may I become'] respectively. Differently the Black Yagus; cf. Hillebrandt, p. 96, note 6.

we hate!' And if he should not hate any one, let him say, 'who hates us and whom we hate!'

13. With the second fore-offering, 'Two (dvau) for me!' and 'Two (dve) for him who hates us and whom we hate!'

14. With the third fore-offering, 'Three (trayaḥ) for me!' and 'Three (tisraḥ) for him who hates us and whom we hate!'

15. With the fourth fore-offering, 'Four (catvāraḥ) for me!' and 'Four (katasraḥ) for him who hates us and whom we hate!'

16. With the fifth fore-offering, 'Five (pañka) for me!' and 'Nothing for him who hates us and whom we hate!' For, there being 'five' to 'five,' he (the enemy) is defeated, and whoever knows this, appropriates to himself everything that belongs to that (enemy of his), strips his enemies of everything.

SIXTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Now the Seasons were desirous to have a share in the sacrifice among the gods, and said, 'Let us share in the sacrifice! Do not exclude us from the sacrifice! Let us have a share in the sacrifice!'

2. The gods, however, did not approve of this. The gods not approving, the Seasons went to the Asuras, the malignant, spiteful enemies of the gods.

3. Those (Asuras) then throve in such a manner that they (the gods) heard of it; for even while the foremost (of the Asuras) were still ploughing and sowing, those behind them were already engaged in reaping and threshing: indeed even without tilling the plants ripened forthwith for them.

4. This now caused anxiety to the gods: 'That owing to that (desertion of the Seasons), enemy

(viz. the Asuras) seeks to injure enemy (viz. us) is of little consequence; but this indeed goes too far: try to find out how henceforth this may be different¹!

5. They then said, 'Let us invite the Seasons!'—'How?'—'Let us offer prayer to them first of all at the sacrifice!'

6. Agni then said, 'But whereas hitherto you used to offer prayer to me in the first place, what is now to become of me?' 'We will not remove you from your place!' said they. And since, in inviting the Seasons, they did not remove Agni from his place, for that reason Agni is immutable²; and verily, he who knows that Agni to be immutable, does not move from the place where he bides.

7. The gods said to Agni, 'Go and invite them hither!' Agni went to them and said, 'O Seasons, I have obtained for you a share in the sacrifice among the gods.' They said, 'In what form hast thou obtained it for us?' He replied, 'They will offer prayer to you first at the sacrifice.'

8. The Seasons said to Agni, 'We will let thee share along with us in the sacrifice who hast obtained for us a share in the sacrifice among the gods!' And because Agni has been allowed a share along with the Seasons (the offering-prayers are): 'The Samidhs, O Agni, (may accept the butter)³ . . . !'

¹ 'Kañya in nv ato dvishan dvishate 'râtīyati kim v etāvanmâtram upagānita yathedam ito 'nyathâsad iti.' The Kârva MS. has, 'tad u vai devânâm atathâsa kañya in nu tato dvishan dvishate 'râtīyed atha kim tāvanmâtram. Te hoṇuḥ katham idam ito no 'nyathâ syād iti.'

² Akyuta, literally 'not fallen,' hence invariable, indispensable is an epithet frequently applied to Agni's sacrificial cake; cf. I, 2, 16; I, 6, 2, 5.

³ See p. 148, note 2.

‘Tanûnapât, O Agni . . . !’ ‘The Iḍs, O Agni . . . !’ ‘The Barhis, O Agni . . . !’ ‘Svâhâ Agni !’ And verily, whosoever knows that Agni is thus allowed to share (in the sacrifice) along with the Seasons, he is allowed to participate in whatever auspicious rite is performed by one who professes to be equal (in that knowledge) to him ;—for him, being possessed of Agni, the Seasons, themselves possessed of Agni, ripen the plants and everything here.

9. Now, as to this point, some raise the objection, ‘But since they invite the fore-offerings last of all (at the two libations of butter)¹, why do they offer prayer to them first of all?’—Because they established them last of all in the sacrifice²; and because they said, ‘we will offer prayer to you first :’ for that reason they invite them last, and offer prayer to them first.

10. By the fourth fore-offering the gods, assuredly, obtained the sacrifice, and by the fifth they firmly established it; and by what part of the sacrifice after that remained unaccomplished they gained the world of heaven.

11. In going to heaven they were afraid of an attack from the Asuras and Rakshas. They placed Agni at their head, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; they placed Agni in their midst, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; they placed Agni in their rear, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas.

¹ In the devatânâm âvahanam or invitation of the deities, the last formula, addressed to the butter-drinking deities, is supposed to refer to the fore- and after-offerings. Cf. I, 4, 2, 16–17.

² See I, 5, 3, 23.

12. And if the Asuras and Rakshas wished to attack them in front, Agni repelled them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; if they wished to attack in the centre, Agni repelled them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and if they wished to attack in the rear, Agni repelled them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas: being thus guarded on all sides by Agnis, they reached the world of heaven.

13. And in the same way this one now obtains the sacrifice by means of the fourth fore-offering, and by means of the fifth he establishes it; and by what part of the sacrifice after that remains unaccomplished, he gains the world of heaven.

14. Now when he pronounces the offering-prayer over Agni's butter-portion, he thereby places Agni in front, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and when Agni's sacrificial cake is (offered), he thereby places Agni in the midst, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and when he pronounces the offering-prayer to Agni *Svishṭakṛit* (the maker of good offering), he thereby places Agni in the rear, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas.

15. And if the Asuras and Rakshas try to attack him (the sacrificer) in front, Agni repels them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; if they try to attack him in the centre, Agni repels them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and if they try to attack him from behind, Agni repels them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas: being thus guarded on every side by Agnis, he gains the world of heaven.

16. And if any one were to imprecate evil on him

previously to (or, in the fore-part of) the (chief) sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Thou shalt suffer some disease of the face! thou shalt become either blind or deaf!' for these, in truth, are diseases of the face: and thus it would indeed fare with him.

17. If any one were to imprecate evil on him in the middle of the sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Thou shalt be without offspring, without cattle!' for offspring and cattle, indeed, constitute the centre (i.e. the substantial possession of man): and thus it would indeed fare with him.

18. If any one were to imprecate evil on him after the completion of the (chief) sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Unstable and poor, thou shalt swiftly go to yonder world!' for thus it would indeed fare with him. One should not therefore utter imprecations: for whosoever thus understands this has the advantage.

19. He who gains by means of the fore-offerings, assuredly, gains the year¹. But he alone gains it who knows its doors; for what were he to do with a house who cannot find his way inside? Even as those (fore-offerings) are (the doors) of this (sacrifice), so is the spring a door, and so is the winter a door, of that (year). This same year he enters, as the world of heaven; for, assuredly, the year is all, and the All (universe) is imperishable: his thereby becomes imperishable merit, the imperishable world.

THE TWO BUTTER-PORIONS (ÂGYABHÂGA) TO AGNI AND SOMA.

20. Here now some say, 'To what deity belong the butter-portions?' Let him reply, 'To Pragâpati;'

¹ See I, 5, 3, 3.

for, assuredly, Pragâpati is undefined¹ (mysterious); and undefined are the butter-portions, because they have the sacrificer for their deity; for the sacrificer is Pragâpati at his own sacrifice, since it is by his order that the priests spread and produce it.

21. Having basted the havis with butter and made two cuttings from it, he pours some of the butter thereon: thus the oblation is offered combined with butter, and thereby indeed it is offered combined with the sacrificer; and for one who knows this,—whether he has a sacrifice performed for him while he is far away, or while he is near,—the sacrifice is performed in the same way as it would be performed if he were near; and he who knows this, even though he do much evil, is not shut out from the sacrifice.

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Verily, by means of the sacrifice the gods made that conquest (of the world of heaven). When they had conquered, they said, 'How may this (celestial region) be made unattainable by men?' They then sipped the sap of the sacrifice, as bees would suck out honey; and having drained the sacrifice and effaced the traces of it with the (sacrificial) post², they

¹ Because he (? as lord of creatures) represents all the deities, and one cannot say 'he is such or such a one,' Sâyaṇa. Cf. also I, 1, 1, 12.

² Yûpena yopâyitvâ, literally 'having made it level by means of the yûpa,' = yûpenâkkhâdya, 'having covered it over with the yûpa,' Sâyaṇa (cf. also on Rig-veda I, 104, 4). For other versions of the same myth, cf. Ait. Br. II, 1 ['they debarred them (ayopayan, viz. the men and Rishis from the sacrificial knowledge) by means of the yûpa,' Haug]; Taitt. S. VI, 3, 4, 7;

concealed themselves: and because they effaced (ayopayan, viz. the sacrifice) with it, therefore it is called yûpa (sacrificial post). Now this was heard by the *Rîshis*:

2. 'Verily, by means of the sacrifice the gods gained this conquest. When they had conquered, they said, "How may this (celestial region) be made unattainable by men?" They then sipped the sap of the sacrifice, as bees would suck out honey; and having drained the sacrifice and effaced the traces of it with the (sacrificial) post, they concealed themselves.' They (the *Rîshis*) thereupon set about searching for it.

3. They went on praising and toiling; for by (religious) toil, the gods indeed gained what they wished to gain, and (so did) the *Rîshis*. Now whether it be that the gods caused it (the sacrifice) to attract (or, peep forth to) them, or whether they took to it of their own accord, they said, 'Come, let us go to the place whence the gods obtained possession of the world of heaven!' They went about saying (to one another), 'What attracts? What attracts¹?' and came upon the sacrificial cake which had become a tortoise and was creeping about. Then they all thought, 'This surely must be the sacrifice!'

4. They said, 'Stand still for the *Asvins*! stand still for *Sarasvatî*! stand still for *Indra*!' still it

5, 3, 1. The legend is intended to supply, by means of a fanciful etymology, a symbolical meaning for the yûpa or sacrificial post to which the victim is tied.

¹ Kim praroḷate='what thinkest thou?' *Sâyana*. The primary meaning of pra-ruḷ is 'to shine forth.' Here it has apparently to be taken in the double sense of 'to peep forth, to appear,' and 'to please.' The German 'einleuchten' (St. Petersburg Dictionary) approaches more nearly to the original.

crept on;—‘Stand still for Agni!’ at this it stopped. Having then enveloped it in fire (Agni), knowing, as they did, that it had stopped for Agni, they offered it up entirely, for it was an oblation to the gods. Then the sacrifice pleased them¹; they produced it, they spread it. And this same sacrifice is taught by the former to the later; the father (teaches it) to his son when he is a student (*brahmakârin*).

5. Now that (cake), which caused the sacrifice to attract (or, appear to) them, first (*purâs*) bestowed (*dâs*) it upon them: hence it is (called) *purodâsa*, for *purodâsa*, doubtless, is the same as *purodâsa*². This same cake on eight potsherds for Agni is indispensable on both occasions (at the new and full-moon ceremonies).

6. That (cake for Agni) does not constitute the (special) sacrificial food (*havis*) either at the full-moon, or at the new-moon, sacrifice; since the one for Agni and Soma constitutes the *havis* at the full-moon, and the *Sânnâyya*³ at the new-moon sacrifice. That one (for Agni) constitutes rather the regular (or, corresponding) sacrifice on both occasions, and because of its fearing lest it should become detached from the sacrifice, it is offered up at the beginning of both the full-moon and the new-moon sacrifice: this is the reason why it is offered at this particular time.

¹ Or ‘appeared to them, shone forth to them,’ *prârokata*; see preceding note.

² In the compound *purodâsa* or *purodâs* the original dental *d* has been changed to the lingual *ḍ*, apparently through the influence of the preceding *r*.

³ See I, 6, 4, 9. One would expect the *Sânnâyya* (to Indra) or the cake to Indra-Agni. The full-moon offering is sacred to Agni-Soma; and the new-moon offering to Indra-Agni; see I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

7. And if any one (householder) were to resort to him (the Adhvaryu) and say, 'Perform an *ishṭi* for me!' let him perform it. Whatever desire the *Rishis* entertained when they performed that sacrifice, that desire of theirs was accomplished; and accordingly whatever desire he (the sacrificer) entertains in having this sacrifice performed, that desire of his is accomplished. For whatever deity sacrificial food is taken, to that deity they offer it up in the fire (Agni);—and if he is about to offer it up in the fire, why should he announce it to another deity? To Agni alone therefore (it is announced).

8. Agni (the fire), assuredly, represents all the deities, since it is in the fire that they make offering to all deities: to Agni alone therefore (he should announce it), since he thereby has recourse to all the deities.

9. Agni, assuredly, is the safest¹ among the gods: let him then have recourse to him whom he considers the safest among the gods, and therefore (announce the sacrifice) to Agni.

10. Agni, assuredly, is the most tender-hearted of gods: let him then have recourse to him whom he considers the most tender-hearted of gods, and therefore (announce the sacrifice) to Agni.

11. Agni, assuredly, is the nearest of the gods: let him then have recourse to him whom he considers as the nearest of those to be approached, and therefore (let him announce the sacrifice) to Agni.

12. If (beside the full-moon sacrifice) he perform an *ishṭi* (with a view to the accomplishment of some

¹ Addhâtamâm, adv., literally 'most surely;' according to Sâyana = *atisayena pratyakshaphaladam*, 'pre-eminently a giver of perceptible benefits.'

special desire)¹, let him recite seventeen kindling verses; (and in that case) he utters the offering-prayer (*yâgyâ*) in a low voice, for this is the characteristic form of an *ishî*; the *yâgyâ* and the *anuvâkyâ* should contain the word 'head²;' the two butter-portions should be offered to the *Vṛitra*-slayer (Indra); and the two *saṃyâgyâs*³ should be in the *virâg* metre.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. *Tvashtri* had a three-headed, six-eyed son. He had three mouths; and because he was thus shaped, his name was *Visvarûpa* ('All-shape').

2. One of his mouths was Soma-drinking, one spirit-drinking, and one for other kinds of food. Indra hated him and cut off those heads of his.

3. Now from the one which was Soma-drinking, a hazel-cock (*francoline partridge*) sprang forth; whence the latter is of brownish colour, for king Soma is brown.

4. From the one which was spirit-drinking, further, a sparrow sprang; whence the latter talks as if stammering, for he who has drunk spirits, talks as if he stammered.

5. Then from the one which served for other kinds of food, a partridge sprang; whence the latter

¹ See I, 3, 5, 10.

² For these verses, the first of which begins 'Agni is the head of the sky,' see *Vâg. S. XIII*, 14 and 15.

³ That is, the *yâgyâ* (offering-prayer) and *puro'nuvâkyâ* (invitatory prayer) at the *Svishîakṛit*, or oblation to Agni, as the maker of good offering, at the end of the chief oblations. The two *virâg* formulas are *Rig-veda VII*, 1, 3 (*Vâg. XVII*, 76; *Taitt. S. IV*, 6, 5, 4) *preddho agne dîdihî*, and *Rig-veda VII*, 1, 18 (*Taitt. S. IV*, 3, 13, 6) *imo agne*. Cf. *Ait. Br. I*, 5.

is much variegated in colour : on its wings, namely, butter-drops, as it were, have dropped in one place and honey- (or mead-) drops in another, for such-like, as it were, was the food which he consumed with that (mouth).

6. *Tvashtri* was furious : 'Has he indeed slain my son ?' he exclaimed. He brought Soma-juice from which Indra was excluded ; and just as the Soma-juice on being produced had Indra excluded from it (a pendra), so it remained (when it was offered up).

7. Indra thought with himself, 'They are now excluding me from Soma !' and though uninvited, he consumed what pure (Soma) there was in the tub, even as the stronger (consumes) that of a weaker. That (Soma), however, injured him ; it flowed in all directions from (the openings of) his vital airs ; from his mouth alone it did not flow, but from all the other (openings of the) vital airs it flowed ; hence (was instituted) at that time the *ishṭi*, called *Sautrāmaṇi* : on the occasion of that (ceremony) it is explained how the gods healed him¹.

8. *Tvashtri* was furious, and exclaimed, 'Has he indeed consumed my Soma uninvited ?' However, he himself desecrated the sacrifice, for what pure (Soma) there was left in the tub he let flow (into the fire), saying, 'Grow thou, having Indra for thy foe² !' The moment it reached the fire, it

¹ See V, 5, 4, 2 seq., where the whole legend is repeated ; and Taitt. S. II, 4, 12, 1. One of the objects of the *Sautrāmaṇi* is the expiation of an immoderate consumption of Soma by a priest.

² According to Taitt. S. II, 4, 12, 1, also the fault committed by *Tvashtri* consisted in his faulty accentuation of the compound *indrasatru* in the formula. What he intended to say was that Agni, on drinking the Soma, should grow strong so as to be 'the foe (slayer) of Indra,' and the compound should therefore have been accented on the second member, viz. *indrasátru* (the foe of

developed (into human shape), or, as some say, it so developed whilst on its way (to the fire). It became possessed of¹ Agni and Soma, of all sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity.

9. And since it so developed whilst rolling onwards (*vrit*), it became *Vritra*; and since he sprang forth footless, therefore he was a serpent. Danu and Danâyû received him like mother and father², whence they call him *Dâna*va.

10. And because he (*Tvashtri*) said, 'Grow thou, having Indra for thy foe!' therefore Indra slew him (*Vritra*). Had he said, 'Grow thou, the foe (slayer) of Indra!' he (*Vritra*) would certainly have forthwith slain Indra.

11. And because he (*Tvashtri*) said, 'Grow thou!' therefore he (*Vritra*) grew an arrow's range sideways and an arrow's range forward: he forced back both the western ocean and the eastern one; and in proportion as he extended did he devour the food.

12. In the fore-noon the gods offered him food, at mid-day the men, and in the after-noon the Fathers.

13. Now while Indra was thus moving on (in pursuit of *Vritra*), he addressed Agni and Soma, 'Ye belong to me and I belong to you! That one is nothing to you: why then do ye support that *Dasyu* against me? Come over to me!'

Indra); but by accenting it on the first member, *Indrasatru*, he made it 'having Indra for his foe (slayer).' According to the version of the *Taitt. S.*, Agni, the fire, on the Soma being poured into it, rose up (spirted) as if to execute *Tvashtri*'s wish; but immediately relapsed into its former state of inertness on hearing the mis-pronounced word.

¹ *Abhisambabhûva*, 'he grew by consuming,' &c. *Sâyana*.

² The *Kânva* text has, 'Danu and *Dânavî* received him as mother and father.'

14. They replied, 'What is to be our reward in that case?' He offered them that Agni-Soma cake on eleven potsherds: this is the reason why there is a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma.

15. They went over to him, and after them went forth¹ all the gods, all the sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity: thus by offering that (cake to Agni and Soma) Indra became what Indra now is. Such then is the significance of the full-moon offering; and he who, knowing this, performs the full-moon offering in this wise, attains to the same state of prosperity, becomes thus endowed with glory, becomes such a consumer of food (as *Vṛitra*).

16. Now *Vṛitra*, on being struck, lay contracted like a leather bottle drained of its contents, like a skin bag with the barley-meal shaken out. Indra rushed at him, meaning to slay him.

17. He said, 'Do not hurl (thy thunderbolt) at me! thou art now what I (was before). Only cut me in twain; but do not let me be annihilated!' He (Indra) said, 'Thou shalt be my food!' He replied, 'So be it!' He accordingly cut him in twain; and from that (part) of his which was of the Soma nature², he made the moon, and that which was demoniacal (*asurya*) he made enter these creatures as their belly; hence people say³: '*Vṛitra* was then a consumer of food, and *Vṛitra* is so now.' For even now, whenever that one (the moon) waxes fuller, it fills itself out of this world⁴; and when-

¹ Preyuh, 'the gods &c. that were in *Vṛitra*'s mouth went out,' *Sâyana*; see preceding page, note 1.

² 'Yat saumyam nyaktam âsa' ['yat saumyo nyaṅga âsa,' *Kâṇva* rec.], 'what was imbued with Soma,' 'what had Soma inherent in it.' Cf. 'yat somasya nyaktam âsa,' I, 7, 1, 1.

³ 'People say so when anybody eats much food.' *Sâyana*.

⁴ See I, 6, 4, 15.

ever these creatures crave for food, they pay tribute to this *Vritra*, the belly. Whosoever knows that *Vritra* as a consumer of food, becomes himself a consumer of food.

18. Those deities then said, 'Ye, Agni and Soma, whom we have followed hither, take the best part (of the sacrificial food): do let us share along with you in what ye have!'

19. They both said, 'What (share) shall then be ours?' They replied, 'For whatever deity they shall take out sacrificial food, they shall in the first place offer to you some clarified butter!' Whenever, therefore, they take out sacrificial food for any deity, they in the first place offer two butter-portions to Agni and Soma. This does not take place at the Soma-sacrifice, nor at the animal offering; for they said, 'for whatever deity they take out...¹'

20. Agni then said, 'In me they shall sacrifice for all of you, and thus I give you a share in me!' For this reason they sacrifice in Agni (the fire) to all the gods; and for this reason they say that Agni is all the deities.

21. Soma then said, 'Me they shall offer up to all of you, and thus I give you a share in me!' For this reason they offer up Soma to all the gods; and hence they say that Soma is all the deities.

22. And further, since all the gods were abiding in Indra, for that reason they say that Indra is all the deities, that the gods have Indra for their chief (*sreshṭha*). Thus the gods came in a three-

¹ The *nirvapanam*, or taking out (literally throwing out) of (handfuls of) *havis* from the receptacle and putting it into the winnowing basket (or other vessels), does not apply to these two kinds of sacrifices. Cf. I, 1, 2, 5 seq.

fold way to consist of one deity; and he who knows this becomes individually the chief of his own (people).

23. Twofold, verily, is this, there is no third: to wit, the moist and the dry; and what is dry, that relates to Agni; and what is moist, that relates to Soma. But (it may be objected) if this is twofold only, why then this manifold performance:—the two butter-portions for Agni and Soma, the low-voiced offering to Agni and Soma, and the rice-cake for Agni and Soma,—when by means of any one of these he obtains all, why then this manifold performance? [The answer to this objection is that] so manifold is the power, the generative force of Agni and Soma.

24. The sun, indeed, relates to Agni, and the moon to Soma; the day relates to Agni, and the night to Soma; the waxing half-moon relates to Agni, and the waning one to Soma.

25. 'By means of the two butter-portions he obtains the sun and the moon; by means of the low-voiced offering he obtains the day and the night; and by means of the rice-cake he obtains the two half-moons,' thus say some.

26. Āsuri, on the other hand, said: 'By means of the two butter-portions he gains any two (of those objects¹); by means of the low-voiced offering he obtains any (other) two; and by means of the rice-cake he obtains any (other) two: "all has been obtained, all has been conquered by me! with that All I will slay Vṛitra! with the All I will slay the

¹ 'Yatame vā yatame vā dve āpnoti.' Sāyana supplies vastuni, 'objects.' The Kāṇva recension, on the other hand, reads, 'Yatame vā yatame vā dve devate āpnoti.'

spiteful enemy!" thus he thinks, and for that reason there is this manifold performance.'

27. On this point it has also been remarked: 'Why this sameness (of performance)? By what is introduced between the butter(-offering) to Agni and Soma and the rice-cake to Agni and Soma, a repetition of performance (is committed)¹.' Sameness (of performance), nevertheless, is avoided in this way: the one (viz. the low-voiced offering) consists of butter, and the other of a rice-cake, hence the one is different from the other. Moreover, after reciting a *Rîk*-verse as anuvâkyâ, he pronounces the yâgyâ with the word 'pleased' (in the case of the butter-portions to Agni and Soma); and after reciting a *Rîk*-verse as anuvâkyâ, he pronounces the yâgyâ in the form of a *Rîk*-verse (in the case of the low-voiced offering to Agni and Soma), hence the one is (again) different from the other². Sameness of performance is also avoided in this way: in a low voice (he utters the formulas when) he offers of the butter, and with a loud voice of the cake; and what is (uttered) in a low voice, that is the manner of Pragâpati: hence he recites for that (low-

¹ See p. 80, note 2. The objection here raised is, that the low-voiced offering, which is intermediate between the two above-mentioned oblations to Agni-Soma, is made to the same two deities.

² When the two butter-portions to Agni and Soma are offered the *Hotri* recites the verses Rig-veda VI, 16, 34 (Vâg. S. 33, 9), and Rig-veda I, 95, 5 (Vâg. S. 19, 42) respectively, as anuvâkyâs, or invitational prayers, each of which is followed by the yâgyâ (offering-formula): 'We who pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni (or Soma respectively),—may Agni (Soma) pleased (*gushânâh*) accept of the butter-oblation! Vâusha!' At the low-voiced offering (*upâmsuyâga*) to Agni-Soma, on the other hand, he first utters (in a low voice) as anuvâkyâ the verse Rig-veda I, 93, 2, and thereupon as yâgyâ Rig-veda I, 93, 6.

voiced offering) an anushṭubh-verse as the invitatory formula (anuvâkyâ), for the anushṭubh represents speech, and Pragâpati also is speech.

28. By means of that low-voiced offering the gods stealing near slew, with that thunderbolt, the vashaṭ-call, whichever they wished of the Asuras; and so does this one, after stealing near by means of that low-voiced offering, slay with that thunderbolt, the vashaṭ-call, the wicked, spiteful enemy¹. This is why he performs the low-voiced offering.

29. Having recited (at the butter-portions) a *Rîk*-verse as the anuvâkyâ, he recites the yâgyâ with the word 'pleased : ' in consequence of this, creatures are brought forth here with teeth on one side (in one jaw); for the *Rîk* means bone and the tooth also is bone, so that he thereby produces bone on one side.

30. Having recited (at the low-voiced offering) a *Rîk*-verse as the anuvâkyâ, he recites as the yâgyâ a (second) *Rîk*-verse: in consequence of this, creatures with teeth on both sides are brought forth here; for the *Rîk* means bone and the tooth also is bone, so that he thereby produces bone on both sides. These creatures, indeed, are of two kinds, viz. such as have teeth on one side only, and such as have teeth on both sides²; and verily he who sacrifices, knowing

¹ The two prayers of the low-voiced offering are muttered in a low voice; but the 'Vâusha!' at the end of the offering-prayer (as the 'Om!' at the end of the invitatory prayer) is uttered aloud. Hence the above symbolical explanation.

² The same distinction is made in Rig-veda X, 90, 10, where it is stated that from the Purusha sprang the horse and what other animals with two rows of teeth (viz. the ass and mule, according to Sâyana) on the one hand, and cows, goats, and sheep on the other. In Taitt. II, 2, 6, 3, also the horse is mentioned along with man as belonging to the former class of living beings. Cf. also Taitt. V, 1, 2, 6; Ath.-veda V, 19, 2; 31, 3; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 58.

thus the generative power of Agni and Soma, becomes rich in offspring and cattle.

31. When he (the sacrificer) is about to enter upon the fast of the full-moon ceremony, he may not be entirely sated. He therefore now compresses (that part of) his belly which relates to the Aśuras; and next morning, by means of the oblations, that which relates to the gods. Now the practice regarding the full-moon ceremony is as follows :

32. One may (enter on the) fast at the very time (of full moon), thinking, 'Now I will slay *Vṛitra*, now I will slay the spiteful enemy!'

33. One may also fast only on the following day. Now he who (enters on the) fast at the very time (of full moon), gets, as it were, into collision¹ (with some one); and when two come into collision with one another, it is indeed doubtful which of the two will get the better of the other. He, on the other hand, who prefers to fast on the second day (only), is as one who crushes from behind a retreating (enemy) before he is able to resist the attack : striking in one direction², in fact, is he who thus keeps the fast on the second day only.

34. Let him therefore enter on the fast at the very time (of full moon). He who keeps the fast on the following day only is as one who finally crushes one struck down by some one else; he only does what has been done before by some one else, he only

¹ Sam-kramate, literally 'comes together with, meets (somebody)'. This symbolical explanation was probably suggested by the circumstance that the full moon marks the junction (*sandhi*) of the two pakshas or half months; whereas the new moon (*amâ-vâsyâ*, 'dwelling together') marks the point of least distance between sun and moon.

² Anyatoghâtin, ? thus St. Petersburg Dictionary.

follows another's lead; let him therefore enter on the fast at the very time (of full moon).

35. After Pragâpati had created the living beings, his joints (parvan) were relaxed. Now Pragâpati, doubtless, is the year, and his joints are the two junctions of day and night (i. e. the twilights), the full moon and new moon, and the beginnings of the seasons.

36. He was unable to rise with his relaxed joints; and the gods healed him by means of these havis-offerings: by means of the Agnihotra they healed that joint (which consists of) the two junctions of day and night, joined that together; by means of the full-moon and the new-moon sacrifice they healed that joint (which consists of) the full and new moon, joined that together; and by means of the (three) Kâturmâsyas (seasonal offerings) they healed that joint (which consists of) the beginnings of the seasons, joined that together.

37. With his joints thus repaired he betook himself to this food,—to the food which is here (offered) to Pragâpati; and he who, knowing this, enters upon the fast at the very time (of full moon), heals Pragâpati's joint at the proper time, and Pragâpati favours him. Thus he who, knowing this, enters upon the fast at the very time (of full moon) becomes a consumer of food: let him therefore enter on the fast at the very time (of full moon).

38. These two butter-portions (to Agni and Soma), truly, are the eyes of the sacrifice; he, therefore, offers them in front (of, or before, the havis), for these eyes are in the front (of the head). Hence he thereby places the eyes in the front; and for this reason these eyes are in the front (of the head).

39. Some people offer Agni's butter-portion in the north-eastern part (of the fire), and Soma's butter-portion in the south-eastern part, thinking, 'Thereby we place the eyes in the front (of the head).' This, however, is rather unintelligible; for the several dishes of sacrificial food (*havis*) represent the body of the sacrifice; when therefore he offers in front of (or before) the *havis*, he thereby places the eyes in the front. Let him rather make the offerings (in that part of the fire) where he thinks the fiercest blaze is; for only by being offered in blazing (fire) are oblations successful¹.

40. Having recited (at the butter-portions) a *Rik*-verse as an *anuvākya* (invitatory formula), he recites by way of *yāgyā* (offering-prayer) the (formula containing the word) 'pleased;' thereby these boneless eyes are set in what is bone. If, on the other hand, after reciting a *Rik*-verse as an *anuvākya*, he

¹ Kāty. III, 3, 20-22 admits either mode of offering the butter-portions. These oblations are effected in the following way:—The *Adhvaryu*, having called on the *Hotri* to recite the *anuvākya*, takes with the dipping-spoon (*sruva*) butter from the *dhruvā* and puts it into the *guhū*; he then draws some with the *sruva* from the butter-pot and replenishes the *dhruvā* with it [according to the *Kāṇvas*, with the text 'May the *dhruvā* fatten with the *havis*-butter, sacrifice after sacrifice, for those who go to the gods,—the udder of *Sūryā* in the lap of *Aditi* : may the earth flow abundantly at this sacrifice!']. The same process is then repeated three (additional) times (with a *Gamadagni* four times): hence the offering is said to consist of four (or five) cuttings. The *Hotri* then recites the *anuvākya* (see note on I, 6, 3, 27), which is followed by the *Adhvaryu*'s call '*om sṛāvaya*' and the *Āgnidhra*'s response '*astu srausha*.' Thereupon the *Hotri*, having been called upon by the *Adhvaryu* to give the offering-prayer to Agni (or Soma), recites the respective *yāgyā*, at the concluding *vausha* of which the oblation is poured into the fire, (whilst the sacrificer utters the usual dedicatory formula, 'This for Agni (Soma), not for me!')

were to use a *Rîk*-verse as the *yâgyâ*, he would make it bone instead of eye.

41. Those two (qualities), truly, are related to the natures of Agni and Soma: that which is white is related to Agni, and that which is black is related to Soma. If, however (it were asserted), on the contrary, that what is black is related to Agni, and what is white is related to Soma,—[the answer would be:—] what sees is of the nature of Agni, for dry, as it were, are the eyes of one who looks, and that which is dry relates to Agni;—and what sleeps is of the nature of Soma, for moist, as it were, are the eyes of one who is asleep, and moist also is Soma. And, verily, he who thus knows those two butter-*portions* to be eyes, remains endowed with eye-sight till old age in this world, and starts in yonder world possessed of eye-sight.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

SPECIAL PRELIMINARY RITES OF THE NEW-MOON SACRIFICE.

1. When Indra had hurled the thunderbolt at *Vritra*, thinking himself to be the weaker, and fearing lest he had not brought him down, he concealed himself and went to the farthest distances¹. Now the gods knew that *Vritra* had been slain and that Indra had concealed himself.

2. Agni of the deities, *Hiranyastûpa*² of the *Rishis*, and the *Bṛihatî* of the metres, set about searching for him. Agni discovered him and stayed

¹ *Parâh parâvatah*, literally 'to the most distant distances,' 'zu den fernsten Fernen.'

² *Hiranyastûpa*, of the family of the *Ângiras*, is the reputed author (or seer) of the hymns *Rig-veda* I, 31-35; IX, 4; 69. Of these, I, 32 and 33, which celebrate the exploits of Indra, seem to have been especially prized.

with him (as a guest) that (day and) night. He (Indra), namely, is the Vasu¹ of the gods, for he is their hero.

3. The gods said, 'Our Vasu, who has gone to live away from us, is this day dwelling together (amâ vas, viz. with Agni²);' and as one would cook a dish of rice or a goat in common for two relatives or friends who have come to stay with him,—for such-like is human (fare), as the sacrificial food (havis) is that of the gods,—in like manner they offered to those two together that sacrificial food, the rice-cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni. This is the reason why there is a rice-cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni.

4. Indra said, 'When I had hurled the thunder-bolt at Vṛitra, I was terrified, and (in consequence of this fright) I am much emaciated. This (cake) does not satiate me : prepare for me what will satiate me !' The gods replied, 'So be it !'

5. The gods said, 'Nothing but Soma will satiate him : let us prepare Soma for him !' They prepared Soma for him. Now this king Soma, the food of the gods, is no other than the moon³. When he

¹ That is, as would seem, the benefactor, or the treasure (dhanarûpa, Sâyana) of the gods. Indra is the chief of the Vasus. Indra being so beneficent and important a personage, it was, according to Sâyana, worth Agni's while to stay with him. Possibly also a play on the word Vasu, and vas, 'to dwell,' is intended here.

² Thus Sâyana ; but it probably means, 'he is staying at a home, or at home (amâ) to-day.'

³ The identification of the Soma (plant and juice) with the moon already occurs in some of the hymns of the Rig-veda, all of which, however, probably belong to the later ones. According to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, the identification was probably suggested by the circumstance that indu, 'drop, spark,' applies both to the Soma and the moon. Rig-veda X, 85, 3 says that 'of that Soma which the priests know, no one ever eats.'

(the moon, masc.) is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world; and here he enters into the waters (f.) and plants (f.). He is indeed a treasure for the gods, he is their food. And since during that night he here dwells together¹ (amâ vas), therefore that (night of new moon) is called amâvâsyâ (the dwelling together, or at home).

6. They prepared it² (Soma for Indra), after having it collected, part by part, by the cows: in eating plants (they collected it) from the plants, and in drinking water (they collected it) from the waters. Having prepared and coagulated it, and made it strong (pungent), they gave it to him³.

7. He said, 'This does indeed satiate me, but it does not agree with me⁴: devise some means by which it may agree with me!' They made it agree with him by means of boiled (milk).

8. Now although this (mixture of sweet and sour milk) is, indeed, one and the same substance—it being milk (payas) and belonging to Indra—they,

¹ Viz. with the waters and plants (or, he stays at home).

² It should be borne in mind that Soma is masculine in Sanskrit.

³ In Taitt. S. II, 5, 3, 2 seq. the corresponding story is applied directly to the Sânnâyya. In consequence of the struggle with Vṛitra, Indra lost his energy, which fell to the earth and produced plants and shrubs. He thereupon complained to Pragâpati, who bade the cattle collect (sam-nî) it again by browsing the plants and shrubs. It was then milked out from them, and as the milk did not agree with Indra, it was boiled, and as it still did not satisfy Indra, it was mixed with sour milk.

⁴ Na mayi srayate, literally 'it does not stay in me'=na tish/hati, na sâtmyam bhagate, Sâyana. The author here (as in I, 8, 1, 17) connects, or confounds, the verb sri with srâ, 'to cook, make done,'—hence, 'it does not boil in me;' the milk being warm, or, as it were, boiled, when it comes from the cow, see II, 2, 4, 15. Hence also boiled milk is mixed with the Soma.

nevertheless, declare it to be (two) different (substances). Since he said 'it satiates (dhi) me,' therefore it is sour milk (dadhi); and since they made it agree (sri) with him with boiled milk (or, by boiling), therefore it is (fresh) boiled milk (srīta)¹.

9. In the same way as the Soma stalk becomes strong² (by being touched or sprinkled with water), so he (Indra) became strong (by the Soma being mixed with boiled milk) and overcame that evil, the jaundice³. Such is likewise the significance of the new-moon ceremony (and the Sānnāyya, or libation of sweet and sour milk offered to Indra thereat); and verily he who, knowing this, mixes (sweet and sour milk at the new-moon sacrifice) in like manner increases in offspring and cattle, and overcomes evil: let him therefore mix together (sweet and sour milk)⁴.

¹ The author here endeavours to establish some connection between the Sānnāyya (or offering of sweet and sour milk to Indra, which may take the place of the second sacrificial cake offered, at the new-moon sacrifice, to Indra and Agni) and the Soma libations. Śāyana refers to the passage Taitt. Br. I, 4, 7, 6-7, where it is stated that for the morning libation the Soma is to be mixed with boiled milk, for the mid-day libation with sour milk, and for the third (or evening) libation with sour milk that is partly changed into butter (nītamisra).

² Âpyâyeta. On the strengthening or increasing (âpyâyanam) of the Soma-plant by sprinkling it with water before the juice is extracted, see III, 4, 3, 12 seq. Śāyana seems to take the passage thus: 'In the same way as the Soma would make strong (? or become strong), so also the sânnāyyam destroys that evil, the jaundice, in those who drink it.'

³ By the admixture of milk the Soma-juice loses its brownish colour, and is therefore apparently considered to produce the same effect in those who drink the mixture.

⁴ The preparation of the sânnāyya, as it is now practised by priests in Western India, is thus described by Haug (Ait. Br. II, p.

10. In reference to this point they say, 'One who has not performed the Soma-sacrifice¹, must not offer the Sānnāyya; for, indeed, the Sānnāyya is (of the same significance as) a Soma libation, and the latter is not permitted to one who is not a Soma-sacrificer: hence he who has not performed the Soma-sacrifice, must not offer the Sānnāyya.'

11. He may nevertheless offer the Sānnāyya; for have we not heard within this place² that he (Indra) said, 'Do ye now offer Soma to me, and then ye will prepare for me that invigorating draught (āpyāyana, viz. the Sānnāyya)!' 'This does not satiate me, prepare for me what will satiate me!' That invigorating draught they indeed prepared for

443): 'The Adhvaryu takes the milk from three cows called Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī, on the morning and evening, and gives it to the Āgnīdhra. Half the milk is first drawn from the udder of each of the three cows under the recital of mantras; then the same is done silently. The milk is taken from these cows on the evening of the new-moon day, and on the morning of the following day, the so-called Pratipad (the first day of the month). The milk drawn on the evening is made hot, and lime-juice poured over it to make it sour; whereupon it is hung up. The fresh milk of the following morning is then mixed with it, and both are sacrificed along with the Puroḍāsa. Only he who has already performed the Agnishoma is allowed to sacrifice the Sānnāyya at the Darśapūrṇima śhā. (Oral information.)' In Vāg. S. I, 4 (Sat. Br. I, 7, 1, 17; Kāty. IV, 2, 25, 26) the names of the three cows are given as Visvāyu, Visvakarman, and Visvadhāyus, unless these are intended merely for epithets or mystic names. Cf. p. 188 note; Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 232. Instead of the lime-juice, mentioned by Haug as used for rennet, Kāty. IV, 2, 33 prescribes that the milk remaining from the Agnihotra of the preceding evening, and since become sour, should be used.

¹ Thus Taitt. S. II, 5, 5, 1.

² Atrāntareṇa; atra vishaye antareṇa madhye, Sāyana; ? within this our range of hearing; or, in the course of the present ceremony.

him, and therefore even one who has not performed the Soma-sacrifice, may offer the Sānnâyya.

12. The full-moon oblation, assuredly, belongs to the *Vritra*-slayer, for by means of it Indra slew *Vritra*; and this new-moon oblation also represents the slaying of *Vritra*, since they prepared that invigorating draught for him who had slain *Vritra*.

13. An offering in honour of the *Vritra*-slayer, then, is the full-moon sacrifice. *Vritra*, assuredly, is no other than the moon¹; and when during that night (of new moon) he is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (Indra) completely destroys him by means of that (new-moon sacrifice), and leaves nothing remaining of him. And, verily, he who knows this, overcomes all evil and leaves nothing remaining of evil.

14. Here now some people enter upon the fast when they (still) see (the moon, on the fourteenth day of the half-month), thinking, 'To-morrow he will not rise: already, then, there is unfailing food for the gods in yonder heaven², and to this we will offer them more from hence (to-morrow)!' — He, indeed, is in a prosperous state with whom, while the old food is still unfailing, fresh food is accruing; for such a one has indeed abundant food. However, he is not now offering Soma, but he is offering milk (i. e. the Sānnâyya), and that (milk) becomes king Soma³ (in yonder world):

¹ See I, 6, 3, 17.

² Viz. in the form of Soma, i. e. the moon, still shining in the heavens during the night preceding the new moon.

³ Who, as we saw, resides in the plants and waters at the time of new moon and consequently in the milk used for the Sānnâyya. If, however, one were to enter upon the fast (and hence on the

15. But as they (the cows), previously (to the new moon), eat mere plants (not imbued with the moon or Soma), and drink mere water, and yield mere milk,—so that (milk which they offer on the day before new moon, is not imbued with Soma, is ordinary milk). For king Soma, the food of the gods, indeed, is no other than the moon. When he is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world, and here enters into the waters and plants. Having then collected him from the water and plants, he (the performer of the Sânnâyya) causes him to be reproduced from out of the libations; and he (Soma, the moon), being reproduced from the libations, becomes visible in the western sky.

16. Now it is only when that food of the gods is unfailing that it comes back (to men): for him, therefore, who knows this, there is unfailing food in this, and imperishable righteousness in yonder, world.

17. Thus during that night (of new moon) food moves away from the gods and comes to this world. Now the gods were desirous as to how that (food) might (be made to) come back to them; how it might not perish away from them. For this they put their trust in those who prepare the libation of sweet and sour milk (sânnâyya), thinking, 'when they have prepared it, they will offer it to us.' And, verily, in him, who knows this, both his own kin and strangers put their trust; for in him, who attains to the highest rank, people indeed put their trust.

18. Now the one that burns there (viz. the sun)

sacrifice) previously to the new moon, he would be offering mere milk, not imbued with, and not liable to change into, Soma, and therefore unfit for the gods.

is, assuredly, no other than Indra, and that moon is no other than *Vṛitra*. But the former is of a nature hostile to the latter, and for this reason, though this one (the moon, *Vṛitra*) had previously (to the night of new moon) risen at a great distance from him (the sun, Indra), he now swims towards him and enters into his open mouth.

19. Having swallowed him, he (the sun) rises; and that (other) one is not seen either in the east or in the west. And, verily, he who knows this, swallows his spiteful enemy, and of him they say, 'He alone exists, his enemies exist not¹.'

20. Having sucked him empty, he throws him out; and the latter, thus sucked out, is seen in the western sky, and again increases; he again increases to serve that (sun) as food: and verily if the spiteful enemy of one who knows this, thrives either by trade or in any other way, he thrives again and again in order to serve him as food.

21. Now some people offer (the *Sânnâyya*) to (Indra under the name of) 'Mahendra' (the great Indra), arguing, 'Before the slaying of *Vṛitra* he was Indra, it is true; but after slaying *Vṛitra* he became Mahendra, even as (a *râgan*, or king, becomes) a *Mahârâga* after obtaining the victory: hence (the *Sânnâyya* should be offered) to Mahendra.' Let him, nevertheless, offer it to 'Indra;' for Indra he was before the slaying of *Vṛitra*, and Indra he is after slaying *Vṛitra*: therefore let him offer it to 'Indra².'

¹ With this explanation of the disappearance of the moon may be compared the later notion of the sun and moon being swallowed by the demon *Râhu*, at the time of the eclipses.

² *Kâty.* IV, 2, 10 leaves it optional whether the libation of mixed

SEVENTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He (the Adhvaryu) drives the calves away (from the cows) with a *parṇa* branch¹. The reason why he drives the calves away with a *parṇa* branch is this. When the Gâyatrî flew towards Soma (the moon), a footless archer aiming at her while she was carrying him off, severed one of the feathers (*parṇa*) either of the Gâyatrî or of king Soma²; and on falling down it became a *parṇa* (*palâsa*) tree; whence its name *parṇa*. 'May that

sweet and sour milk is to be offered to Indra or to Mahendra. According to IV, 5, 25, however, such option seems to be permitted only so far as the first performance is concerned, after which one is apparently bound to go on offering during the rest of one's life to whichever deity one has chosen at the beginning. Taitt. S. II, 5, 4, 4, lays it down as the rule that only a *gatasrî* (one who has reached the highest grade of prosperity), viz. a *brâhmana* versed in the three Vedas (*susruvân*=*vedatrayâ-bhigñā*, *Sâyana*), the head of a village (*grâmanî*), and a *râganya*, can make offering to Mahendra, since he is their special deity. Others, however, may do the same, after offering the *sânnâyam* to Indra for a whole year, and on the expiration of it a rice-cake on eight potsherds to Agni, as the Keeper of Vows.

¹ *Parṇa*=*palâsa*, *Butea Frondosa*.

² *Gâyatryai vâ somasya vâ*= 'both of G. and of S.,' *Sâyana*. *Apâd astâ*, 'a footless shooter,' is a doubtful reading and perhaps an old corruption; *Sâyana* reads *apâdhastâ* (? *adhastât*); cf. Weber, various readings, p. 133. The *Kâṇva* MS. reads, '*devebhyaḥ tasyâ âharantîyâ avâdastâbhyâyatyā parṇam prakīḥeda*.' According to *Rig-veda* IV, 27, 3, it was the archer *Kṛiṣṇu*, who hit the falcon when it was carrying off the Soma from heaven, and brought down one of its feathers. On the whole myth, see A. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, p. 137 seq. Cf. Taitt. S. III, 5, 7, 1; Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 10, 'Soma was in the third heaven from here; Gâyatrî fetched him away; one of his feathers was cut off, it became a *parṇa* (*palâsa*) tree.' Similarly Taitt. Br. I, 2, 1, 6; see also Sat. Br. I, 8, 2, 10.

which then was of the Soma nature¹ be here with us now!' so he thinks, and for this reason he drives away the calves with a *parṇa* branch.

2. That (branch) he cuts off², with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 1 a, b*), 'For sap (I cut) thee! for pith thee!'—'for rain thee' he means to say, when he says 'for sap thee;' and when he says 'for pith thee' he means to say 'for that food-essence which springs from the rain.'

3. They then let the calves join their mothers. He thereupon touches (each) calf (in order to drive it away from the cow), with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 1 c*), 'The winds are ye!'—for, indeed, it is this wind that here blows³, it is this (wind) that makes swell all the rain that falls here; it is it that makes those (cows) swell; and for this reason he says 'the winds are ye!' Some people add here the formula⁴, 'Going near are ye!' but let him not say this, because thereby another (an enemy) approaches (the sacrificer).

4. After separating one of the mothers from her calf, he touches her, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 1 d*), 'May the divine Savitṛi animate you—' for Savitṛi, indeed, is the impeller (*prasavitṛi*) of the gods:

¹ 'Somasya nyaktam,' see p. 167, note 2.

² This act as well as that of letting the calves join the cows, of course, precedes the driving away of the calves. These proceedings take place on the day before the new moon, after the *agnyanvâdhâna*. According to Kâty., the sacrificer enters on the vow of abstinence, after the branch has been cut. Previously to these rites, however, the so-called *Pinda-pitṛiyagñâ*, or oblation of obsequial *pindâs* (balls, dumplings) to the deceased ancestors, has to be performed; for which see II, 4, 2, 1 seq.

³ *Pavate*, 'blows, purifies.'

⁴ Thus Taitt. S. I, 1, 1, 1.

‘may they, impelled by Savitṛi, prepare the sacrifice!’ so he thinks, and for this reason he says, ‘May the divine Savitṛi animate you!’

5. ‘—To the most glorious work!’ for assuredly the sacrifice is the most glorious work: hence, when he says ‘to the most glorious work!’ he means to say ‘to the sacrifice.’

6. ‘Make swell, ye invincible (or inviolable) ones, the share for Indra!’ In like manner as then¹, in taking the sacrificial food (rice), he announces it to the deity, so now also he announces that (libation of milk) to the deity when he says ‘make swell, ye invincible ones, the share for Indra!’

7. ‘Over you that are rich in offspring, over you that are free from suffering and disease—;’ in this there is nothing that is obscure; ‘—no thief, no ill-wisher may lord it!’—he thereby means to say, ‘may the evil spirits, the Rakshas, not lord it over you!’—‘May ye be numerous and constant to this lord of cattle!’—thereby he means to say ‘may ye be numerous with this sacrificer, and not abandon him.’

8. He then hides the branch on the front (eastern) side either of the Âhavanīya or the Gârhapatya house, with the formula (Vâg. S. I, 1 e), ‘Protect the sacrificer’s cattle!’ he thus makes over the sacrificer’s cattle to it for protection by means of the Brahman (sacred writ).

9. On it he fastens a strainer (pavitram)², with

¹ Viz. on the occasion of his taking from the cart the rice for the oblations, see I, 1, 2, 17-19.

² See p. 19, note 1. According to Karka this takes place before the hiding of the branch, Scholl. on Kâty. IV, 2, 15. According to Kâty. IV, 2, 12, 13, the upavesha (see I, 2, 1, 3) is cut at this juncture—with the text, ‘Accomplishing (vesha) art thou’—from the bottom part of the palâra branch on the remaining part

the formula (Vâg. S. I, 2 a), 'Vasu's means of purification (ventilator, strainer, pavitram) art thou!' Vasu, indeed, is the sacrifice: for this reason he says, 'Vasu's means of purification art thou!'

10. That night he performs the Agnihotra with rice-gruel (yavâgû). That milk, namely, (which he milks that night) has already been announced as sacrificial food to a (special) deity; hence, if he were to make the offering with milk, he would offer to one deity that which has been set apart as sacrificial food for another deity: this is the reason why on that night he performs the Agnihotra with rice-gruel. As soon as they have performed the Agnihotra, the pot is made ready. He (the Adhvaryu) thereupon says, 'Announce that she (the cow) has been let loose to (the calf)!' When he (or she, the milker¹) announces, 'She has been let loose!'—

11. He puts the pot on (the Gârhapatya hearth), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 2 b, c): 'Thou art the sky! thou art the earth!'—he praises and eulogises her by thus saying, 'thou art the sky! thou art the earth!'—'Mâtariśvan's cauldron (gharma) art thou²!' he thereby makes it (a means of) sacrifice, and puts it on just as if he were putting on the

of which he thereupon fixes the strainer. When the sânnâyya oblation is not made (and consequently no palâsa branch is used), the upavesha is made of varana wood.

¹ The milker may be anybody except a Sûdra, Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 9; Kâty. IV, 2, 22; Âpast. I, 12, 15.

² Mâtariśvan's cauldron is identified in Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 2 with the atmosphere. Mâtariśvan, though sometimes identified with the wind, is more generally either a name of Agni, or the name of a mythic personage who (Prometheus-like) is supposed to have fetched the fire from heaven and brought it to the Bhrîgu, who communicated it to man. See Roth, Nir. p. 111; Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, p. 5 seq.

(pravargya-) cauldron (gharma)¹.—‘All-holding art thou! stand firm by the highest law! do not waver!’—thereby he steadies it, renders it firm.—‘May thy Lord of Sacrifice not waver!’—the Lord of Sacrifice, doubtless, is the sacrificer, hence it is for the sacrificer that he thereby prays for steadiness.

12. He then puts the strainer (on the pot). He puts it down with the top turned eastwards, for the east is the region of the gods; or with the top turned northwards, for the north is the region of the men; means of purification (pavitram) assuredly is that (wind) which here blows, it sweeps across these worlds: let him therefore put it down with the front northwards².

13. Just as then (i. e. at the Soma-sacrifice) they clarify king Soma with a strainer, in like manner he now clarifies (the milk); and since the strainer wherewith on that occasion they clarify king Soma has its fringe directed towards the north, therefore let him now also put it down with the top northward.

14. He puts it down, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 3 a), ‘Vasu’s means of purification (pavitram) art thou!’—Vasu, indeed, is the sacrifice: for this reason he says, ‘Vasu’s means of purification art thou!’—‘flowing in a hundred streams, flowing in a thousand streams!’—he praises and eulogises it when he says, ‘flowing in a hundred streams, flowing in a thousand streams.’

¹ See I, 2, 2, 7, and note. Compare also the interesting introduction to Dr. Garbe’s edition and translation of Âpastamba’s aphorisms on the Pravargya ceremony, Zeitsch. der D. Morg. Ges. XXXIV, p. 319 seq.

² The direction from west to east is the chief one in all sacrificial arrangements: hence that from south to north is the one that lies across the former.

15. He now maintains silence as long as the milking of the three (cows) lasts, for the sacrifice, doubtless, is speech: 'May I perform the sacrifice undisturbed!' so he thinks.

16. When it (the milk of each of the three cows) is poured (by the milker from the wooden pail through the strainer into the pot), he (the Adhvaryu) consecrates it by (whispering each time) the formula (Vâg. S. I, 3 b), 'May the divine Savitri purify thee with Vasu's means of purification, well cleansing and flowing in a hundred streams!' for just as then (at the Soma-sacrifice) they clarify king Soma with a strainer, so he thereby clarifies (the milk).

17. He then says (Vâg. S. I, 3-4), 'Which didst thou milk?' 'Such and such a one,' (the milker replies.) 'This one is Visvâyu (containing all life),' he (the Adhvaryu) says. He then¹ asks regarding the second one, 'Which didst thou milk?' 'Such and such a one,' is the reply. 'This one is Visvakarman (all-doing),' he says. He then asks regarding the third, 'Which didst thou milk?' 'Such and such a one,' is the reply. 'This one is Visvadhâyas (all-sustaining),' he says. The reason why he thus asks is that he thereby bestows certain energies on them. Three (cows) he milks, for three are these worlds: he thereby renders them fit for these worlds. He is now at liberty to speak.

¹ That is, when the milk has been poured through the strainer as before. The Taittirîya school make the mystic names (or epithets) of the three cows Visvâyu, Visvavyaḥas (all-embracing), and Visvakarman, cf. Taitt. S. I, 1, 3; Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 7. In the latter passage these names are, as here, identified with the earth, atmosphere, and heavens respectively. The milker, in replying to the Adhvaryu, apparently calls the cows by their ordinary names. Cf. p. 178, note 4.

18. After having the last (cow) milked, and having poured a drop of water into the pail which he has made the milker use, and stirred it, he pours it to (the milk)¹, thinking 'what milk was left there, let that also be here!'—(he does so) for the completeness of the sap; for when it rains here, then plants spring up, and on the plants being eaten and the water drunk, thence is this juice produced: and therefore (the water is poured to the milk) for the completeness of the sap. Having then taken it off (the fire), he coagulates it²: he thereby makes it sharp (pungent); for this reason he coagulates it, after taking it off (the fire).

19. He coagulates it, with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 4 d*), 'With Soma I coagulate thee, the portion of Indra!' Just as on a former occasion³, when taking sacrificial food for a deity, he announces it (to that deity), in like manner he now announces it to the deity, saying, 'Thee, the portion of Indra!' By saying 'with Soma I coagulate thee,' he makes it palatable to the gods.

20. He then covers it over by a vessel⁴, with the hollow part upwards and containing water, 'lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should touch it from above;' for water, indeed, is a thunderbolt; hence

¹ According to *Taitt. S. I, 1, 3, Kâty. IV, 2, 32, &c.*, he, whilst doing so, pronounces the text, 'Unite, ye that follow the eternal law, ye waving ones (with the wave, *Kâty.*), ye sweetest,—[filling the milk with honey, *Kâty.*],—ye delightful ones, for the obtainment of wealth!'

² *Viz.* by adding to it the (sour) milk that is left from the performance of the *Agnihotra*.

³ See *I, 1, 2, 18*.

⁴ According to *Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 11*, it may be either a metal or wooden vessel, but not an earthen one (*Kâty. IV, 2, 34*).

he thus drives away from it the evil spirits, the Rakshas, with a thunderbolt: this is the reason why he covers it over by a vessel with the hollow part upwards and containing water.

21. He covers it over, with the formula (Vâg. S. I, 4 e), 'O Vishnu, protect the oblation!' for Vishnu, indeed, is the sacrifice; hence he thereby makes over this sacrificial food to the sacrifice for protection: for this reason he says, 'O Vishnu, protect the oblation!'

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

THE CHIEF OFFERINGS.

1. Verily, whoever exists, he, in being born, is born as (owing) a debt to the gods, to the *Rishis*, to the fathers, and to men¹.

2. For, inasmuch as he is bound to sacrifice, for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to the gods: hence when he sacrifices to them, when he makes

¹ The wording of this passage is very ambiguous; so much so indeed, that it could also be taken in the sense that 'whoever exists, is born as (one to whom) a debt (is owed) from the gods,' &c.; cf. I, 1, 2, 19: 'Whichever deities are chosen (for the oblations), they consider it as a debt (due from them), that they are bound to fulfil whatever wish he entertains while taking the oblation.' But see Taitt. Br. VI, 3, 10, 5: 'Verily, a Brâhmana who is born, is born as owing a debt in respect to three things: in the shape of sacred study (*brahmaṣṭya*) to the *Rishis*, in the shape of sacrifice to the gods, and in the shape of offspring to the fathers. Free from debt, verily, is he who has a son, who is a sacrificer, who lives (for a time with a guru) as a religious student.' Ath.-veda VI, 117, 3 (Taitt. Br. III, 7, 9, 8): 'May we be debtless in this, debtless in the other, debtless in the third, world! What worlds (paths, Taitt. Br.) there are trodden by the gods and trodden by the fathers,—may we abide debtless on all (those) paths!'

offerings to them, he does this (in discharge of his debt) to them.

3. And further, inasmuch as he is bound to study (the Veda), for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to the *R̥ishis*: hence it is to them that he does this; for one who has studied (the Veda) they call 'the *R̥ishis*' treasure-warden.'

4. And further, inasmuch as he is bound to wish for offspring, for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to the fathers: hence when there is (provided by him) a continued, uninterrupted lineage, it is for them that he does this.

5. And further, inasmuch as he is bound to practise hospitality, for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to men: hence when he harbours them, when he offers food to them, it is (in discharge of his debt) to them that he does so. Whoever does all these things, has discharged his duties: by him all is obtained, all is conquered.

6. And, accordingly, in that he is born as (owing) a debt to the gods, in regard to that he satisfies (ava-day) them by sacrificing; and when he makes offerings in the fire, he thereby satisfies them in regard to that (debt): hence whatever they offer up in the fire, is called *avadānam* (sacrificial portion)¹.

7. Now this (oblation) consists of four cuttings; (the reason for this is, that) there is here first, the invitational prayer (*anuvākyā*), then the offering-prayer (*yāgyā*), then the *vashat*-call, and as the fourth, the deity for which the sacrificial food is

¹ The word is really derived from *ava-dā* (do), 'to cut off.' The *Taitt. Br.* gives the same fanciful etymological explanation of the term as here.

(destined): for in this way the deities are dependent on the sacrificial portions, or the portions are dependent on the deities: hence what fifth cutting there is (made by some), that is redundant, for—for whom is he to cut it? For this reason it consists of four cuttings.

8. But a fivefold cutting also takes place (with some people): fivefold is the sacrifice, fivefold the animal victim, and five seasons there are in the year,—such is the perfection of the fivefold cutting; and he, assuredly, will have abundant offspring and cattle for whom, knowing this, the fivefold cutting is made. The fourfold cutting, however, is the approved (practice) among the Kuru-Pañkâlas, and for this reason a fourfold cutting takes place (with us¹).

¹ The four 'cuttings' of which each oblation of rice-cake consists are made in the following way: first, some clarified butter, 'cut out' or drawn from the butter in the dhruvâ-spoon by means of the sruva (dipping-spoon) and poured into the guhû (this is called the upastarana or under-layer of butter); second and third, two pieces of the size of a thumb's joint, cut out from the centre and the fore-part of the rice-cake and laid on that butter; and fourth, some clarified butter poured on these pieces of cake (the technical name of this basting of butter being abhighârana). The family of the Gamadagnis, which is mentioned as always making five cuttings (Kâty. I, 9, 3-4), take three pieces of cake instead of two, viz. an additional one from the back (or west) part of the cake. Yâgñika Deva on Kâty. quotes a couplet from some Smṛiti, in which the Vatsas, the Vidas, and the Ârshîshenas are mentioned beside the Gamadagnis, as pañkâvattinaḥ or making five cuttings. At the Upâmsuyâga (low-voiced offering),—which is performed between the cake-oblation to Agni and that to Agni-Soma at the full moon, and between the cake-oblation to Agni and that to Indra-Agni (or the sânnâyya, or oblation of sweet and sour milk, to Indra) at the new moon, and which consists entirely of butter,—the four cuttings are effected in the same way as described

9. Let him cut off only a moderate quantity; for were he to cut off a large quantity, he would make it human; and what is human is inauspicious at the sacrifice. Let him therefore cut off only a moderate quantity, lest he should do what is inauspicious at the sacrifice.

10. Having made an under-layer of butter (in the *guhû*-spoon) and cut off twice from the havis, he then pours over it some butter. There are, indeed, two (kinds of) oblations; the oblation of Soma being one, and the oblation of (or rather, with) butter being the other. Now the one, viz. the Soma-oblation, is (an oblation) by itself; and the other, viz. the butter-oblation, is the same as the offering of havis (rice, milk, &c.) and the animal offering¹; hence he thereby makes it (the cake) butter, and therefore butter is on both sides of it. Butter, doubtless, is palatable to the gods; hence he thereby renders it palatable to the gods: for this reason butter is on both sides of it.

11. The invitatory prayer (*anuvâkyâ*, f.), doubtless, is yonder (sky), and the offering-prayer (*yâgyâ*, f.) is this (earth)—these two are females. With each of these two the *vasha*-call (*vasha*/*kâra*, m.) makes up a pair². Now the *vasha*, indeed,

page 174 note. At the *sânnâyya*, two (or three) *sruva*-fuls of both the sweet and the sour milk take the place of the two (or three) pieces of cake.

¹ See page 26, note 1. The parts of the cakes or the *sânnâyya*, from which cuttings have been made, he bastes, each once, with butter taken with the *sruva* from the butter-pot; and whenever butter is ladled with the *sruva* from the *dhruvâ* into the *guhû*, the former is replenished from the butter-pot.

² Taylor *mithunam asti vasha/kâra eva*, 'to these two the *vasha*-call is the complement in forming a pair.' On the *vasha*/*(vausha)* and the other two formulas, see note on I, 5, 2, 16.

is no other than that scorching one (the sun). When he rises he approaches yonder (sky); and when he sets he approaches this (earth): hence whatever is brought forth here by these two, that they bring forth through that male.

12. Having recited the invitatory prayer and pronounced the offering-prayer¹, he afterwards (*paśāt*) utters the *vashaś* formula; for from behind (*paśāt*) the male approaches the female: hence, after placing those two in front, he causes them to be approached by that male, the *vashaś*. For the same reason let him make the offering either simultaneously with the *vashaś* or (immediately) after the *vashaś* has been pronounced.

13. A vessel of the gods, doubtless, is that *vashaś*. Even as, after ladling, one would mete out (food) into a vessel, so here. If, on the other hand, he were to make the offering before the *vashaś*, it would be lost, as would be that (food) falling to the ground: for this reason also let him make the offering either simultaneously with the *vashaś* or after it has been pronounced.

14. As seed is poured into the womb, so here. If, on the other hand, he were to make the offering before the *vashaś*, it would be lost, as would be the seed poured not into the womb: for this reason also let him make the offering either simultaneously with the *vashaś* or after it has been pronounced.

15. The invitatory formula, doubtless, is yonder (sky), and the offering-formula is this (earth). The *gâyatrī* metre also is this (earth), and the *trishūbh*

¹ The usual formalities, which have been detailed before (see page 174 note), have, of course, to be gone through at each oblation.

is yonder (sky)¹. He recites the gāyatrī verse, thereby reciting yonder (sky), for the invitational formula (anuvākyā) is yonder (sky). He recites this (earth), for the gāyatrī verse (viz. the offering-formula) is this (earth).

16. He then presents the offering with a trish/ubh verse², thereby presenting it by means of this

¹ In this passage the invitational formula (anuvākyā or puro-'nuvākyā), which is in the gāyatrī metre, is identified with the sky, and the offering-formula (yāgyā), which is in the trish/ubh metre, with the earth. On the other hand, the gāyatrī also is the earth (cf. I, 4, 1, 34), and the trish/ubh the sky; so that, according to this mode of reasoning, there is not only an intimate connexion between the two metres, but actual identity. The gāyatrī verse, used as invitational formula, on the occasion of the rice-cake offering to Agni, is Rig-veda VIII, 44, 16 [agnir mūrdhā divaś kakut, 'Agni, the head and summit of the sky,' &c.]; with that to Agni and Soma, at the full-moon sacrifice, Rig-veda I, 93, 3 [agnishomau savedasau, sahâtî vanatam giraś, 'O Agni and Soma, of self-same wealth and invocation, accept this song!' &c.]; and to Indra and Agni, at the new-moon, Rig-veda VII, 94, 7 [indrâgnî avasâ gatam, 'O Indra and Agni, come to us with favour!' &c.]; or with the (optional) milk-offering (sānnāyayam), at the new moon, Rig-veda I, 8, 1 [endra sânasim rayim, 'hither, O Indra, bring abundant treasure!' &c.], if to Indra; or Rig-veda VIII, 6, 1 [mahân indro ya ogasâ parganyo vrishîmân iva, 'the Great Indra, who in might is equal to the rainy thunder-cloud,' &c.], if to Mahendra.

² The trish/ubh verse, used as offering-formula with the oblation of cake to Agni, both at the new and full moon, is Rig-veda X, 8, 6 [bhuvō yagnīasya ragasar ka netâ... agne..., 'be thou the leader of the sacrifice and welkin, ... O Agni!' &c.]; with that to Agni and Soma, at the full moon, Rig-veda I, 93, 5 [yuvam etâni divi roṇanâni... agnishomau..., 'you, O Agni and Soma, (fixed) those lights in the heaven,' &c.]; with that to Indra and Agni, at the new moon, Rig-veda VII, 93, 4 [gîrbhir viprah pramatim ikṣhamâna... indrâgnî..., 'the bard, seeking your grace by songs..., O Indra and Agni,' &c.]; and with the milk-offering, at the same sacrifice, if to Indra, Rig-veda X, 180, 1 [pra sasâhishe puruhûta jarûn... indrâ..., 'thou, O Indra, the much-invoked, hast vanquished the enemies!' &c.]; or, if to Mahendra, Rig-veda X, 50, 4 [bhuvās

(earth), for the offering-formula (yâgyâ) is this (earth). Over yonder (sky) he places the vashaṭ, for yonder (sky) also is the trishṭubh. Thereby he makes those two (sky and earth) yoke-fellows; and as such they feed together; and after their common meal all these creatures get food¹.

17. Let him pronounce the invitatory formula lingering, as it were: the invitatory formula, namely, is yonder (sky), and the *bṛihat*-(sâman) also is yonder (sky), since its form is that of the *bṛihat*. With the offering-formula let him, as it were, hurry on fast: the offering-formula, doubtless, is this (earth), and the *rathantara*-(sâman) also is this (earth), since its form is that of the *rathantara*². With the invitatory formula he calls (the gods), and with the

tvam indra brahmaṇâ mahân, 'mighty, O Indra, mayest thou be through (our) prayer!' &c.].

¹ For the notion that there is rain (and consequently food) when heaven and earth are on friendly terms with each other, see I, 8, 3, 12. The rain is the food of the earth; and the food, produced thereby, in its turn furnishes food for the sky (or the gods) in the form of oblations.

² The *bṛihat*-sâman (tvâm id dhi havâmahe, 'on thee, indeed, we call,' &c., Sâma-veda II, 159-160=Rig-veda VI, 46, 1-2) and the *rathantara*-sâman (abhi tvâ sūra nonumaḥ, 'to thee, O Hero, we call,' &c., Sâma-veda II, 30-31=Rig-veda VII, 32, 22-23) are two of the most highly prized Sâma-hymns, which are especially used in forming the so-called *prishṭhas*, or combinations of two hymns in such a way that one of them (being a mystic representation of the embryo) is enclosed in the other, which is supposed to represent the womb. In these symbolical combinations the *bṛihat* and *rathantara*, which must never be used together, are often employed as the enclosing chants, representative of the womb. They are already mentioned in Rig-veda X, 181. See also Sat. Br. IX, 1, 2, 36-37. Taitt. S. VII, 1, 1, 4, Pragâpati is said to have first created from his mouth Agni together with the Gâyatrî, the *Rathantara*-sâman, the *Brâhmaṇa*, and the goat; and then from his chest and arms Indra, the *Trishṭubh*, the *Bṛihat*-sâman, the *Râganya*, and the ram.

offering-formula he presents (food to them): hence the invitatory formula (anuvākyā) has some such form as 'I call,' 'We call,' 'Come hither!' 'Sit on the barhis!' for with it he calls. With the offering-formula (yāgyā) he offers: hence the offering-formula has some such form as, 'Accept the sacrificial food!' 'Relish the sacrificial food!' 'Accept the potation (âvrishâyasva)!' 'Eat! Drink! There!' for by it he offers that which (is indicated by) 'there!'

18. Let the invitatory formula be one that has its distinctive indication (in the form of the name of the respective deity) at the beginning (in front): for the invitatory formula is yonder (sky); and that (sky) yonder has the moon, the stars, and the sun for its mark below².

19. The offering-formula then should be one that has its characteristic indication (further) back³; for the offering-formula is this (earth), and this same (earth) has plants, trees, waters, fire, and these creatures for its mark above.

20. Verily, that invitatory formula alone is auspicious, in the first word of which he utters the (name of the) deity; and that offering-formula alone is auspicious in the last word of which he pronounces the vashaṭ upon the deity⁴; for the (name

¹ Literally, 'forwards, thither (pra).'

² Avastāllakshma, 'the sign below or on this (the, to us, nearest or front) side.' See the formulas above, p. 195, note 1.

³ Or upwards, on the upper side, uparish/āllakshaṇam. See the offering-formulas above, p. 195, note 2.

⁴ Vashaṭ, or rather vāushaṭ ['may he (Agni) carry it (to the gods)!'], is pronounced after each yāgyā or offering-formula, which contains the name of the deity towards the end, or at least not at the very beginning.

of the) deity constitutes the vigour of the *Rik* (verse): hence after thus enclosing it¹ on both sides with vigour, he offers the sacrificial food to that deity for which it is intended.

21. He pronounces (the syllable) *vauk*²; for, assuredly, the *vasha*†-call is speech; and speech means seed: hence he thereby casts seed. ‘*Sha*†’ (he pronounces), because there are six seasons: he thereby casts that seed into the seasons, and the seasons cause that seed so cast to spring up here as creatures. This is the reason why he pronounces the *vasha*†.

22. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from *Pragâpati*, entered upon their father *Pragâpati*’s inheritance³, to wit, these two half-moons. The gods entered upon the one which waxes, and the Asuras on the one which wanes.

23. The gods were desirous as to how they might appropriate also the one that had fallen to the Asuras. They went on worshipping and toiling. They saw this *haviryagñā*, to wit, the new and full-moon sacrifices, and performed them; and by performing them they likewise appropriated the one—

24. Which belonged to the Asuras. Now when these two revolve, then the month is produced; and month (revolving) after month, the year (is produced). But the year, doubtless, means all; hence the gods thereby appropriated all that belonged to

¹ Viz. the invitory and offering-formulas.

² The sacrificial call *vausha*† (for *vasha*†, irregular aorist of *vah*, ‘to bear,’ cf. p. 88, note 2) is here fancifully explained as composed of *vauk*, for *vâk*, ‘speech,’ + *sha*†, ‘six.’

³ *Pragâpati*, or Lord of Creatures, is here, as often (cf. I, 2, 5, 13), taken as representing the year, or Time.

the Asuras, they deprived their enemies, the Asuras, of all. And in the same way he (the sacrificer) who knows this appropriates all that belongs to his enemies, deprives his enemies of all.

25. That (half-moon) which belonged to the gods is (called) *yavan*, for the gods possessed themselves (*yu*, 'to join') of it; and that which belonged to the Asuras is *ayavan*, because the Asuras did not possess themselves of it.

26. But they also say contrariwise:—That which belonged to the gods is (called) *ayavan*, because the Asuras did not get possession of it; and that which belonged to the Asuras is *yavan*, because the gods did get possession of it. The day is (called) *sabda*, the night *sagarâ*, the months *yavya*, the year *sumeka*¹: *sveka* ('eminently one'), doubtless, is the same as *sumeka*. And since the *Hotri* is concerned with these—to wit, the *yavan* and the *ayavan*, which (according to some) is *yavan*—they call (his office) *yâvihotram*².

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

OBLATION TO AGNI SVISHṬAKṚT, [AND THE BRAHMAN'S PORTIONS.]

I. Now by means of the sacrifice the gods ascended to heaven. But the god who rules over

¹ *Sumeka* is taken by the St. Petersburg Dictionary to mean 'firmly established'; by Grassmann, 'bountiful,' literally 'well-showering.' Our author identifies it with *su-eka*. The words *sabdam* (*sabdam*, *Kânva* rec., ? = the sounding one) and *sagarâ* are obscure; *yavya* here apparently means, 'consisting of the *yavas* or half-months.'

² The term *yâvihotram* is obscure, and does not seem to occur anywhere else. The *Kânva* MS. reads *yâmihotram* (? = *gâmihotram*). *Sâyana*'s comment is corrupt in several places and affords little help.

the cattle was left behind here : hence they call him Vâstavya, for he was then left behind on the (sacrificial) site¹ (vâstu).

2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with the same (sacrifice) by which they had ascended to heaven. Now the god who rules over the cattle, and who was left behind here,—

3. He saw (what occurred, and said), 'I have been left behind : they are excluding me from the sacrifice !' He went up after them, and with his raised (weapon)² rose up on the north—the time (when this happened) was that of the (performance of the) Svishṭakṛit.

4. The gods said, 'Do not hurl !' He said, 'Do not ye exclude me from the sacrifice ! Set apart an oblation for me !' They replied, 'So be it !' He withdrew (his weapon), and did not hurl it ; nor did he injure any one.

5. The gods said (to one another), 'Whatever portions of sacrificial food have been taken out by us, they have all been offered up. Try to discover

¹ Or perhaps, 'he was left behind with, or in, the remains (of the sacrifice) ;' vâstu being evidently also taken in this sense by our author, in par. 7.

² The text has âyatayâ merely, which, to become intelligible, clearly requires some noun, which may have been lost here. Sâyana is silent on this point. In Dr. Muir's version of the legend, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 202, the word is left untranslated. I am inclined to supply some such noun as heti, 'weapon ;' cf. XII, 7, 3, 20, where this very word is used in connexion with Rudra : in later times it is also specially applied to Agni's weapon or flame (gihvâ, 'tongue'). It is not impossible, however, that we have to supply tanvâ ('with his raised body, or self'). To mâ vi srâkshîḥ (for which the Kânva recension reads mâ 'sthâḥ), 'do not hurl,' and to samvivarha ('he drew back'), Sâyana supplies yagñam, 'sacrifice : ' hence he apparently takes it thus,—'do not scatter (the sacrifice),'—'he kept (the sacrifice) together and did not injure it in any way.'

some means by which we may set apart an oblation for him !'

6. They said to the Adhvaryu priest, 'Sprinkle the sacrificial dishes (with butter) in proper succession ; and replenish them for the sake of one (additional) portion, and again render them fit for use ; and then cut off one portion for each !'

7. The Adhvaryu accordingly sprinkled the sacrificial dishes in proper succession, and replenished them for the sake of one (additional) portion, and again rendered them fit for use, and cut off one portion for each. This then is the reason why he (Rudra) is called Vâsta vya¹, for a remainder (vâstu) is that part of the sacrifice which (is left) after the oblations have been made : hence, if sacrificial food is offered to any deity, the Svishṭakṛit (Agni, 'the maker of good offering') is afterwards invariably offered a share of it ; because the gods invariably gave him a share after themselves.

8. That (offering) then is certainly made to 'Agni,' for, indeed, Agni is that god ;—his are these names : Sarva, as the eastern people call him ; Bhava, as the Bâhikas (call him) ; Paśûnâmpati ('lord of beasts,' Paśupati), Rudra, Agni². The name Agni, doubtless, is the most auspicious

¹ On the identification of Agni with Rudra, see also VI, 1, 3, 7 ; and Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 339 seq.

² Passages such as this and VI, 1, 3, 7 seq. are of considerable interest, as showing, on the one hand, the tendency towards identifying and blending originally distinct and apparently local Vedic gods, especially Rudra, with the person of Agni, the representative of the divine power on earth in the later Vedic triad ; and, on the other hand, the origin of the conception of Śiva, in the pantheistic system of the post-Vedic period. On our passage, see also Weber, Ind. Stud. II, p. 37 ; I, p. 189 ; Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 328.

(*sânta*), and the other names of his are inauspicious: hence it is offered to (him under the name of) 'Agni,' and to (him as) the *Svishṭakṛit*.

9. They (the gods) said, 'What we have offered unto thee who art in yonder place¹, do thou render that well-offered (*svishṭa*) for us!' He made it well-offered for them; and this is the reason why (it is offered) to (Agni as) the *Svishṭakṛit*.

10. Having recited the invitatory formula², he (the *Hotṛi*) enumerates (those deities) which (have received oblations at the fore-offerings, butter-portions, &c.), as well as Agni *Svishṭakṛit*:—'May Agni offer Agni's favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to Agni's butter-portion³.—'May he offer Soma's favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to Soma's butter-portion.—'May he offer Agni's favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to that indispensable cake for Agni which is (offered) on both occasions (at the new and full-moon sacrifices).

11. And so with the several deities. 'May he offer the favourite dainties of butter-drinking gods!' thereby he refers to the fore-offerings (*prayâga*) and after-offerings (*anuyâga*), for, assuredly, the butter-drinking gods (represent) the fore-offerings and after-offerings.—'May he offer Agni the *Hotṛi*'s

¹ That is, according to *Sâyana*, on the *Âhavanîya* fire-place.

² The *anuvâkyâ* for the *Svishṭakṛit* is *Rig-veda* X, 2, 1: *pripihi devâñ usato yavishṭha* ('gladden thou the longing gods, O youngest!') &c. *Âsv. S. I.* 6, 2.

³ See I, 4, 2, 16-17. These formulas (*nigada*) of enumeration (*ayâd agnir agneḥ priyâ dhâmâni*, &c.—*yakshad agner hotuḥ priyâ dhâmâni*, &c.) form part of the offering-formula. The *yâgyâ* proper, however, which they precede is *Rig-veda* VI, 15, 14, *agne yad adya viso adhvarasya hotaḥ* ['O Agni, *Hotṛi* of the cult! when this day (thou comest) to the men'], &c.

favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to Agni as *Hotri*; for after the gods had set apart this oblation for him, they still further propitiated him by this (formula), and invited him to his favourite dainty¹: this is the reason why he thus enumerates.

12. Here now some make (the name of) the deity precede the 'may he offer (*ayât*)!' thus—'Of Agni may he offer (the favourite dainties)!' 'Of Soma may he offer!' But let him not do this; for those who make the deity precede the 'may he offer!' violate the proper order at the sacrifice, since it is by pronouncing the 'may he offer,' that he pronounces what comes first here: let him therefore place the 'may he offer' first.

13. [The *Hotri* continues to recite]: 'May he sacrifice to his own greatness!' When, on that occasion², he asks him (Agni) to bring hither the deities, he also makes him bring hither his own greatness; but before this no worship of any kind has been offered to 'his (Agni's) own greatness:' and he therefore now gratifies him, and thus that (fire) has been established so as to prevent failure on his (the sacrificer's) part. This is the reason why he says 'may he sacrifice to his own greatness.'

14. 'By sacrifice may he obtain for himself food worthy of sacrifice³!' the food, doubtless, is these creatures: he thereby makes them eager to sacrifice, and these creatures go on sacrificing, worshipping and performing austerities.

¹ Or, resort, abode, *dhâman*.

² Viz. at the 'devatânâm âvahanam,' cf. I, 4, 2, 17; p. 118, n. 1.

³ 'Âyagatâm egyâ ishaḥ.' Mahîdhara, on Vâg. S. XXI, 47, interprets it thus: 'May these (*ishaḥ*) desirous (creatures), fit for sacrifice, sacrifice properly!' Similarly perhaps Sâyana on our passage.

15. 'May he, the knower of beings, (perform)¹ the sacred cult; may he graciously accept the sacrificial food!' Thereby he prays for success to this sacrifice; for when the gods graciously accept the sacrificial food, then he (the sacrificer) gains great things²: for this reason he says 'may he graciously accept the sacrificial food!'

16. The reason why on this occasion the invitatory and offering-formulas are made closely to correspond to each other (*avakṛīptatama*), is that the *svishṭakṛit* (is equivalent to) the evening libation, and the evening libation, doubtless, belongs to the *Visve Devâḥ* (the 'All-gods')³. 'Gladden thou the longing gods, O youngest!' this much in the invitatory formula refers to the *Visve Devâḥ*⁴. 'O Agni, *Hotri* of the cult! when this day (thou comest) to the men⁵;' this much in the offering-formula refers to the *Visve Devâḥ*. And because such is the form of these two (formulas), therefore they are of

¹ Here *krinotu* is omitted in the text, but cf. *Vâg. S. XXI, 47*; *Taitt. Br. III, 5, 7, 6*; *Âsv. S. I, 6, 5*. Dr. Hillebrandt, *Altind. Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, p. 118, construes it with the preceding formula: 'er mache darbringungswerth die Speisen; er, der Wesenkenner, nehme beim Opfer das havis an.' (?)

² *Mahat*, 'grosses.'

³ See *Vâg. S. XIX, 26*. Here the author, as usual (cf. p. 5 note), attempts to enhance the solemnity of the ceremony by identifying it with the *trītiya-savana*, or evening libation at the Soma-sacrifice, both offerings constituting the final ceremonies in the main performance of the respective sacrifices. We shall, however, see (cf. I, 8, 3, 25) that as at the evening libation the remains of the Soma are offered up, so also are the remains of havis offered to the *visve devâḥ* at the conclusion of the present sacrifice. At IV, 4, 5, 17 it is more especially the offering of rice-cake to Agni and Varuna, at the evening libation, which is identified with the *svishṭakṛit*.

⁴ See p. 202, note 2.

⁵ See p. 202, note 3.

the form of the evening libation ; and this is why the invitatory and offering-formulas on this occasion are made closely to correspond to each other.

17. They are both *trishṭubh* verses ; for the *svishṭakṛit* is, as it were, the residue (or site, *vâstu*) of the sacrifice, and the residue (or, a vacant site) is without energy¹. Now the *trishṭubh* means manly power², energy : hence he thereby imparts manly power, energy to that residue, the *svishṭakṛit*. This is why they are both *trishṭubh* verses.

18. Or they are both *anushṭubh* verses. The *anushṭubh* is residue (or site, *vâstu*), and the *svishṭakṛit* also is residue : hence he thereby puts a residue to a residue³. And, verily, one who knows this, and whose (invitatory and offering-formulas) are two *anushṭubh* verses, his homestead (*vâstu*) is prosperous, and he himself prospers in regard to progeny and cattle.

¹ *Avīryam* ; cf. II, 1, 2, 9, where the (*sarīra*) empty body (of *Pragâpati*) is called a *vâstu ayagñīyam avīryam*. See also above, I, 7, 3, 7, where we met with *vâstu* in the sense of 'remainder, that which remains,' as *Sâyana* also seems to take it here.

² *Indriyam*, literally 'Indra's power.' The *trishṭubh* often (e.g. *Rig-veda* X, 130, 5) appears specially related to Indra ; and the hymns addressed to him are almost entirely in this metre. *Taitt. S. VII, 1, 1, 4* it is said to have been created by *Pragâpati* from his own chest and arms, immediately after Indra, and together with the *Bṛihat-sâman*, the *Râganya*, and the ram ; and that these are therefore *vīryâvant*, having been created out of *vīrya* (i.e. the seats of 'manly power').

³ For this symbolical explanation see *Taitt. S. VII, 1, 1, 5*, where the *anushṭubh* is said to have been created by *Pragâpati*, by his fourth and last creative act, from his feet, together with the *Vairâga-sâman*, the *Sûdra*, and the horse ; the two last named being, therefore, styled 'bhûta-saṅkrâmin (? subservient to creatures).' I do not find it stated anywhere, what *anushṭubh* verses may optionally be taken for the *anuvâkyâ* and *yâgyâ* of the *svishṭakṛit*.

19. Now here Bhāllabeya¹ made the invitatory formula (consist of) an *anushṭubh* verse, and the offering-formula of a *trishṭubh* verse, thinking, 'I thus obtain (the benefits of) both.' He fell from the cart, and in falling, broke his arm. He reflected: 'This has befallen because of something or other I have done.' He then bethought himself of this: '(It has befallen) because of some violation, on my part, of the proper course of the sacrifice.' Hence one must not violate the proper course (of sacrificial performance); but let both (formulas) be verses of the same metre, either both *anushṭubh* verses, or both *trishṭubh* verses.

20. He cuts (the portions for *Agni Svishṭakṛit*) from the north part (of the sacrificial dishes)², and offers them up on the north part (of the fire): for this is the region of that god, and therefore he cuts from the north part and offers on the north part. From that side, indeed, he arose³, and there they (the gods) appeased him: for this reason he cuts from the north part, and offers on the north part.

21. He offers on this side (in front), as it were, of the other oblations. Following the other oblations cattle are produced, and the *Svishṭakṛit* represents Rudra's power: he would impose Rudra's power on

¹ That is, *Indradyumna Bhāllabeya*, as the *Kāṇva* recension reads here and II, 1, 4, 6. Cf. X, 6, 1, 1.

² He makes, as usual, an under-layer (*upastaraṇa*) of butter in the *guhū*; cuts a piece from the north part of each of the two cakes (or of the one cake and of both the sweet and the sour milk constituting the *sānnāyā*); and thereupon bastes the pieces twice (not once) with butter.

³ See above, par. 3. The same quarter is assigned to Rudra, IX, 1, 1, 10. See also Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 225.

the cattle if he were to bring it (the *Svishtakṛit*) into contact with the other oblations; and his (the sacrificer's) household and cattle would be destroyed. For this reason he offers on this side, as it were, of the other oblations.

22. That (fire)—to wit, the *Âhavanîya*—is, indeed, that sacrifice by which the gods then ascended to heaven; and that (other fire) which was left behind here, is the *Gârhapatya*: hence they take out the former from the *Gârhapatya*, (so as to be) before (east) of it.

23. He may lay it (the *Âhavanîya*) down at the distance of eight steps (from the *Gârhapatya*); for of eight syllables, doubtless, consists the *gâyatri*: hence he thereby ascends to heaven by means of the *gâyatri*.

24. Or he may lay it down at the distance of eleven steps¹; for of eleven syllables, indeed, consists the *trishṭubh*: hence he thereby ascends to heaven by means of the *trishṭubh*.

25. Or he may lay it down at the distance of twelve steps; for of twelve syllables, indeed, consists the *gagati*: hence he thereby ascends to heaven by means of the *gagati*. Here, however, there is no (fixed) measure: let him, therefore, lay it down where in his own mind he may think proper². If he takes it ever so little east (of the *Gârhapatya*), he ascends to heaven by it.

26. Here now they say, 'Let them cook the sacri-

¹ The Baudhâya. *Sulvas.* (66) lays it down as the rule that the *Brâhmana* has to construct his *Âhavanîya* fire at the distance of eight *prakramas* (step of two *padas* or feet each) to the east of the *Gârhapatya*, the *Râganya* at the distance of eleven, and the *Vaisya* at the distance of twelve, steps. Thibaut, *Pandit X*, p. 22.

² See I, 2, 5, 14.

ficial dishes on the Âhavantya; for thence, assuredly, the gods ascended to heaven, and therewith they went on worshipping and toiling: therein we will cook the sacrificial dishes; therein we will perform the sacrifice! For, as it were, a displacement¹ of the sacrificial dishes would take place, if they were to cook them on the Gârhapatya. The Âhavantya is the sacrifice: we will perform the sacrifice in the sacrifice!

27. However, they also do cook on the Gârhapatya, arguing, 'The former is indeed âhavantya (i.e. "suitable for a burnt-offering"); but that one, surely, is not (intended) for this,—viz. that they should cook uncooked (food) on it; but it is (intended) for this,—viz. that they should offer up cooked (food) on it.' He may therefore do it on whichever (fire) he pleases.

28. That sacrifice spake, 'I dread nakedness.' 'What is unnakedness for thee?' 'Let them strew (sacrificial grass) all round me!' For this reason they strew (sacrificial grass) all round the fire. 'I dread thirst.' 'How art thou to be satiated?' 'May I satiate myself after the priest has been satisfied!' Let him therefore, on the completion of the sacrifice, order that the priest be satisfied; for then he satisfies the sacrifice.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Pragâpati conceived a passion for his own

¹ Apaskhala. Sâyana takes skhala to mean winnowing- (or threshing-) floor (? khala): hence apaskhala would mean 'the leaping (of the husk, &c.) out of the winnowing-floor.' The Kânva MS. reads, 'apaskhala iva sa havishâm yad gârhapatya' (? 'the Gârhapatya is to the sacrificial food the outside of a winnowing-floor, as it were.')

daughter,—either the Sky or the Dawn¹. ‘May I pair with her!’ thus (thinking) he united with her.

2. This, assuredly, was a sin in the eyes of the gods. ‘He who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister, [commits a sin],’ they thought.

3. The gods then said to this god who rules over the beasts (Rudra)², ‘This one, surely, commits a sin who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister. Pierce him!’ Rudra, taking aim, pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. And thus it came to pass.

4. Accordingly it has been said by the *Rishi*³ with reference to that (incident), ‘When the father embraced his daughter, uniting with her, he dropped his seed on the earth.’ This (became) the chant (uktha) called âgnimâruta⁴; in (connection with)

¹ For other versions of this legend about Pragâpati (Brahman)’s illicit passion for his daughter, which, as Dr. Muir suggests, probably refers to some atmospheric phenomenon, see Ait. Br. III, 33, and Tâṇḍya Br. VIII, 2, 10; cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 45; I, p. 107. See also Sat. Br. II, 1, 2, 9, with note.

² The construction here is irregular. Perhaps this is part of the speech of the gods, being a kind of indirect address to Rudra in order to avoid naming the terrible god. Dr. Muir translates: ‘The gods said, “This god, who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.”’ In the Kâṇva MS. some words seem to have been omitted at this particular place. According to the Ait. Br., the gods created a god Bhûtavat, composed of the most fearful forms of theirs. After piercing the incarnation of Pragâpati’s sin, he asked, and obtained, the boon that he should henceforth be the ruler of cattle.

³ Viz., Rig-veda X, 61, 7, where verses 5–7 contain the first allusion to this legend.

⁴ The âgnimâruta is one of the *sâstras* recited at the evening libation of the Soma-sacrifice; and made up chiefly of a hymn addressed to Agni Vaisvânara and one to the Maruts; and [following the stotriya and anurûpa pragâtha] a hymn to Gâtavedas; [and one to the Âpas, followed by various detailed

this it is set forth how the gods caused that seed to spring¹. When the anger of the gods subsided, they cured Pragâpati and cut out that dart of this (Rudra); for Pragâpati, doubtless, is this sacrifice.

5. They said (to one another), 'Think of some means by which that (part of the sacrifice torn out with the dart) may not be lost, and how it may be but a small portion of the offering itself!'

6. They said, 'Take it round to Bhaga (Savitri, the Patron), who sits on the south side (of the sacrificial ground): Bhaga will eat it by way of fore-portion², so that it may be as though it were offered. They accordingly took it round to Bhaga, who sat on the south side. Bhaga (Savitri) looked at it: it burnt out his eyes³. And thus it came to pass. Hence they say, 'Bhaga is blind.'

7. They said, 'It has not yet become appeased here: take it round to Pûshan!' They accordingly

verses or couplets]; viz., Rig-veda III, 3, 'vaisvânârâya prîthupâgase,' &c., and I, 87, 'pratvakshasa^h pratavaso,' &c.; [Rig-veda I, 168, 1-2, stotriya; VII, 16, 11-12, anurûpa]; and Rig-veda I, 143, 'pratavyasîm navyasîm,' &c. (and X, 9, 'âpo hi shî/hâ mayobhuvas,' &c.) respectively, at the Agnishôma (and first day of the dvâdasâha). See Âsv. Sr. V, 20, 5; Ait. Br. III, 35; IV, 30.

¹ According to Ait. Br. III, 35, where this legend is also given in connection with the âgnimâruta sâstra, Agni Vaisvânara, aided by the Maruts, stirred (and heated) the seed; and out of it sprang successively Âditya (the sun), Bhrîgu, and the Âdityas; whilst the coals (aṅgâra) remaining behind became the Aṅgiras, and Brihaspati, and the coal dust, the burnt earth and ashes were changed into various kinds of animals. According to Harisvâmin it would seem that our passage has to be understood to the effect that the composition of the âgnimâruta sâstra shows the order of beings which the gods caused to spring forth from the seed. See also IV, 5, 1, 8.

² See note on I, 7, 4, 18.

³ 'Nirdadâha.' The Kaushît. Br. VI, 10 (Ind. Stud. II, 306) and Yâska Nir. 12, 14 have nirgaghâna, 'it knocked out his eyes.' The Kaushît. Br. also makes them first take the prâsitra to Savitri, and when it cut his hands, they gave him two golden ones.

took it round to Pūshan. Pūshan tasted it: it knocked out his teeth. And thus it came to pass. Hence they say, 'Pūshan is toothless;' and therefore, when they prepare a mess of boiled rice (*karu*)¹ for Pūshan, they prepare it from ground rice, as is done for one toothless.

8. They said, 'It has not yet become appeased here: take it round to *Bṛihaspati*!²' They accordingly took it round to *Bṛihaspati*. *Bṛihaspati* hastened to *Savitri* for his impulsion (influence, *prasava* ³), for assuredly *Savitri* is the impeller (*prasavitri*) of the gods. 'Impel (influence) this for me!' he said. *Savitri*, as the impeller, accordingly impelled it for him, and being thus impelled by *Savitri*, it did not injure him: and thus it was henceforth appeased. This, then, is essentially the same as the fore-portion.

9. Now when he cuts off the fore-portion, he cuts out what is injured in the sacrifice,—what belongs to Rudra. Thereupon he touches water: water is (a means) of lustration, hence he lustrates by means of water ⁴. He now cuts off piece by piece the *idā* ⁵, (which represents) cattle.

¹ *Karu*, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a potful of rice (barley, &c.) grains boiled, or rather steamed (*antarūshmapakva*), so as to remain whole, as in Indian curry. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, p. 216.

² According to Kaushīt. Br. VI, 10, they took it from Pūshan to Indra, as the mightiest and strongest of the gods; and he appeased it with prayer (*brahman*); whence the Brahman (in taking the *prāsitra*) says, 'Indra is Brahman.' Weber, Ind. Stud. II, p. 307.

³ The consistent use of derivations from one and the same root (*pra-su*) in this and similar passages is, of course, quite as artificial in Sanskrit as must be any imitation of it in English.

⁴ He thereby averts the evil effects of the act which is connected with Rudra, 'the terrible god;' see p. 2, note 2. Besides, the *idā* with which he now proceeds representing the cattle, he thereby guards the cattle from the *rudriya*, cf. above I, 7, 3, 21.

⁵ See I, 8, 1, 12, 13.

10. Let him cut off (for the fore-portion) ever so small a piece¹: thus the dart comes out; let him therefore cut off ever so small a piece. He should (according to some) put clarified butter on one side only, either below or above: thus that which is hard becomes soft and flows forth; and for this reason he should put butter on one side only, either below or above.

11. Having (nevertheless²) made an underlayer of butter³ and a double cutting from the oblation (havis), he pours butter on the upper side of it; for it is only in this way that this becomes part of the sacrifice.

12. Let him not carry it (to the Brahman) along the front (east) side (of the Āhavantya fire); (though) some, it is true, do carry it along the front side. For on the front side stand the cattle facing the sacrificer: hence he would impose the power of Rudra on the cattle, if he were to carry it along the front side, and his (the sacrificer's) household and cattle would be overwhelmed. Let him therefore cross over in this way (behind the paridhis); for thus he does not impose Rudra's power on the cattle and he removes that (dart) sideways⁴.

¹ According to Kāty. III, 4, 7, the prâsitra, or (Brahman's) fore-portion, is to be of the size of a barley-corn or a pippala (*Ficus Religiosa*) berry.

² There is no indication in the text of two different practices being here referred to. The Kânva recension, however, puts in here, 'but let him not do so,' which is evidently understood in our text also.

³ Viz. in the prâsitraharaṇa, or pan which is to receive the Brahman's portion. The hollow part of the vessel is to be either of the shape of a (hand-)mirror, i. e. with a round bowl, or of that of a kâmasa or jug, i. e. with a square bowl (p. 7, note 1). Kāty. I, 3, 40, 41. On the 'underlayer' of butter, see I, 7, 2, 8.

⁴ 'Tiryag evainam nirmimîte.' I am in doubt as to whether

13. He (the Brahman) receives¹ it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 11 b, c), 'At the impulse (prasava) of the divine Savitri I receive thee with the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan!'

14. And in like manner as Brîhaspati then hasted to Savitri for his impulsion,—for, assuredly, Savitri is the impeller of the gods,—and said, 'Impel this for me!' and Savitri, the impeller, impelled it for him; and, impelled by Savitri, it did not injure him; so now also this one (the Brahman) hastes to Savitri for his impulsion,—for, assuredly, Savitri is the impeller of the gods,—and says 'impel this for me!' and Savitri, the impeller, impels it for him; and, impelled by Savitri, it does not injure him.

15. He eats² the fore-portion, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 11 d), 'With Agni's mouth I eat thee!' for Agni, assuredly, it does not injure in any way; and so neither does it injure him (the Brahman).

16. He must not chew it with his teeth: 'lest this power of Rudra should injure my teeth!' so (he thinks), and therefore he must not chew it with his teeth.

17. He then rinses his mouth with water;—water is (a means of) purification: hence he purifies himself with water, (that is, a means of) purification. After he has rinsed the vessel³,—

enam (which is omitted in the Kâṇva text) really refers to Rudra's dart. Cf. par. 9.

¹ According to Kâty. II, 2, 15, he first looks at it, with the text (Vâg. S. p. 58): 'With Mitra's eye I look on thee!'

² According to Kâty. II, 2, 17, he previously puts it down on the shoulder of the altar, with the text (Vâg. S. p. 58), 'I put you down on the navel of the earth, in the lap of Aditi!' According to 19, however, this is optional (except when the Brahman does not eat the prâsitra immediately).

³ According to Kâty. II, 2, 20, the Brahman, having rinsed the

18. They bring him the Brahman's portion¹. The Brahman, in truth, sits south of the sacrifice, as its guardian. He sits facing that portion. As regards the fore-portion, that they have already brought to him and he has eaten it. In the Brahman's portion which they now bring to him, he obtains his own share; and henceforth he watches what remains incomplete of the sacrifice: for this reason they bring him the Brahman's portion.

19. He (the Brahman) must maintain silence (from the time he takes his seat on being elected)² up to that speech (of the Adhvaryu), 'Brahman, shall I step forward?' Those (priests) who, in the midst of the sacrifice, perform the *idā*, which represents the domestic offerings (*pākayagñā*)³, tear the sacrifice to pieces, injure it. Now the Brahman, assuredly, is the best physician: hence the Brahman thereby restores the sacrifice; but, if he were to sit there talking, he would not restore it: he must therefore maintain silence.

20. If he should utter any human sound before that time, let him there and then mutter some *Rik* or *Yagus*-text addressed to *Vishṇu*; for *Vishṇu* is

vessel [or, according to the comment, the two *prâsitraharana*, one of which is used as lid to the other], touches his navel, with the text (*Vâg. S. p. 58*), 'May the deities there are in the waters purify this! Enter the stomach of Indra, being offered with "Hail!" Mix not with my food! Settle down above my navel! In Indra's stomach I make thee settle!'

¹ The Brahman's regular portion (*brahmabhâga*) of the sacrificial food is cut, like the *prâsitra* or fore-portion (which apparently he receives as the representative of *Bṛihaspati*), from Agni's cake.

² See I, 1, 4, 9.

³ According to the scholiast, it represents the *pākayagñā* or domestic (cooked) offerings, because at the latter, as in the *idā*, the remains of the offerings are eaten.

the sacrifice, so that he thereby again obtains a hold on the sacrifice: and this is the expiation of that (breach of silence).

21. When he (the Adhvaryu) says, 'Brahman, shall I step forward?' the Brahman mutters thus (Vâg. S. II, 12), 'This thy sacrifice, O divine Savitṛi, they have announced . . .',—thereby he has recourse to Savitṛi for his impulsion (prasava), for he is the impeller (prasavitṛi) of the gods;—'to Bṛihaspati, the Brahman,'—for Bṛihaspati, assuredly, is the Brahman of the gods: hence he announces that (sacrifice) to him who is the Brahman of the gods; and accordingly he says, 'to Bṛihaspati, the Brahman.'—'Therefore prosper the sacrifice, prosper the lord of sacrifice, prosper me!' In this there is nothing that requires explanation.

22. [He continues, Vâg. S. II, 13]: 'May his mind delight in the gushing (of the) butter¹!' By the mind, assuredly, all this (universe) is obtained (or pervaded, âptam): hence he thereby obtains this All by the mind.—'May Bṛihaspati spread (carry through) this sacrifice! May he restore the sacrifice uninjured!'—he thereby restores what was torn asunder.—'May all the gods rejoice here!'—'all the gods,' doubtless, means the All: hence he thereby restores (the sacrifice) by means of the All. He may add, 'Step forward!' if he choose; or, if he choose, he may omit it.

¹ ? 'Mano gûtir [gyotir, Kāṇva rec.] gushatâm âgyasya.' I am inclined to read gûter [cf. Ath.-veda XIX, 58, 1: ghrîtasya gûtiḥ samânâ]. Mahîdhara interprets: 'May the rushing (eager) mind devote itself to the butter!' Hillebrandt, Neu-und Vollmondsopfer, p. 135, apparently proposes to combine manogûtir 'des Geistes Schnelligkeit.' Perhaps gushatâm has to be taken in a transitive sense: 'May the gushing of the butter delight the mind.'

EIGHTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

THE IṢĀ.

1. In the morning they brought to Manu¹ water for washing, just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands.

2. It spake to him the word, 'Rear me, I will save thee!' 'Wherefrom wilt thou save me?' 'A flood will carry away all these creatures²: from that I will save thee!' 'How am I to rear thee?'

3. It said, 'As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us: fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction.'

4. It soon became a *gḥasha* (a large fish); for that grows largest (of all fish)³. Thereupon it said, 'In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou

¹ For other translations of this important legend of the deluge, see A. Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 9 (*Ind. Stud.* I, 161 seq.); Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 425; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 182. For the later versions of the same legend, especially the one from the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan* 12747-12802), see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 196 seq.

² According to the scholiast, 'it will carry away all these creatures that live in Bharatavarsha to some other country.'

³ ? *Sasvad dha gḥasha āsa, sa hi gyesh/ham vardhate 'thetithīm samām tad augha āgantā.* 'Bald war er ein Grossfisch (*gḥasha*), denn er wuchs gewaltig,' Weber. 'He became soon a large fish. He said to Manu, "When I am full-grown, in the same year the flood will come,"' Max Müller. 'Straightway he became a large fish; for he waxes to the utmost,' Muir. Perhaps *gḥasha* is here intended for the name of some fabulous horned fish (cf. *srīngi*, *srīngī*). In the Black Yagur-veda (*Taitt. S.* I, 7, 1; II, 6, 7) the

shalt then attend to me (i.e. to my advice) by preparing a ship¹; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship, and I will save thee from it.'

5. After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the advice of the fish) by preparing a ship; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he² passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain.

6. It then said, 'I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree; but let not the water cut thee off³, whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water

iḍā is represented as a cow, produced by Mitra and Varuṇa (see below, par. 24). Perhaps it was this version and the symbolical representation of the *iḍā* as meaning cattle, which suggested the notion of a horned fish, in adapting an older legend.

¹ I adopt here, though not without hesitation, the interpretation proposed in the St. Petersburg Dict. (s.v. *upa-ās*), which the separation of *mām* from the verb favours. Professor Max Müller translates: 'Build a ship then, and worship me.' Dr. Muir: 'Thou shalt, therefore, construct a ship, and resort to me.' The *Mahābhārata* has: 'When standing on the ship, thou shalt look out for me: I shall be recognisable (by my being) furnished with a horn,' which, after all, may furnish the correct explanation of our passage.

² Or, 'it,' that is, either the ship, or the fish. That a *bhi-dudrāva*, the reading of the Kāṇva school, is the right one, seems to follow from the next paragraph. Professor Weber's edition has *ati-dudrāva*, as read by his best MS., 'it (or he) sailed across the mountain.' The reading of the other MSS. *adhi-dudrāva* must be a clerical error, most likely for *abhi-dudrāva*. Professor Müller translates: 'The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain.' Dr. Muir: 'By this means he passed over (or, he hastened to) this northern mountain.'

³ *Antaskāhatsit*, ? 'cut thee asunder,' Max Müller; 'wash thee away;' 'fortspült,' Weber; 'abschneiden, intercludere,' St. Petersburg Dict. I adopt this last meaning, = 'leave thee stranded.'

subsides, thou mayest gradually descend!' Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called 'Manu's descent¹.' The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here.

7. Being desirous of offspring, he engaged in worshipping and austerities. During this time he also performed a pāka-sacrifice: he offered up in the waters clarified butter, sour milk, whey, and curds. Thence a woman was produced in a year: becoming quite solid² she rose; clarified butter gathered in her footprint. Mitra and Varuṇa met her.

8. They said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' she replied. 'Say (thou art) ours,' they said. 'No,' she said, 'I am (the daughter) of him who begat me.' They desired to have a share in her. She either agreed or did not agree³, but passed by them. She came to Manu.

9. Manu said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'How, illustrious one, (art thou) my daughter?' he asked. She replied,

¹ According to the version of the Mahābhārata, 'the peak of the Himālaya to which the ship was tied, was afterwards called nau-bandhana, 'the tying of the ship.' Professor Weber also draws attention to Ath.-veda XIX, 39, 8, where the term nāvaprabhram-sana or 'gliding down of the ship' is used in connection with the summit of the Himavat.

² Pibdamānā-iva, as taken by the St. Petersburg. Dict. The meaning 'dripping with fat, unctuous,' offered by the commentator, was probably suggested to him by what follows in the text; and by the cow-version (p. 216, note 3), Taitt. Br. II, 6, 7, 1.

³ Or, as the commentator takes it, 'she both promised and did not promise it;' that is to say, she promised, inasmuch as she (Idā) is called maitrāvaruṇī (belonging to, or the daughter of, Mitra or Varuṇa; see XIV, 9, 4, 27), but refused, inasmuch as Mitra and Varuṇa have no share in the idā portions.

‘Those offerings (of) clarified butter, sour milk, whey, and curds, which thou madest in the waters, with them thou hast begotten me. I am the blessing (benediction): make use of me at the sacrifice! If thou wilt make use of me at the sacrifice, thou wilt become rich in offspring and cattle. Whatever blessing thou shalt invoke through me, all that shall be granted to thee!’ He accordingly made use of her (as the benediction) in the middle of the sacrifice; for what is intermediate between the fore-offerings and the after-offerings, is the middle of the sacrifice.

10. With her he went on worshipping and performing austerities, wishing for offspring. Through her he generated this race, which is this race of Manu; and whatever blessing he invoked through her, all that was granted to him.

11. Now this (daughter of Manu) is essentially the same as the *Idā*; and whosoever, knowing this, performs with (the) *Idā*¹, he propagates this race which Manu generated; and whatever blessing he invokes through it (or her), all that is granted to him.

12. It (the *idā*) consists of a fivefold cutting; for the *idā*, doubtless, means cattle, and cattle consist of five parts²: for this reason it (the *idā*) consists of a fivefold cutting.

13. When he (the Adhvaryu) has cut off the *idā* piece by piece³, and broken off the fore-part of the

¹ *Idāyā karati* has the double meaning ‘lives with *Idā* (the woman)’ and ‘practices sacrificial rites with the *idā*-ceremony.’

² See p. 16, note 1.

³ The technical expression used for this fivefold cutting of the *idā* is *sam-ava-do*, ‘to cut off completely (or together),’ or, according to the St. Petersburg Dict., ‘to divide and collect the

cake (for the sacrificer's portion), he puts it (the latter) down (on the barhis) before the dhruvâ-spoon. Having then handed over the former (the idâ) to the Hotri¹, he passes by him towards the south.

14. He anoints the Hotri here² (with clarified butter taken from the idâ); and with it the Hotri anoints his lips, with the text, 'Of thee, offered by the lord of the mind, I eat for sap, for out-breathing!'

15. He then anoints the Hotri here²; and with it the Hotri anoints his lips, with the text, 'Of thee, offered by the lord of speech, I eat for strength, for in-breathing!'

16. At that time, namely, Manu became apprehensive (thinking), 'This (part) of my sacrifice—that is, this idâ representing the domestic offering—is certainly the weakest: the Rakshas must not

pieces.' The five cuttings of the idâ consist of the upastarava, or underlayer of butter in the idâpâtrî; of two cuttings of each of the havis (or dishes of sacrificial food) from their southern and central parts respectively; and of two drippings (or bastings, abhighârava) of butter, as in the case of the svishâkrî (see Kâty. III, 4, 6, and note on I, 7, 3, 20). According to some authorities, the idâ consists of four cuttings only (cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 122).

¹ According to Katy. III, 4, 8, 9, he does so without quitting his hold of the idâ; and he withdraws the latter from the Hotri, when he anoints him.

² A gesture here indicated the two middle joints (or, according to Harisvâmin, the intermediate links) of the Hotri's right fore-finger, viz. first the lower joint, and afterwards (par. 15) the upper joint; whereupon the Hotri applies the respective joints to his lips and smears the butter on them, cf. Âsv. S. I, 7, 1; Kâty. III, 4, 9; Hillebrandt, op. cit., p. 124. In Sat. Br. XII, 2, 4, 5 the fore-finger is called annâditamâ, or the finger 'which eats most food;' cf. Weber, Pratiśāhāsūtra, p. 97.

injure my sacrifice at this place.' Accordingly by that (butter, taken from the *idā*, and smeared on his lips) he promoted it (the *idā* to a safe place, thinking), 'Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!' And in like manner this one also thereby promotes (the *idā* to a safe place, thinking), 'Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!' And though he does not (at present) eat (the *idā*) visibly, lest he should eat it before it is invoked, he nevertheless promotes it (to a safe place), when he smears the (butter) on his lips.

17. He now cuts off piece by piece (the *avântaredā*) in (or, into) the *Hotri*'s hand. That which is cut up piece by piece he thus makes visibly enter¹ the *Hotri*; and through that which has entered (or is cooked in) his own self, the *Hotri* invokes a blessing on the sacrificer: for this reason he cuts it off piece by piece in the *Hotri*'s hand².

18. He now calls³ (the *idā*) in a low voice. At that time, namely, Manu became apprehensive (thinking), 'This (part) of my sacrifice—that is, this *idā*

¹ *Enām hotari śrayati*, literally 'he makes it enter into, remain in, the *Hotri*.' The author, however, here, as in I, 6, 4, 7, mixes up the verb *śri* with *śrā*, 'to cook.' The reason for this see p. 177, note 4.

² This, according to *Ārv. Sr. I, 7, 3*, and comm., is effected in the following way: the *Hotri* takes the *idā* with his joined hands (*aṅgali*) and makes it lie in his left hand; whereupon the *Adhvaryu* cuts the (fivefold cut) *avântaredā* from the *idā* into the *Hotri*'s right hand, the fingers of which point northwards; the five cuttings apparently consist of the 'underlayer' of butter, two pieces cut from the *idā*, and drippings of butter on them. Cf. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³ During the invocation of the *idā* the *Hotri* holds the butter (as well as the *avântaredā*), and the other priests (except the *Brahman*) and the sacrificer touch the *idā* (or, according to *Karka*, the *Hotri*). *Kāty. III, 4, 11. 12.*

representing the domestic offerings—is certainly the weakest: the Rakshas must not injure my sacrifice at this place.’ He accordingly called it to him in a low voice (thinking), ‘Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!’ And in like manner this one (the *Hotri*) thereby calls it (thinking), ‘Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!’

19. He calls thus (in a low voice)¹, ‘Hither is called the Rathantara (chant), together with the earth: may the Rathantara, together with the earth, call me²! Hither is called the Vâmadevya (chant), together with the atmosphere: may the Vâmadevya, together with the atmosphere, call me! Hither is called the *Brîhat* (chant), together with the sky: may the *Brîhat*, together with the sky, call me!’ In thus calling her (the *Idâ*) to him, he calls to him both these (three) worlds and those chants³.

20. ‘Hither are called the cows⁴, together with the

¹ There are considerable differences between the text of the *Hotri*’s call to the *idâ* as here given and that given in *Âsv. S. I, 7, 7*. The text of the Black Yagur-veda (*Taitt. Br. III, 5, 8*; *Taitt. S. II, 6, 7*; *I, 7, 1*), on the other hand, only differs from ours in one or two points. According to *Âsv. S. I, 5, 28*, the calls are to be uttered in the highest pitch (cf. Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, p. 126, note).

² Viz. the *Hotri*; as the representative of the officiating priests. Schol.

³ On the rathantara and *brîhat* sâmans, see p. 196, note 2. The vâmadevya sâman is *Sâma-veda II, 32–34*: *kayâ nas âitra â bhuvad ûti sadâvridhañ sakhâ*, ‘with what favour will he assist us, the wonderful, ever-gladdening, friend,’ &c. Cf. Haug, *Ait. Br. II, 246*.

⁴ For *upahûtâ gâvañ*, the *Taitt.* reads *upahûtâ dhenuñ*, ‘called hither is the cow.’ *Âsval. Sr.* has *upahûtâ gâvañ sahâsirañ*—*upahûtâ dhenuñ saharîshabhâ*. Here and after the succeeding calls we have apparently to supply the inverse formulas, ‘May

bull!—the *idâ*, assuredly, means cattle : hence it is her he thereby calls in an indirect (mystic) way; (and in saying), ‘together with the bull,’ he calls her together with her mate.

21. ‘Hither is called (*Idâ*) by that (sacrifice) which is performed by the seven *Hotris*!’—he thereby calls her by the Soma-sacrifice performed by the seven *Hotris*¹.

22. ‘Hither is called *Idâ*, the conquering!’—he thereby calls her directly. ‘Conquering’ he says, because she overcomes evil, and for that reason he calls her ‘the conquering.’

23. ‘Hither is called the friend, the food²!’—the friend, the food, doubtless, means breath : hence he thereby calls hither the breath. ‘Hither is called the *Hek*!’—he thereby calls hither the body (of *idâ*), he thereby calls hither the entire (*idâ*).

24. He now intones (in a loud voice): ‘*Idâ* is called hither! Hither (thither) is called *Idâ*! May *Idâ* also call us to her!’ In saying, ‘*Idâ* is called

the cows together with the bull call us,’ &c., as in *Taitt. Br.*, they being likewise omitted in *Taitt. S. II*, 6, 7.

¹ The seven *Hotris* comprise the *Hotri* with his assistants, the *Maitrâvaruṇa* (or *Prasâstri*), and *Akṣhâvâka*; and the chief assistants of the Brahman, viz. the *Brâhmanâkṣhamsin*, *Âgnidhra*, *Potri*, and *Neshtri*. The *Grâvastut*, another assistant of the *Hotri*, is often added as eighth *Hotri*. Cf. *Haug, Ait. Br. II*, p. 147. Instead of *upahûtâ saptahotrâ* in our text, the *Kânva* text and the *Black Yagur-veda* read *upahûtâḥ saptahotrâḥ*, ‘called hither are the seven *Hotri*ships;’ *Âsval. Sr.* *upahûtâ divyâ sapta hotâraḥ*, ‘called hither are the seven divine *Hotris*.’

² *Bhaksha*, ‘the eating, enjoying;’ perhaps the author here takes it in the sense of ‘feeder,’ in that of ‘eater, quaffer;’ *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S. II*, 6, 7, 3, takes it as Soma-drink (*somapîtha*).

³ Apparently, like *hikkâ* (verb *hikk*), imitative of the internal sound of the hiccough. The *Kânva MS.* has *harik* instead; and the *Black Yagur* *ho*, which it identifies with the self (*âtman*).

hither,' he, in a direct way, calls her, who is thereby called hither, as being what she really was : a cow, assuredly, she was, and a cow is four-footed ; and therefore he calls her four times¹.

25. But in calling her four times, he calls her in different ways, in order to avoid repetition (of sacrificial performance) ; for, if he were to call, 'Idā is called hither ! Idā is called hither !' or 'Hither is called Idā ! hither is called Idā !' he would indeed commit the (fault of) repetition. By saying, 'Idā is called hither !' he calls her hitherwards ; and by 'Hither (or thither, lit. called to somebody) is called Idā !' he calls her thitherwards. By saying, 'May Idā also call us to her,' he does not omit himself, and, besides, it (the formula) is changed. By (the second), 'Idā is called hither !' he again calls her hitherwards ; so that he thereby (and by the second, 'Hither is called Idā,' again) calls her hitherwards and thitherwards.

26. 'Manu's daughter, the butter-pathed (ghṛīta-padī) ;'—Manu, indeed, begat her of old : for this reason he says, 'Manu's daughter.' 'The butter-pathed' he says, because butter gathered in her foot-print : therefore he calls her 'butter-pathed.'

27. And further, 'She who belongs to Mitra and Varuṇa ;'—this 'Maitrāvaruṇa nature' (is hers), because she met Mitra and Varuṇa².—'She, the god-fashioned one, is called hither as the Brahman³ ;'

¹ After 'May Idā also call us to her,' he repeats 'Idā is called hither ! Called hither (thither) is Idā !'

² See I, 8, 1, 7-8, with note 3.

³ Brahmā devakṛītopahūtā ; the Black Yagur-veda and Âśval. Sr. read 'brahma devakṛītam upahūtam.' Cf. Taitt. S. I, 7, 1, 5, brahma vai devânām bṛhaspatiḥ.

for she, the god-fashioned one, is indeed called hither as their Brahman.—‘Hither are called the divine Adhvaryus, called hither the human!’—he thereby calls both the divine Adhvaryus and those that are human: the divine Adhvaryus indeed are the calves¹ (vatsâḥ), and what others there are, are the human ones.

28. ‘—They who are to prosper this sacrifice, they who are to prosper the lord of sacrifice.’ Those Brâhmanas, who have studied and teach the Veda, assuredly prosper the sacrifice, since they spread (perform) and produce it: these he thereby propitiates. And the calves also assuredly make the lord of sacrifice prosper; for the lord of sacrifice who possesses abundance of them, does indeed prosper; for this reason he says, ‘They who are to prosper the lord of sacrifice.’

29. ‘Hither are called the primeval, law-abiding, divine (fem.) heaven and earth, whose sons are gods.’ He thereby calls to him those two, heaven and earth, within which all this (universe) is embraced.—‘Hither is called this sacrificer:’ thereby he calls the sacrificer to him. Why he does not mention his name on this occasion, is that this is a mysterious benediction on the *idâ*. Were he, on the contrary, to mention the name, he would do what is human, and the human certainly is inauspicious at the sacrifice: hence he does not mention

¹ ? The commentator remarks: ‘He says, The divine Adhvaryus assuredly are the calves,’ because, in his opinion, the *sânnâyya* constitutes the sacrificial food which contains the Adhvaryus (*havis—adhvaryuvat*). In I, 1, 2, 17 we met with the *Asvins* as the two divine Adhvaryus.

the name, lest he should do what is inauspicious at the sacrifice¹.

30. 'Hither (he is) called for future worship of the gods;' he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of life on this (sacrificer); for as he sacrificed heretofore, so, while living, he will sacrifice hereafter.

31. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of offspring for him; for whosoever has offspring,—while he, on his part, goes to yonder world, his offspring sacrifice in this world: hence future worship of the gods means offspring.

32. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of cattle for him; for whosoever has cattle, will sacrifice hereafter, as he has sacrificed heretofore.

33. 'Hither (he is) called for more abundant havis-offering;' he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of life on him; for as he has sacrificed heretofore, so while living will he hereafter again and again make offerings.

34. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of offspring for this (sacrificer); for whosoever possesses offspring,—though he, of his own self, be one only, yet that offering is made tenfold by his offspring: hence offspring means more abundant offering.

35. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of cattle for him; for whosoever possesses cattle, will make offering again and again, as he has sacrificed heretofore.

36. This then is the benediction (implied in these formulas), 'May I live, may I have offspring, may

¹ With this and the following paragraphs cf. I, 9, 1, 12 seq.

I obtain prosperity!’ Now in praying for the blessing of cattle, he prays for prosperity; for cattle means prosperity: hence through these two benedictions everything is obtained; and therefore these two benedictions are here pronounced.

37. [He continues to call], ‘Hither (he is) called to this (sacrifice, for the prayer¹), “May the gods graciously accept this my offering (havis!)”’ he thereby invokes complete success on the sacrifice; for what offering the gods graciously accept, by that one gains great things: for this reason he says, ‘may they graciously accept².’

38. They (the priests and sacrificer) eat it (the *idâ*), and do not offer it up in the fire; for assuredly the *idâ* means cattle: hence they do not offer it in the fire, lest they should throw the cattle into the fire.

39. In the vital airs rather it is offered, partly in the *Hotri*, partly in the *Sacrificer*, partly in the *Adhvaryu*. Now, when he has broken off the fore-part of the (Agni) cake, he places it before the *dhruvâ*-spoon. But the *dhruvâ* represents the sacrificer: hence this will be eaten by the sacrificer. And if he does not now visibly eat it, lest he should eat before the sacrifice is completed, it nevertheless is now (symbolically) eaten by him. All of them

¹ See Sâyana's comm. on Taitt. S. II, 6, 7, 6.

² Before this formula the Black Yagur-veda inserts, ‘Called (he is) to the heavenly abode!’ and after it as the final formula, ‘All that is dear to him (the sacrificer) is called! Called (he is) of (?by) everything dear that is called!’ Taitt. Br. III, 5, 9, 3. For the modifications of the concluding mantras in the case of the *idâ* being invoked for the mistress of the house (Sat. Br. I, 9, 2, 5), see Taitt. Br. III, 5, 13.

eat (of the *idâ*): 'May it be offered for me in all!' thus (he thinks). Five eat of it,—the *idâ* indeed means cattle, and cattle are fivefold: hence five eat of it.

40. Now when he (the *Hotri*) intones (in a loud voice)¹, he (the *Adhvaryu*) divides the (*Agni*) cake into four parts, and lays it on the *barhis* (the sacrificial grass covering the altar). Here it lies in place of the fathers; for there are four intermediate quarters, and the intermediate quarters represent the fathers: for this reason he divides the cake into four parts, and lays it on the *barhis* ².

¹ Viz. '*Idâ* is called hither!' see par. 24. According to *Kâty.* III, 4, 12, all (the other priests and the sacrificer, probably with the exception of the Brahman) touch the *idâ* (or, according to *Karka*, they touch the *Hotri* who holds the *idâ*) whilst the invocation of the *idâ* takes place. The quartering of the cake, according to *ib.* 13, is done with the text, 'Make swell, O ruddy one! milk me life; milk me offspring; milk me cattle; milk me brahmahood; milk me kshatriyahood; milk me people! Fatten through the progeny, through the cattle of him who hates us, whom we hate!'

² According to *Kâty.* III, 4, 14, the *Adhvaryu* puts the four parts on the *barhis* and assigns one to each priest. But according to the commentary and to other *Sûtras*, it is the sacrificer who allocates the portions by laying them down so as to correspond with the four intermediate regions, commencing in the south-east (or *Agni's*) region, and saying, 'This for the Brahman,' 'This for the *Hotri*,' 'This for the *Adhvaryu*,' 'This for the *Agnîdh.*' The sacrificer then shifts his *Brâhmanical* cord from the right to the left shoulder, and while touching the four portions, and looking towards the south (the region of the fathers), murmurs (*Vâg. S.* II, 31), 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves! Like bulls come hither (*âvriṣhâyadhvam*) each to his own share!' He then quits his hold of the portions, and murmurs, 'The fathers have regaled themselves: like bulls they came each to his own share!' See *Sat. Br.* II, 4, 2, 20 seq.; *Vâg. S.* p. 57. [The *Kârva* text of the *Brâhmana* does not mention the formulas here any more than does our author.] He then shifts the cord back on his left shoulder, touches water, and hands the portions to the priests for them to eat. *Kâty.* III, 4, 16-18.

41. And when he recites, 'Hither are called heaven and earth,' he hands it (the *shadavatta*¹) to the Âgnîdhra. The Âgnîdhra eats (the two pieces), with the respective texts (Vâg. S. II, 10-11), 'Hither is called mother Earth; may mother Earth call me to her! Agni (am I) by virtue of my Âgnîdhraship. Hail!' 'Hither is called father Heaven; may father Heaven call me to him! Agni (am I) by virtue of my Âgnîdhraship. Hail!' He, the Âgnîdhra, truly is the representative of heaven and earth, and therefore he eats (the *shadavatta*) in this manner.

42. And when (the *Hotri*) pronounces the benediction², then (the sacrificer) mutters (Vâg. S. II, 10 a), 'May Indra bestow on me that power of his! may abundant riches accrue to us! may there be blessings for us! may there be true blessings for us!' For indeed this is a receiving of blessings: hence what blessings the priests on this occasion invoke on him, those he thereby receives and makes his own.

43. [On the conclusion of the invocation and the eating³] they cleanse themselves (with water poured)

¹ Kâty. Sr. III, 4, 19. There is some uncertainty as to the particular time when the Adhvaryu cuts the *shadavatta*; cf. Hillebrandt, p. 123. Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. II, 10 remarks: When the *Hotri* pronounces the call to heaven and earth, then he (the Adhvaryu), having put one piece of each of the two cakes in (the two bowls of) the *Shadavatta* (vessel), gives it to the Agnîdh; and the latter eats it with the formulas 'Hither is called (the mother Earth),' &c. The 'six cuttings' of the *Shadavatta* consist of a piece of the Agni cake with an 'underlayer' and a dripping of butter for each of the two bowls of the *Shadavatta* dish.

² That is, the formula 'Hither is called the sacrificer,' see par. 29.

³ The priests eat first their quarter of the cake and then, with the sacrificer, their share of the *idâ*. The *Hotri* eats also the *avântaredâ*, with the text (Âsv. S. I, 7, 8), 'O *Idâ*, accept graciously our share!' &c.

through the two strainers (pavitra, 'purifier'). For they have now performed the *idâ*, which represents the domestic offerings; and thinking, 'Purified by the purifiers we will now perform what part of the sacrifice remains still unaccomplished,' they cleanse themselves with the strainers.

44. He (the Adhvaryu) then throws the two strainers on the *prastara*¹. The *prastara*, doubtless, represents the sacrificer, and the two strainers the out-breathing and in-breathing: hence he thereby invokes out-breathing and in-breathing on the sacrificer; and for this reason he throws the strainers on the *prastara*.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

THE AFTER-OFFERINGS (ANUYÂGAS).

1. They now remove two burning *samidhs* (from the *Âhavantya* fire). That fire, indeed, is now worn out, (and therefore useless) for the after-offerings, since it has been carrying the sacrifice to the gods: 'Let us perform the after-offerings in such (fire) as is not out-worn!' thus they think, and for this reason they remove those two burning *samidhs* (from the fire).

2. Thereupon they again move them close (to the fire). Thereby they cause the fire to increase again and to be no longer out-worn: 'Let us perform what part of the sacrifice remains still unaccomplished in such (fire) as is not out-worn!' so think they, and for this reason they again move them close (to the fire).

3. He (the *Âgnîdhra*) then puts on the kindling-

¹ See I, 3, 2, 5 seq. The *Kânva* text omits this paragraph.

stick (which was reserved at the time of kindling)¹. He thereby kindles that (fire): 'Let us perform in the well-kindled (fire) what part of the sacrifice remains unaccomplished!' thus he thinks, and for this reason he puts on the samidh.

4. The Hotri consecrates it (the kindling-stick), with the formula (Vâg. S. II, 14 a), 'This, O Agni, is thy kindler; mayest thou grow and increase by it; and may we also grow and increase!' for even as before he recited over the fire when it was being kindled, so also now he recites. This is the Hotri's duty; but the sacrificer himself may pronounce the consecratory formula, if he think that the Hotri does not know it².

5. He (the Âgnîdhra) then sweeps (the fire) together. He thereby harnesses it: 'Thus harnessed, may it convey (to the gods) what part of the sacrifice still remains unaccomplished!' thus he thinks, and for this reason he sweeps it together. He sweeps

¹ See I, 4, 1, 38. The Adhvaryu takes the fresh stick (samidh), asks the permission of the Brahman to step forward for the after-offerings; and orders the Âgnîdhra to put the stick on, and trim, the fire. Whilst the Brahman mutters his formula (Vâg. S. II, 12-13), 'This thy sacrifice, O divine Savitri, they proclaimed to Brihaspati, the Brahman,' &c. (see I, 7, 4, 21), the Âgnîdhra executes the Adhvaryu's orders. Kâty. III, 5, 1; II, 2, 21.

² That is to say (as would appear), if the Hotri follows a school which does not recognise this particular ceremony as belonging to the Hotri's ritual. Thus the Âśval. Sr. makes no mention of it, and hence a Hotri belonging to the Sâkala or Bâshkala sâkhâs would not undertake the recitation of this consecratory formula. The Sâṅkhây. Sr., on the other hand, does prescribe it (cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 135, note 4), and a Hotri of the Kaushîtaki-sâkhâ would accordingly claim it as his privilege or duty to consecrate the samidh. For a somewhat different view, cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 155; V, 408.

once (with the band of the fire-wood along each of the three enclosing-sticks); for thrice each time they swept for the gods on the former occasion¹: 'Lest we should do it in the same way as for the gods;' thus he thinks, and accordingly he sweeps once each time in order to avoid repetition (of sacrificial performance). Repetition he would undoubtedly commit, if he were to sweep thrice the first time and thrice the second: for this reason he sweeps once (along each stick).

6. He sweeps (each time), with the formula (*Vâg.* S. II, 14 b), 'O Agni, food-gainer, I cleanse thee, the food-gainer, who hast hastened to the food!' On the former occasion he said, 'thee who art about to hasten (to the food),' for on that occasion he was indeed about to hasten thither; now, however, he says, 'who hast hastened (to the food),' for now he has indeed hastened thither: for this reason he says 'thee who hast hastened.'

7. He now makes the after-offerings. Whatever gods he invokes by means of this sacrifice, and for whichever of them this sacrifice is performed, to all offering has now been made; and to all those to whom offering has been made, he now, after that, offers once more: hence the name 'after-offerings.'

8. Now this is why he makes the after-offerings. The after-offerings assuredly are the metres², and the metres are the cattle of the gods: hence as cattle, when harnessed, here convey (burdens) for men, so in like manner the metres, being harnessed,

¹ See I, 4, 4, 14. While, on the former occasion, the Âgnîdhra in sweeping moved round the fire, on the present occasion he remains standing on the north side of it. *Kâty.* III, 5, 4.

² See I, 3, 2, 8, 9.

convey the sacrifice to the gods. Now the occasion on which the metres gratified the gods, and for which the gods, in their turn, then gratified the metres, was when before this the metres, on being harnessed, conveyed the sacrifice to the gods and thereby gratified them.

9. And this again is why he makes the after-offerings. The after-offerings are the metres: hence he thereby gratifies the metres, and for this reason also he makes the after-offerings. By whatever team, therefore, he has himself drawn, that (team) he would thereby unyoke, saying, 'Give it to drink, feed it well!' and thus his team is propitiated.

10. In the first place he makes offering to the Barhis (sacrificial-grass covering). Though the smallest metre, the gāyatrī is yoked first of the metres¹; and this on account of its strength, since, having become a falcon, it carried off the Soma from heaven². They consider it unseemly, however, that the gāyatrī, being the smallest metre, should be yoked first of the metres; and the gods accordingly arranged the metres here, at the after-offerings, so as it ought to be, 'lest there should be a confusion.'

11. In the first place, then, he offers to the Barhis. The Barhis indeed is this world; the Barhis is the plants: hence he thereby bestows plants on this world, and these plants are firmly rooted in this world. Now this entire universe (*gagat*) is contained in this (metre), and therefore the latter is (called) *gagatī*: this is why they have placed the *gagatī* metre first.

12. In the second place he offers to *Narāsaṃsa*.

¹ See, for instance, I, 3, 4, 6.

² For this myth, see I, 7, 1, 1.

Now, *Narâsamsa* is the air. *Man* (*nara*), namely, means (human) being; and these same beings move about in the air speaking aloud. And when he (man) speaks, they say 'he chants (*sams*)'; and therefore *Narâsamsa* is the air¹. But the *trishûbh* also is the air², and for this reason they have placed the *trishûbh* second.

13. Then *Agni* is the last (to whom offering is made). *Agni* assuredly is the *gâyatri*; and therefore they placed the *gâyatri* last. In this way they established the metres in complete and proper order; and hence no confusion here takes place.

14. The *Adhvaryu*³ says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pro-
nounce the offering-prayer (*yâgyâ*) to the gods!' and the *Hotri* (begins his prayer) at all (the three offerings) with 'The divine . . .'. For the metres assuredly are the gods of the gods, since they are their cattle, and cattle means a home, and a home is a safe resting-place. The after-offerings, doubtless, are the metres: therefore the *Adhvaryu* says, 'Pro-
nounce the offering-prayer to the gods!' and at all of them the *Hotri* begins with 'The divine . . .'.⁴

¹ That is, because *man* (*nara*) speaks, chants (*samsati*) in it.

² Either because both are in the middle (viz. the *trishûbh* of the three chief metres, and the air between heaven and earth), or because they consist of eleven parts (viz. the *trishûbh* of eleven syllables, and the air having ten directions, *Sat. Br. VI, 2, 2, 34*; *VIII, 4, 2, 13*, with itself as the eleventh), or because they are both connected with *Rudra*. *Comm.*

³ As on previous occasions, the *Adhvaryu* first calls on the *Âgnîdhra*, 'Bid (*Agni*) hear (*o srâvaya*)!' and the latter responds by 'Yea, may (he) hear (*astu srausha*)!' This is repeated before each of the two other after-offerings. See *I, 5, 2, 16*.

⁴ The drift of the argument of this paragraph is not quite clear to me. The after-offerings have for their deities the metres, and hence the latter are apparently called the deities of the deities, that is, of the

15. ['The divine Barhis (or *Narāsaṃsa*) may accept (the offering)] for abundant obtainment of abundant gift! [*Vaushat!*'] For a deity only the *vashat*-call is pronounced, to a deity only offering is made; but here at the after-offerings there is no (proper) deity¹. When he says 'The divine Barhis,' in this there is neither Agni, nor Indra, nor Soma; when he says 'The divine *Narāsaṃsa*,' neither is there in this anything whatever (of the nature of a god); and what Agni there is (in the third offering-prayer), he indeed is virtually the *gāyatrī*.

16. The reason, then, why he offers with the formula 'for abundant obtainment of abundant gift'²,

recipients of the offerings. The difference between the fore-offerings and after-offerings in regard to the offering-formula lies in this, that at the first fore-offering the *Adhvaryu*, in calling on the *Hotṛi*, names the particular object of the offering, viz. 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *samidhs*!' while for the remaining *prayāgas* he merely calls 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' and the *Hotṛi* begins all his prayers (after the introductory *āgur*-formula) with the name of the respective recipient of the oblation. At the after-offering, on the other hand, the *Adhvaryu* calls each time, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the gods' (or, according to *Kāty.* III, 5, 8, optionally without 'to the gods,' the second and third times), and the *Hotṛi*'s prayers begin with 'The divine (*Barhis*, or *Narāsaṃsa*, or *Agni Svishakṛit*). . . .' See I, 5, 3, 8 seq.

¹ *Agni Svishakṛit*, the recipient of the third after-offering, is, as we saw, regarded as representing the *gāyatrī* metre.

² *Vasuvane vasudheyasya* (*vetu*); perhaps better, as *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S.* II, 6, 9, takes it, 'May he partake of the gift of wealth for the (sacrificer's) obtainment of wealth.' 'For the wealth-desirer of wealth-gift' = 'for the desirer of wealth-possession,' *St. Petersburg Dict.* Our author apparently takes it in the sense of 'for the obtainer of wealth and for the receiver of wealth'; and *Mahādhara* (*Vāg. S.* XXII, 48; XXVIII, 12) interprets it 'for the giving (or obtainment) of wealth and for the depositing of treasure (i. e. for burying a treasure in the sacrificer's house!)' *Harisvāmin* takes *vasuvane* as vocative; but the accent is against his view.

is that Agni is the obtainer of wealth, and Indra is the recipient of wealth; and Indra and Agni are indeed the (joint) divinity of the metres: and in this way it is for a deity that the *vasha* is pronounced, and to a deity that the offering is made.

17. After he has made the last after-offering, he pours together (the butter which remains in the *upabhr̥it* with that which attaches to the *guhû*), and offers it (by pouring it from the *guhû* in a line from west to east into the fire). For doubtless these are the after-offerings to the fore-offerings: hence even as there, at the fore-offerings¹, he makes the spiteful enemy pay tribute to the sacrificer, and the one to be consumed pay tribute to the consumer; so now he makes him pay tribute at the after-offerings.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

SŪKTAVĀKA, SAMYUVĀKA, AND OFFERING OF REMAINS².

1. He now separates the two spoons (*guhû* and *upabhr̥it*), with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 15 a*), 'May I be victorious after the victory of Agni and Soma! with the impetus of the (sacrificial) food I urge myself on.' With his right hand he moves the *guhû* eastwards (from its usual place on the *prastara*-bunch upon the altar), with the text (*ib. b*), 'May Agni and Soma drive him away who hates us, and whom

¹ See I, 5, 3, 18.

² The whole of the third *Brāhmaṇa* is taken up with the duties of the *Adhvaryu* and *Āgnīdhra* at the three ceremonies: paragraphs 1-19 with those at the *sūktavāka*; pars. 20-22 with those at the *samyuvāka*; and pars. 23-27 with those at the offering of the remains (*samsrava*) of butter. The duties of the *Hotri* are then detailed in the fourth *Brāhmaṇa*.

we hate! with the impetus of the (sacrificial) food I drive him away.' With his left hand he moves the upabhrîṭ westwards (from its place on the barhis to outside the altar):—Thus, if the sacrificer himself (does it)¹.

2. And if the Adhvaryu (does it, he says), 'May this sacrificer be victorious after the victory of Agni and Soma! with the impetus of the food I urge him on;' and, 'May Agni and Soma drive him away whom this sacrificer hates, and who hates him! with the impetus of the food I drive him away.' Thus he does at the full-moon sacrifice, because the full-moon offering belongs to Agni and Soma.

3. At the new-moon sacrifice, on the other hand, he uses the texts (ib. c, d), 'May I be victorious after the victory of Indra and Agni²! with the impetus of the food I urge myself on;' and, 'May Indra and Agni drive him away who hates us, and whom we hate! with the impetus of the food I drive him away:—Thus, if the sacrificer himself does it.

4. And if the Adhvaryu (does it, he says), 'May this sacrificer be victorious after the victory of Indra and Agni! with the impetus of the food I urge him on;' and, 'May Indra and Agni drive him away whom this sacrificer hates, and who hates him! with the impetus of the food I drive him away.' Thus he says at the new-moon sacrifice, because the new-

¹ In Taitt. Br. III, 3, 9 a different symbolical explanation is given of the separation of the spoons: it is said there that by shifting the guhû eastwards, he drives away the enemies that have been born; and by shifting the upabhrîṭ towards the west, he drives away those that will be born hereafter; and the sacrificer then stands firmly established in this world.

² See p. 162, note 3.

moon offering belongs to Indra and Agni. And in this manner he separates (the spoons) according to the respective deities. This is why he thus separates them :

5. Behind the *guhû* stands the sacrificer, and behind the *upabhṛit* stands he who means evil to him : hereby, then, he brings the sacrificer forward to the front (or east), and the one who means evil him he drives back (or towards the west). Behind the *guhû* stands the eater (enjoyer), and behind the *upabhṛit* the one to be eaten (enjoyed) : thus he now brings the eater (enjoyer) to the front, and the one to be eaten (enjoyed) he drives back.

6. Thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act ; and hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband), and the one to be enjoyed (the wife) : for now kinsfolk (*gât yâh*) live sporting and rejoicing together, saying, 'In the fourth (or) third man (i. e. generation) we unite¹.' And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons).

¹ This passage is of considerable importance, as showing that the prohibition of intermarriage between near blood-relations,—so rigidly enforced in later times, and already formulated in passages such as *Āpast. Dharm.* II, 5, 15, 16, 'One must not give one's daughter to a man belonging to the same gotra. Nor to one related (within six degrees) on the mother's (or father's) side.' *Gobh.* III, 4, 3-5, 'One must take for one's wife one who is not of the same gotra, or one who is not *sapinda* to one's mother,'—was not as yet firmly established in our author's time. *Harisvâmin* remarks on our text, that the *Kânvas* allow intermarriage in such cases from the third generation—(the *Kânva* text of the *Sat. Br.* reads, 'In the third man we unite, in the fourth man we unite')—and the *Saurâshtras* from the fourth generation ; and that the *Dâkshinâtyas* allow marriage with daughters of the mother's brother,

7. Thereupon (the Adhvaryu) anoints the enclosing-sticks (paridhi) with (the butter attaching to) the *guhû*. With that (spoon) with which he has made offering to the gods, with which he has concluded the sacrifice, he thus gratifies the enclosing-sticks: this is why he anoints them with the *guhû*.

8. He anoints them (successively)¹, with the texts (Vâg. S. II, 16 a-c), 'For the Vasus thee!' 'For the Rudras thee!' 'For the Âdityas thee!' For these—to wit, the Vasus, Rudras, and Âdityas—are three (classes of) gods: 'for them (I anoint) thee,' he thereby says.

9. Thereupon, taking hold of the (middle) enclosing-stick, he calls (on the Âgnîdhra) to bid (them) listen²: thus (i.e. by touching the paridhi) it is for the enclosing-sticks that he calls for the *sraushat*. The *sraushat*-call assuredly is the sacrifice: hence he thereby expressly gladdens the enclosing-sticks by means of the sacrifice: for this reason he calls for the *sraushat*, while taking hold of the enclosing-stick.

10. Having called for the *sraushat* (and been responded to by the Âgnîdhra), he thus addresses (the Hotri), 'The divine Hotris³ are summoned—,' the divine Hotris, namely, are (represented by) these

and with sons of the father's sister. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, p. 75; Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 387; Bühler, Sacred Laws of the Âryas, I, p. 126.

¹ Viz. in the order in which they were laid around, i.e. first the middle one, then the southern, and lastly the northern one. Kâty. III, 5, 24.

² The Adhvaryu calls on the Âgnîdhra with 'Make listen (o *srâvaya*); and the latter responds with 'Yea, may (one) listen! (*astu sraushat*). See I, 5, 2, 18 seq.

³ Sâyaṇa on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13 explains this by 'Impelled are the divine Hotris by the highest Lord (*paramesvara*).'

enclosing-sticks, since these are Agnis (fires)¹. When he says, 'the divine Hotri's are summoned (ishita),' he means to say, 'the divine Hotri's are wished for (ishṭa).' [He continues], '—for the proclamation of success²,—for on this the gods themselves are indeed intent, to wit, that they should speak what is favourable (conducive to success, sādhu), that they should do what is favourable: hence he says 'for the proclamation of success.'— 'The human one is called upon for the song of praise (sûktavâka)³!' by these words he urges on this human Hotri to singing praises.

11. He now takes the prastara-bunch⁴. The prastara assuredly is the sacrificer: hence whither-soever his sacrifice went, thither he thereby wishes him good-speed⁵! Now it is to the world of the gods that his sacrifice went; and to the world of the gods accordingly he thereby takes the sacrificer.

¹ On the Agnis officiating as Hotri, see I, 2, 3, 1.

² Thus Sâyana explains bhadravâkyâya on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13 (vol. i. p. 233). For the Hotri's formula itself, see Sat. Br. I, 9, 1, 4.

³ According to Kâty. III, 6, 1, and the other Sûtras, the Adhvaryu adds here sūktâ brûhi, 'recite the praises (hymns)!' which Sâyana on Taitt. Br. III, 6, 15 combines with the preceding sūktavâkâya, and explains thus: 'hotâ tvam sūktasya vâko vañanam yasya so 'yam devaḥ sūktavâkaḥ (i. e. Agni, cf. Sat. Br. I, 9, 1, 4) tasmai sūktavâkâya devâya sūktâ brûhi, idam dyâvâprithivīm anuvâkôktâni sobhanâni vañanâni kathaya (!);' but differently on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, 'idam dyâvâprithivî bhadram abhûd (Taitt. Br. III, 5, 10) ityâdy-anuvâkaḥ sūktam, tasya vâko vañanam, tadartham mânusho hotâ preshitaḥ; ato hetoḥ, he hotas tat sūktam brûhi.'

⁴ The two stalks, called vidhrîti (separation), separating the prastara-bunch from the barhis or grass-covering of the altar (cf. I, 3, 4, 10), he puts back in the place whence they were taken. Kâty. III, 6, 4.

⁵ Svagâ, ? literally 'self-go,' i. e. 'success to him!'

12. Should he desire rain, let him take up (the prastara), with this text (Vâg. S. II, 16 d), "Be ye in harmony with each other, O heaven and earth!" for when heaven and earth are in harmony with each other, then indeed it rains¹: for this reason he says, 'be ye in harmony with each other, O heaven and earth!'—'May Mitra and Varuṇa favour thee with rain!' whereby he says, 'may he who rules over the rain favour thee with rain!' Now he that rules over the rain is undoubtedly that blowing one (Vâyū, the wind); and he, it is true, blows as one only; but, on entering into man, he becomes a forward and a backward moving one; and they are these two, the out-breathing and the in-breathing. And Mitra and Varuṇa assuredly are the out-breathing and in-breathing; and hence he says by that (prayer), 'may he who rules over the rain favour thee with rain!' Let him then take it up, with this text, for then the rain will at all times be propitious. He anoints it (the prastara): thereby he makes him (the sacrificer) an oblation, thinking, 'May he, as an oblation, go to the world of the gods!'

13. He anoints the top (of the prastara with the butter) in the *guhû*, the middle part (with that) in the *upabhṛit*, and the lower end (with that) in the *dhruvâ*; for the *guhû* is, as it were, the top, the *upabhṛit* the middle, and the *dhruvâ* the root.

¹ Cf. Ait. Âr. III, 1, 2, 2-4 (Max Müller, Up. I, p. 249): 'The first half (of a *samhitâ* or combination of final and initial letters) is the earth, the second half heaven, their uniting the rain, the uniter Parganya. And so it is when he (Parganya) rains thus strongly, without ceasing, day and night; then they say also (in ordinary language), "Heaven and earth have come together."' See also Sat. Br. I, 7, 2, 16.

14. He anoints (each time), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 16 e), 'May (the gods) eat, licking the anointed bird!¹' He thereby causes it (the prastara and hence symbolically the sacrificer) to be a bird and fly up from this world of men to the world of the gods. He then draws it twice (towards the Âhavan̥tya) alow (near the ground). The reason why he must draw it alow (is this): the prastara is the sacrificer; and in this way he does not remove him from this firm footing of his; and he, moreover, secures rain for this locality.

15. He draws it along, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 16 f), 'Go to the spotted (mares) of the Maruts!' He means to say, 'Go to the world of the gods,' when he says, 'Go to the spotted (mares) of the Maruts!²'—'Having become a spotted cow, go to the sky and thence bring us rain hither!' The spotted cow, doubtless, is this (earth): whatever rooted and rootless food is here on this (earth), by that this (earth) is a spotted cow. 'Having become

¹ Vyantu vayo 'ktam rihânâh. Mahîdhara interprets it, 'May the birds (i. e. the metres) go (?to heaven,—taking and) licking the anointed (prastara).' The Kânvas read, 'vyantu vayo ripto rihânâh.' The Black Yagus (Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, 1) has 'aktam rihânâ viyantu vayah, pragâm yonim mâ nirmriksham, âpyâyantâm âpa oshadhayah,' which Sâyana explains by 'May the birds having licked the anointed (top) go their several ways,' &c.; and the Taitt. Br. III, 3, 9, 3 remarks to viyantu vayah, 'Having made him birds, he makes him go to the heavenly world.' According to Sâyana, the three above formulas are by Âpastamba referred to the three acts of anointing, whereas the others, he says, divide the first formula into two, and use the second one (pragâm, &c.) while the lower part of the prastara is anointed. See, however, Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 142, note 3.

² The Black Yagus (Taitt. S. I, 1, 13) has, 'The spotted (mares) of the Maruts are ye (O plants)!'.

this (earth), go thou to the sky!' this is what he thereby says. 'Thence bring us rain hither!' From rain certainly spring vigour, sap, well-being: for this reason he says, 'thence bring us rain hither!'

16. He then takes a single stalk from it. The prastara-bunch is the sacrificer; and therefore, if he were to throw the whole prastara (at once) into the fire, the sacrificer would speedily go to yonder world. In this way, however, the sacrificer will live long; and what the full measure of human life here on earth is, for that he takes this (single stalk) therefrom.

17. Having held (the prastara) for a moment, he throws it into the fire: whither his (the sacrificer's) one (part of) self (or, body)¹ went, thither he thereby causes it to go². But were he not to throw it into the fire, he would cut off the sacrificer from (yonder) world. In this way, however, he does not cut off the sacrificer from (yonder) world.

18. He throws it (with its top) to the east, for the east is the region of the gods; or to the north, for the north is the region of man. With the fingers only they should smooth it down, not with pieces of wood; since it is with sticks that they pierce any other corpse. Fearing, lest they should treat it in the same way as any other corpse, they should smooth it down with the fingers only, not with pieces of wood. When the Hotṛi recites the song of praise,—

19. The Âgñidhra says (to the Adhvaryu), 'Throw

¹ The itara âtmâ in pars. 17 and 19 have to be taken comparatively.

² That is to say, he makes sure that the sacrificer has really obtained the object for which the sacrifice was undertaken,—the right to go to the heavenly world after his death.

(the single stalk) after (the prastara)!—‘whither his (the sacrificer’s) other self went, thither make it now go,’ this is what he thereby says. [The Adhvaryu] having thrown it silently after, touches himself¹, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 16 f): ‘Guardian of the eye art thou, O Agni; guard mine eye!’ In this way also he does not throw himself into the fire after (the prastara or sacrificer).

20. He (the Âgñidhra) then says² (to the Adhvaryu), ‘Discourse together!’—he thereby says, ‘Make him (the sacrificer) discourse with the gods.’ [The Adhvaryu asks], ‘Has he gone (to the gods), Agñidh?’ whereby he says, ‘Has he really gone?’—‘He has gone!’ replies the other.—‘Bid (the gods) hear!’ by these words he (the Adhvaryu) means to say, ‘Make him (the sacrificer) be heard, make him be noticed by the gods!’—‘May (one or they) hear (sraushat)!’ thereby he (the Âgñidhra) means to say, ‘They know him, they have recognised him.’ Thus the Adhvaryu and the Âgñidhra lead the sacrificer to the world of the gods.

21. He (the Adhvaryu) then says, ‘Good-speed to the divine Hotrîs³!’ The divine Hotrîs assuredly are these enclosing-sticks, since these are Agnis (fires): it is to them that he thereby bids good-speed, and therefore he says, ‘good-speed to the

¹ He touches himself near the heart, or, according to Vaidyanâtha, he touches his eyes. After this he has, as usual, to touch the lustral water. See p. 2, note 2.

² Here begins the *śamyuvâka*; see p. 241, note 1.

³ ‘Svagâ daivyâ hótîrbhyaḥ.’ The form *daivyâ* seems to have become fixed before *hotrî*, in consequence of its frequent use, especially in the Âprî hymns, as nom. acc. dual *daivyâ hôtârâ*; and in the invocation of the *Idâ*, as nom. plur. *daivyâ hôtârâḥ*.

divine Hotri's!'—'Success (svasti) to the human!' thereby he desires that this human Hotri may not fail.

22. He now throws the enclosing-sticks into the fire. The middle enclosing-stick he throws first, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 17 a), 'The stick which thou laidst around thee, O divine Agni, when thou wert concealed by the *Pañis*, I bring thee for thy pleasure; may it not prove faithless to thee!'—With (ib. b), 'Approach ye the place beloved of Agni!' he throws the two others after it.

23. He then¹ seizes the *guhû* and the *upabhrî*t at the same time. For on the former occasion², when he anoints (the *prastara*—sacrificer), he makes him an oblation, thinking, 'May he, as an oblation, go to the world of the gods!' for this reason he seizes the *guhû* and the *upabhrî*t at the same time.

24. He seizes them for the *Visve Devâh* (the All-gods). For, assuredly, when any sacrificial food is taken without being announced to any one deity, then all the gods think that they have a share in it. Now when he takes that sacrificial food, the (residue of) butter, he does not announce it to any one deity; and hence he takes up (the two spoons) for the *Visve Devâh*, and thus makes that (residue of butter) the *vaisvadeva*³ at the *haviryagña*.

25. He seizes them, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 18),

¹ Here begins the offering of the remains (*samsrava*) of butter; see p. 236, note 2.

² See par. 14 above.

³ The author again connects the *havis*-offering with the more solemn Soma-sacrifice; the third, or evening, libation of Soma being supposed to belong to the *Visve Devâh*; cf. Vâg. S. XIX, 26; Ait. Br. VI, 4.

'The residue (of the butter) ye have for your share, ye, mighty by (this) food!' the residue, of course, is that which remains;—'O ye gods, staying on the prastara, and representing the enclosing-sticks¹;' for both the prastara and the enclosing-sticks have been thrown into the fire;—'All of you, applauding this speech,' thereby he makes it the *vaisvadeva* (belonging to the *Visve Devâh*);—'Be seated on this couch of grass (*barhis*) and enjoy yourselves! Svâhâ! Vâ²!' as one offers what has been consecrated by '*vasha³*,' this (residue) thereby becomes such for him (the sacrificer).

26. For whomsoever they take the sacrificial food from a cart, for him they unyoke (the spoons, by placing them) on the yoke of that cart, thinking, 'Where we yoke, there we also unyoke³;' for from the same place where they yoke, they also unyoke. For him, on the other hand, for whom they take it from a jar, (they unyoke the spoons, by placing them) on the wooden sword, thinking, 'Where we yoke, there we also unyoke;' for from the same place where they yoke, they also unyoke.

27. Yoke-fellows, indeed, are these two spoons for the sacrifice: he yokes them when he starts⁴ (or,

¹ *Paridheyâh*, literally 'ye who are to be laid around;' according to *Mahîdhara*=*paridhibhavâh*. The *Kânva* text has *paridhaya^h*, 'enclosing-sticks.' The *Black Yagus* (*Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, 2*) has '*barhishada^h* (sitting on the *barhis*)' instead.

² The original meaning of this sacrificial call, as of the apparently allied *vasha³*, *vausha³*, appears to be, 'May he (*Agni*) carry it (the oblation to the deity)!' Cf. p. 88, note 2.

³ See I, 1, 2, 8.

⁴ This seems to refer to the time when he gets the spoons ready for their sacred use. He then wipes them with sacrificial grass; that is, he, as it were, rubs down the horses before starting on his journey to the world of the gods. See p. 68, note 1.

first uses them). Now, were he only to release (unyoke) either of them after putting it down, it would fall down just as a draught animal¹ (would, if made to lie down before being unyoked). At the Svishṭakṛit these two undergo an unyoking: he then lays them down, and so unyokes them. He then yokes them again, at the after-offerings. Having performed the after-offerings, he effects another unyoking: he lays them down, and so unyokes them. Thereupon he yokes them again when he seizes them both at the same time; and when he has travelled over the way for which he has yoked them, he unyokes them. After the sacrifice offspring (is produced). Hence this man yokes (unites), and then unyokes, and again yokes them; and when he has travelled over the way for which he yoked them, he finally unyokes them. He lays (the spoons) down, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 19 a), 'Fond of butter are ye; protect the two yoke-fellows! gracious are ye: lead me to grace!' whereby he says, 'good are ye: lead me to goodness!'

NINTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now² when (the Adhvaryu) says, 'The divine Hotṛis are summoned for the proclamation of success,

¹ I adopt the interpretation of Harisvâmin, who translates *avârâkhet* by *adhañ patet*. The St. Petersburg Dict. apparently proposes 'he would unharness them, as he would unharness a horse (or team).' According to Harisvâmin, the author here controverts the view of the *Karakas* (*karakasruti*), who apparently taught that the (symbolical) unharnessing of the spoons should succeed their being laid down on the yoke; while our author maintains that the unharnessing should precede the laying down.

² The author now proceeds to give in detail the formulas to be recited by the Hotṛi during the ceremonies treated in the preceding Brâhmana (see p. 236, note 2); pars. 1-23 treating of the *sûktavâka*; pars. 24-29 of the *samyuvâka*.

the human one is called upon for the song of praise (sûkta-vâka);' and when the Hotri thereupon recites, he recites good words only¹: he thereby invokes a blessing on the sacrificer. It is indeed after the sacrifice that he thus invokes a blessing. A twofold reason there is for his invoking the blessing after the sacrifice.

2. He who sacrifices, assuredly, is the producer of the sacrifice, since it is by his order that the priests spread it, that they produce it. He (the Hotri) now invokes a blessing; and that blessing invoked by him, the sacrifice, on its part, realises for this (sacrificer), knowing as it does that he has produced it. For this reason he invokes a blessing after the sacrifice.

3. He who sacrifices, assuredly, pleases the gods. Having pleased the gods by that sacrifice,—that is, partly by R̥k-verses, partly by Yagus-formulas, and partly by oblations,—he obtains a share among them. When he has obtained a share among them, then (the Hotri) invokes a blessing (on him); and that blessing, invoked by him, the gods realise for this (sacrificer), knowing as they do that he has pleased them. For this reason also he invokes a blessing after the sacrifice.

4. He intones²,—'Successful this has turned out, O heaven and earth—,' for successful indeed it has turned out, when one has completed the sacrifice.—'We have completed the song of praise, and the

¹ Sûktaiva tad âha, which the commentator paraphrases by sûktâny âha. It is apparently intended as an explanation of the term sûktavâka. The word sûkta here has exceptionally the accent on the penultimate.

² See p. 240, note 2. The formulas are given Taitt. Br. III, 5, 10; Âsv. S. I, 9, 1.

utterance of worship¹, for indeed these two, the singing of praises and the utterance of worship, form the sacrifice : and accordingly he thereby says, 'We have accomplished the sacrifice, we have obtained possession of the sacrifice.—'Thou, O Agni, art the voice of praise at the listening² of heaven and earth,' he thereby says to Agni, 'Thou art the voice of praise, while heaven and earth listen.'—'May heaven and earth be propitious to thee, O sacrificer, at this sacrifice!' whereby he says, 'May heaven and earth abound in food for thee, O sacrificer, at this sacrifice.'

5. 'They, propitious to the cattle³, profuse in gifts,' he thereby says, 'May they both be propitious to the cattle, and profuse in gifts.'—'They, the fearless and inscrutable⁴;' he thereby says, 'Mayest thou not be afraid of anybody; may no one obtain before thee this thy wealth!'

¹ 'Sūktavākam uta namovākam.' Our author seems to refer these terms to the *Rik*-verses and the *Yagus*-formulas used during the sacrifice. *Sâyana*, on Taitt. S. II, 6, 9, takes 'namovāka' in a more restricted sense; viz. as referring to the formula 'namo devabhyaḥ.' Both the Black *Yagur-veda* and *Āsv. S.* add '*ṛidhyāsma sūktoḥyam*,' which has probably to be taken in the sense of 'May we accomplish that which is expressed in the sūktas.' [*Sâyana*, 'May we succeed with the sūkta yet to be pronounced.']

² For *upasrutî* the Black *Yagur-veda* has *upasrito*, which *Sâyana* explains, 'Since thou art established in heaven and earth, thou art able to recite the sūkta.'

³ *Samgavi* seems to be a corruption of *Samgayî* (propitious to the household), which is the reading of the Black *Yagur-veda* and *Āsv. S.* (cf. *Rig-veda* IX, 97, 17).

⁴ ? *Apravede*, according to *Sâyana*, on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, in an active sense, 'they who do not tell of, do not betray, our faults' (hence '*verschwiegen*,' reticent, discreet, *St. Petersburg Dict.*) 'Difficult to obtain,' *Harisvâmin*. Our author apparently takes it in the sense of 'not obtained before.'

6. 'They, of wide abode, the afforders of safety;' he thereby says, 'May they both be possessed of wide abodes and exempt from danger.'—'They, the rain-skied, the water-pouring,' he thereby says, 'May they both be possessed of rain.'

7. 'They, the genial and beneficent;' he thereby says, 'May they both be genial and beneficent.'—'They, the rich in sap and substance;' he thereby says, 'May they both abound in moisture and afford the means of subsistence.'

8. 'They, of easy access and good abode;' he thereby says, 'May yonder (sky), which thou approachest from below, afford thee easy access; may this (earth) on which thou abidest (or movest) afford thee good abode.'—'With their knowledge—,' thereby he says, 'Both of these approving—'

9. 'Agni has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown in strength, he has acquired greater power,' he thereby refers to Agni's butter-portion.—'Soma has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown in strength, he has acquired greater power,' he thereby refers to Soma's butter-portion.—'Agni has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown in strength, he has acquired greater power,' he thereby refers to the indispensable cake which is (offered) on both occasions (the new and full-moon sacrifice).

10. And in the same way according to the respective deities. 'The butter-drinking gods have graciously accepted the butter, they have grown in strength, they have acquired greater power;' thereby he refers to the fore-offerings and after-offerings; for the butter-drinking gods truly are the fore-offerings and after-offerings.—'Agni, by virtue of his Hotri-ship, has graciously accepted this oblation, he has

grown in strength, he has acquired greater power ;' thereby he refers to Agni, in virtue of his Hotri¹ship. With 'has graciously accepted' he thus enumerates those deities to whom offering has been made : in saying 'Such a one has graciously accepted the oblation, such a one has graciously accepted the oblation,' he accordingly prays for the accomplishment of the sacrifice ; for whatever oblation the gods graciously accept, by that he gains great things : hence he says, '(he) has graciously accepted it.' And '(he) has grown in strength' he says, because what the gods delight in, they make mountain high : for this reason he says '(he) has increased.'

11. '(He) has acquired (lit. made for himself) greater power' he says ; for assuredly the power of the gods is the sacrifice : it is the latter therefore which they make still greater ; and for this reason he says '(he) has acquired greater power.'

12. 'May he prosper in this sacrifice which goes to the gods !' he thereby says, 'May he be successful in this sacrifice which goes to the gods.'—'Thus prays this sacrificer, N. N. ¹;' here he gives the name, and thereby makes him directly successful in his prayer.

13. 'He prays for long life,' what there (viz. at the invocation of the *idâ*)² was (called implicitly) 'future worship of the gods,' that is here (called) expressly 'long life.'

¹ Âsv. S. reads twice asau 'N.N., N.N. ;' and the commentary remarks that the Hotri has here to pronounce both the ordinary name of the sacrificer, and his nâkshatra name (i. e. the mystic name given him for the duration of the sacrifice, and derived from the respective lunar mansion, or its tutelary deity). This practice was probably not yet in vogue in the time of our author. Cf. Weber, *Nakshatra* II, p. 316 seq.

² See I, 8, 1, 30 seq.

14. 'He prays for abundant offspring,'—what then was 'more abundant offering,' that is here expressly 'abundant offspring.' He who proceeds in this way will ensure dominion. He may, however, say, 'He prays for future worship of the gods,' for thereby (he ensures) long life, offspring, cattle¹.

15. 'He prays for more abundant offering,' thereby (he prays for) that same object. 'He prays for dominion over his co-evals (or countrymen);'—his co-evals, doubtless, are his vital airs, for he is born along with his vital airs: hence he thereby prays for vital airs.

16. 'He prays for a heavenly abode;'—he who sacrifices assuredly sacrifices with the desire that there may be for him also (a place) in the world of the gods: he thereby confers on him a share in the world of the gods². 'May he obtain, may he accomplish what he prays for through this offering!' he thereby says, 'May all, that he prays for through this offering, be fulfilled to him!'

17. These five prayers for blessings he offers now, and three (he offered) at the *idâ*, these are eight. Of eight syllables, truly, consists the *gâyatri* metre, and the *gâyatri* means vigour: hence he thereby imparts vigour to the prayers.

18. Let him not offer more than these; for if he offered more, he would do what is in excess; and what is in excess at the sacrifice, that remains over

¹ The ritual of the Black Yagur-veda (Taitt. Br. III, 5, 10; Taitt. S. II, 6, 9, 7) and the Âsv. S. prescribe both these formulas. The order of formulas also, as there given, differs somewhat from that of our work.

² The Black Yagur-veda and Âsv. S. insert here, 'He prays for all that is dear to him.'

for the benefit of his spiteful enemy: hence he should not offer more (prayers) than these.

19. Even less,—seven (he may offer)¹.—‘May the gods vouchsafe him that!’ he thereby says, ‘May the gods grant him that.’—‘May the god Agni solicit that from the gods, we men from Agni—,’ he thereby says, ‘May the god Agni solicit that from the gods, and we will then solicit it for this (sacrificer) from Agni—’

20. ‘—What was searched for and found²;’ they indeed searched for the sacrifice, and found it: therefore he says, ‘what was searched for and found.’—And ‘may both heaven and earth guard this one (enam) from anxiety!’ he thereby says, ‘may both heaven and earth protect him from suffering.’

21. Here now some say, ‘And may both heaven and earth guard me (mâ³) . . .,’ arguing that in this way the Hotṛi does not exclude himself from the benediction. Let him not, however, say this; for, surely, the benediction at the sacrifice is for the sacrificer: what then have the officiating priests to do with it? Whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke at the sacrifice, that is for the sacrificer only. On the other hand, whoever says, ‘and may both heaven and earth guard me . . .,’ does not establish

¹ That is, if he chooses to omit the second formula mentioned in par. 14.

² ‘*Ishtam ka vittam ka.*’ This is also the reading of the Âsv. S. (? ‘What was wished for and obtained’). The Kânva text reads ‘*ishtam ka vittam kâbhût.*’ Our author seems here to refer to the legend in I, 5, 2, 6 seq., or to that in I, 6, 2, 1 seq. The reading of the Black Yagus, *ishtam ka vittam ka*, ‘what has been offered up and accepted (eaten by the gods),’ is probably the original and correct one.

³ The Kânva recension, the Black Yagur-veda, and Âsv. S. read *no*, ‘us.’

that blessing anywhere: let him therefore say, 'and may both heaven and earth guard this one. . . .'

22. 'Hither lies the course of any boon;' he thereby makes over to this (sacrificer) whatever is excellent in the sacrifice: for this reason he says, 'hither lies the course of any boon.'

23. 'And this adoration (shall be offered) to the gods!' having attained the completion of the sacrifice, he thereby renders adoration to the gods: for this reason he says, 'and this adoration to the gods!'

24. Thereupon he pronounces the 'All-hail and blessing' (*śam-yos*)¹. Now it was Samyu Bârhaspatya who perceived, in its true nature, the consummation of the sacrifice. He went to share in the world of the gods. Thereupon that (knowledge) was entirely lost to men.

25. It then became known to the *Rîshis*, that Samyu Bârhaspatya had perceived, in its true nature, the consummation of the sacrifice, and had gone to share in the world of the gods. By pronouncing the *śam-yo*, they attained to that same consummation of the sacrifice which Samyu Bârhaspatya had perceived; and to that same consummation of the sacrifice, which Samyu Bârhaspatya had perceived, this (*Hotri*)

¹ See p. 247, note 2. The original meaning of the terms *śam yos*, as they occur in the *Rig-veda*, is happily rendered by Professor Max Müller (*Translation of the Rig-veda*, I, p. 182) by 'health and wealth.' In the sacrificial ceremonial a deeper significance has come to be attached to this benedictory formula, for which it is difficult to find an exact equivalent. The entire *śamyu-vâka*, as here given, forms part of a *khila* to the last book of the *Rîk-Samhitâ*; cf. Max Müller's edition, vol. vi. p. 32; A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IV, p. 431. The Black Yagus version of the legend regarding Samyu Bârhaspatya (*Taitt. S.* II, 6, 10) is quite different from ours; they were both invented to explain *śam yos*.

attains by pronouncing the *saṁ-yoḥ*. For this reason he pronounces the 'All-hail and blessing.'

26. He intones, 'We long for that All-hail and blessing (*saṁ-yoḥ*);' whereby he says, 'We long for that consummation of the sacrifice which Samyu Bârhaspatya perceived.

27. 'Success to the sacrifice, success to the lord of sacrifice!' he who wishes for the consummation of the sacrifice, thereby wishes success to the sacrifice and success to the lord of sacrifice.—'Bliss (*svasti*) to us, bliss to men!' he thereby says, 'May we enjoy bliss among the gods, bliss among men!'—'May the means of salvation ascend on high!' he thereby says, 'May this sacrifice secure for us the world of the gods!'

28. 'All-hail, for us, to the two-footed, all-hail to the four-footed¹!' for so far as the two-footed and the four-footed (extend), so far does this universe (extend). Having now attained the consummation of the sacrifice, he bids All-hail to this (sacrificer), and for this reason he says, 'All-hail, for us, to the two-footed, all-hail to the four-footed!'

29. He then touches (the earth) thus with this (finger)². Non-human, verily, he becomes at the

¹ This formula occurs almost identically in Rig-veda VI, 74, 1; VII, 54, 1; (IX, 69, 7.) Cf. Max Müller, Translation of the Rig-veda, I, p. 180, where attention is drawn to a somewhat similar phrase in the Umbric prayers of the Eugubian tables.

² In Kâty. III, 6, 21 the touching of the altar is prescribed, with the text *Vâg*. S. II, 19 b; the commentators differ as to whether the sacrificer or the *Adhvaryu* is to do this. The *Kânva Samhitâ* omits that formula, and hence assigns this touching to the *Hotri*. *Harisvâmin* remarks that the *Hotri* touches the earth with the little finger of his right hand, as stated in the *Kânva* recension. The latter reads 'with the little finger.' No mention is made in the *Âsv. S.* of this touching of the earth on the part of the *Hotri*.

time when he is chosen for the office of sacrificial priest; and, this earth being a safe standing-place, he thereby (viz. by touching the earth) stands on this safe standing-place; and he thereby also again becomes human: for this reason he thus touches (the earth) with this (finger).

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

THE PATŪSAMYÂGAS.

1. Being about to perform the *patŭsamyâgas*¹, they betake themselves back to the Gârhapatya fire. The Adhvaryu takes the *guhû* and *sruva*, the Hotri the veda, and the Âgnîdhra the butter-(melting) pot.

2. Here now the Adhvaryu, according to some, passes the Âhavantya on the east side. Let him not, however, do this; for were he to walk on that side, he would be outside the sacrifice.

3. According to others, the Adhvaryu walks (so as to pass) behind the (sacrificer's) wife². Let him not, however, do this either; for verily the Adhvaryu is the fore-part, and the wife is the hind-part of the sacrifice: hence, if he were to pass so, it would be as if one were to put his head behind; and he (the Adhvaryu) would be outside the sacrifice.

¹ The meaning of the term seems to be 'offerings made (to some deities) along with the wives (of the gods);' the deities to whom the four offerings are made, being Soma, *Tvashtri*, the *Devapatnya* (wives of the gods), and *Agni Grîhpati*.

² The lady of the house occupies a seat south-west of the Gârhapatya fire. See I, 3, 1, 12. The Adhvaryu now sits down with raised knees (south of her, with his face to the north-east). Kâty. III, 7, 5. The Âgnîdhra sits down in the same way north of the fire, with his face to the south, and the Hotri in the middle; cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 151.

4. According to others, the Adhvaryu passes between the wife (and the Gârhapatya fire). Let him not, however, do this either; for were he to pass that way, he would cut off the wife from the sacrifice. Along the east side of the Gârhapatya and the inner side of the Âhavanîya (he passes); for thus he is not outside the sacrifice; and as before, in walking forward (to the Âhavanîya), he passed along the inner side, so he now also takes that path.

5. They now perform the *patñisamyâgas*. From the sacrifice offspring is assuredly produced; and (that offspring) produced from the sacrifice is produced from union; and (the offspring) produced from union is produced after (in consequence of) the completion¹ of the sacrifice: hence one thereby (i.e. by the *patñisamyâgas*) causes that (offspring) to be produced by means of a productive union after the completion of the sacrifice. And so now also offspring is produced by means of a productive union after the completion of the sacrifice. This is why they now perform the *patñisamyâgas*.

6. He makes offering to four deities. Four doubtless means a couple; for a couple means a pair (*dvandva*, lit. two and two), and two and two indeed they are: thus a productive union is thereby effected; and accordingly he makes offering to four deities.

7. He makes (the offerings) of butter for sacrificial food. Butter indeed means seed: hence he thereby scatters seed, and therefore makes them of butter for sacrificial food.

¹ Or, 'is produced from the hind-part of the sacrifice,' i. e. from the sacrificer's wife, seated behind the altar, see par. 3.

8. In a low voice they engage in this (performance)¹. Secretly, doubtless, union takes place; and secretly also (takes place) what (is spoken) in a low voice: this is why they perform in a low voice.

9. He first makes offering to Soma. Soma indeed means seed; hence he thereby scatters seed: this is why he makes offering to Soma.

10. He then makes offering to *Tvashtri*. Now, it is *Tvashtri* who transforms seed which is scattered. Accordingly it is he who transforms the seed now scattered²: this is why he makes offering to *Tvashtri*.

11. He then makes offering to the wives of the gods. In the wives, in the womb, the seed assuredly is planted, and thence it is produced; hence he thereby plants the seed in the wives, in the womb; and thence it is produced: for this reason he makes offering to the wives of the gods.

12. When he offers to the wives of the gods, he shuts (the fire) out from view on the eastern side; for, up to the time when they offer to the *samishṭa-yagus*, the deities continue waiting, thinking, 'This

¹ The Adhvaryu calls on the *Hotri*: 'For Soma (*Tvashtri*, &c. respectively)' (in a low voice)—'recite!' (aloud). The *Hotri* then recites the invitatory prayer (*anuvâkyâ*, for which see *Ârv. Sr. I, 10, 5*) in a low voice, except the concluding 'om!' which he pronounces aloud. The Adhvaryu now calls on the *Âgnîdhra*, who responds with '*Astu sraushat*.' Thereupon the Adhvaryu calls on the *Hotri*, 'For Soma,' &c. (in a low voice),—'pronounce the offering prayer!' (aloud); and the *Hotri* recites the *yâgyâ*, in a low voice, except the concluding '*Vaushat*,' which is pronounced aloud, and simultaneously with which the Adhvaryu pours the oblation (consisting of four ladlings of butter from the butter-pot into the *guhû*, by means of the *sruva*) into the fire.

² He does so in his capacity of divine artificer and architect.

he must offer up to us!' He thereby conceals (this offering) from them; and accordingly Yâgñavalkya says, 'Whenever human women here eat¹ (they do so) apart from men.'

13. He then makes offering to Agni, the householder. Agni, indeed, is this world: hence it is for this world that he thereby produces offspring and that this offspring is produced: this is why he makes offering to Agni, the householder.

14. This (ceremony) concludes with the *idâ*²; for here are neither enclosing-sticks nor the prastara-bunch. For on that occasion when he wishes the sacrificer good-speed (*svagâ*)³ by (offering) the prastara, good-speed is at the same time wished to this consort also, since the wife comes (immediately) after the husband. But were he to use a substitute for the prastara-bunch, he would produce lassitude (in the wife): for this reason this (ceremony) should conclude with the *idâ*. Nevertheless a substitute for the prastara is (optionally) made.

15. If he choose to use a substitute for the prastara, he thereby wishes the wife good-speed just as

¹ *Gighatsanti*, 'eat greedily, swallow their food.' The Kânva text does not mention Yâgñavalkya, but merely says, 'hence women also here swallow their food apart from men.'

² The *idâ*-ceremony (I, 8, 1, 18) is repeated after the *patñisam-yâgas*, together with the *Samyuvâka* and the offering of remains, but with special reference to the mistress of the house. Since the prastara-bunch and the enclosing-sticks have already been consumed by the fire, the *Sûktavâka* is omitted on the present occasion; the *Adhvaryu* merely throwing a stalk of the reed-grass of the veda into the fire, as a substitute for the stalk of the prastara (representing the sacrificer).

³ See I, 8, 3, 11 seq.

he wishes the sacrificer good-speed by means of the prastara.

16. If he choose to use a substitute for the prastara, he plucks out one stalk from the veda, and anoints its top in the *guhû*, its middle part in the *sruva*, and its lower end in the butter-pan.

17. The *Āgnīdhra* then says, 'Throw (it) after¹!' [The *Adhvaryu*] having thrown it silently after (the prastara into the fire), touches himself, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 16 f*), 'Guardian of the eye art thou, O Agni, guard mine eye!' and in this way he avoids throwing himself after (the prastara into the fire).

18. He (the *Āgnīdhra*) then says (to the *Adhvaryu*), 'Discourse together!' (The *Adhvaryu* says), 'Has he gone (to the gods), *Āgnīdh*?' 'He has gone!' 'Bid (the gods) hear!' 'May (one or they) hear!' 'Good-speed to the divine *Hotrī*! Success to the human!' [Then the *Adhvaryu* to the *Hotrī*], 'Pronounce the "All-hail and blessing!"'

19. Thereupon² he (the *Adhvaryu*) seizes at the same time the *guhû* and *sruva*. On the former occasion³ indeed, by anointing (the prastara), he

¹ See I, 8, 3, 19 seq.

² That is, after the *Hotrī* has again recited the *Samyuvâka*, in the same way as above, I, 9, 1, 26-29.

³ Viz. at the offering of the remains of butter (I, 8, 3, 23), of which the present ceremony is the counterpart. Dr. Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollm.* p. 160, (after a scholiast) calls this modification *Pragraha-homa* (offered to Agni *adabdhâyu asītama*). According to *Kâty. III, 7, 18; 19*, this ceremony is followed by the performance, in the *Dakshina* fire, of two (*guhōti*) oblations of butter, to Agni *saṃvesapati* and *Sarasvatī* respectively (see the formulas *Vâg. S. II, 20 b, c*); and the *pishālepa-āhuti* to the *Virve Devâh*, being an offering of the remnants of dough, left from the preparation of the sacrificial cakes. These offerings would then be succeeded by the ceremonies treated in par. 21 seq.

made (the sacrificer) an oblation, thus thinking, 'May he go to the world of the gods as an oblation!' For this reason he now seizes the *guhû* and *sruva* at the same time.

20. He seizes them for Agni, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 20 a*), 'O Agni, unimpaired in vigour, far-reacher!' because Agni is immortal, he says, 'unimpaired in vigour;' and because Agni is farthest-reaching, he says, 'far-reacher¹.'—'Guard me from the thunderbolt! guard me from bonds! guard me from defective sacrifice! guard me from noxious food!' he thereby says, 'Protect me from all kinds of injury!'—'Make our nourishment free from poison!'—nourishment means food: 'make our food wholesome, faultless!' this is what he thereby says.—'In the lap, pleasant to sit in;' he thereby says, 'in thyself.'—'Svâhâ! Vât!' since one offers what has been consecrated by 'vashaṭ,' this (residue of butter) thereby becomes such for him.

21. The mistress then unties the veda-bunch. The altar (*vedi*) assuredly is female and the veda is male. For union the veda was made: and accordingly when he touches (the altar) with it during the sacrifice, a union productive of offspring is thereby effected.

22. And (the reason) why it is the mistress who unties the veda (is this): the mistress is female and the veda is male; consequently a union productive of offspring is thereby effected: this is why the mistress unties the veda.

23. She unties it. Should she wish to do so

¹ Harisvâmin derives *asîta* and *asish/ha* from *as*, 'to eat' (instead of from *as*, 'to reach, penetrate'), hence 'the greatest eater.' Mahâdhara gives both derivations.

with a Yagus-text, let her do so with this one (Vâg. S. II, 21 a), 'The Veda art thou: whereby thou, O divine Veda, hast become Veda for the gods, thereby mayest thou become Veda for me!'

24. (The Hotri) strews it (from the Gârhapatya) as far as (the east end of) the altar²; for the altar is female and the veda is male; and from behind the male approaches the female: from behind (i. e. west) he accordingly causes it (the altar) to be approached by that male, the veda. For this reason he strews (the grass of the veda) as far as (the east end of) the altar.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES.

25. He (the Adhvaryu) now makes the samishṭa-yagus-oblation, thinking, 'In the east my sacrifice shall be completed!' Were he to perform the samishṭa-yagus-oblation first and then the patnī-samyâgas, that sacrifice of his would be completed in the west (behind the sacrificer)³: hence he makes

¹ According to Kâty. III, 8, 2, the lady thereupon unties the grass-cord with which she was girt (see I, 3, 1, 12), with the text, 'I free myself from Varuṇa's noose wherewith the gracious Savitri bound me; place me unscathed, together with my husband, in the lap of eternal law, in the world of righteousness!' Âsv. I, 11, 3, however, assigns this ceremony to the Hotri; and no doubt rightly, since it is not mentioned by our author, and the Vâg. S. does not give the formula. Thereby also the original form of the text (Rig-veda X, 85, 24), 'I free thee,' &c., is preserved. Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. here takes 'veda' either in the sense of 'the Veda (Rîk, &c.),' or as 'the knower.' Perhaps it should rather be taken as 'the obtainer.'

² Thus â vedeḥ is explained by Harisvâmin (according to comm. on Kâty. III, 8, 3). Others take it in the sense of 'up to where the barhis begins.'

³ The patnī-samyâgas were performed in the Gârhapatya fire, and therefore west of the altar; and on their completion, the priests betake themselves back to the Âhavaniya.

the samish/ayagus-oblation at this particular time, thinking, 'In the east my sacrifice shall be completed!'

26. Now as to why it is called samish/ayagus¹: whatever deities he invites through this (new or full-moon) sacrifice, and for whichever deities this sacrifice is performed, all those are thereby 'sacrificed to together' (sam-ish/a); and because he now makes a (butter) oblation² to all those deities, who have been 'sacrificed to together,' therefore this (oblation) is called samish/ayagus.

27. And again as to why he performs the samish/ayagus: whatever deities he invites through this sacrifice, and for whichever deities this sacrifice is performed, they continue waiting until the samish/ayagus is performed, thinking, 'This he must offer to us!' These same (deities) he thereby dismisses in due form; and whatever be the practice in their case in accordance with that he has, in thus performing it, produced the sacrifice, and having thus produced it he now establishes it safely where there is a safe basis for it: this is why he performs the samish/ayagus.

28. He makes the offering, with the text (Vāg. S. II, 21 b), 'Ye path-finding gods,'—for the gods

¹ The real original meaning of the term would rather seem to have been 'the formula marking the completion of the sacrifice,' it having afterwards come to be applied to the oblation (to the wind-god) itself. Cf. par. 30 and Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 232.

² Or rather, 'because to all those deities to whom an ish/i (or yagati-offering, made by the Adhvaryu standing south of the altar; and followed or accompanied by the vasha/-call) has been offered in common, he now makes an âhuti (or guhoti-offering, made by him whilst standing north of the altar, with the svâhâ-call).'

are indeed the finders of the path¹;—‘Having found the path—,’ thereby he says, ‘having found the sacrifice;’—‘Walk in the path!’ thereby he dismisses them in due form;—‘O divine Lord of mind, this sacrifice—Svâhâ!—give to the wind!’ for the sacrifice, indeed, is that blowing one (the wind). Having accordingly prepared this (special) sacrifice, he thereby establishes it safely in that (chief, full or new-moon) sacrifice, and thus unites sacrifice with sacrifice: for this reason he says, ‘Svâhâ! give (it) to the wind!’

29. He then offers up the barhis. The barhis, truly, is this world, and the barhis (consists of) plants: hence he thereby bestows plants on this world, and these plants are safely established in this world: for this reason he offers up the barhis.

30. This offering he makes as an additional one, since the samishāyagus is the end of the sacrifice, and consequently what comes after the samishāyagus is additional; and because, in performing the samishāyagus, he offers to those (deities²), and thence additional unlimited plants are here produced.

31. He offers it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 22), ‘May the barhis combine with the sacrificial food, with the butter! May Indra combine with the Âdityas, the Vasus, the Maruts, and the Visve Devâh! May what (has been offered with) ‘Svâhâ’ go up to the heavenly ether³!’

32. Having thereupon walked round (from the

¹ Mahidhara refers gâtu-vidâh and vittvâ to vid, ‘to know.’

² According to Harisvâmin, he does so, since that offering is made for the sake of dismissing (satisfying) the deities.

³ Mahidhara interprets, ‘May Indra—together with the Âdityas, the Vasus, the Maruts, and the Visve Devâh—anoint the barhis thoroughly with the havis-like ghee,’ &c.

north side of the Âhavantya fire) to the south, he pours the *pranîta*-water¹ out (on the altar). Now, when he spreads the sacrifice, he yokes it. But were he not to pour out (the *pranîta*-water), the sacrifice, being unyoked, would, in moving backward, injure the sacrificer. In this way, however, the sacrifice does not injure the sacrificer; and for this reason he pours out the *pranîta*-water, after walking round to the south.

33. He pours it out, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 23 a), 'Who² unyokes thee? He unyokes thee! For whom does he unyoke thee? For him he unyokes thee! For plenty!' He thereby announces to the sacrificer the highest prosperity. He pours it out with the same (vessel) with which he brings it forward; for wherewith they yoke the team, therewith they also unyoke it: with the yoke-tie they yoke it, and with the yoke-tie they unyoke it. By means of a potsherd he now throws the refuse from the cleaning of the rice³ right under the black antelope skin; with the text (Vâg. S. II, 23 b), 'The Rakshas' share art thou!'

34. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending about this sacrifice, (that is, their) father Pragâpati, the year. 'Ours it (he) shall be! ours it shall be,' they said.

35. Thereupon the gods obtained possession of the whole of the sacrifice, and dispossessed those

¹ See p. 9, note 1.

² Or, Pragâpati . . . , see I, 1, 1, 13, with note.

³ See I, 1, 4, 23-24. According to the Paddhati on Kâty. III, 8, the Adhvaryu holds the deer-skin with his left hand over the *utkara*, or heap of rubbish, and pours the refuse under the skin on the *utkara*.

(Asuras) of it by (giving them) what was the worst part of the sacrifice, to wit, with the blood of the victim (they dispossessed them) of the animal sacrifice, and with the refuse of the rice of the havir-yagñā. 'May they be duly dispossessed of the sacrifice,' they thought; for he indeed is duly dispossessed, who is dispossessed even while obtaining a (worthless) share. He, on the other hand, who is dispossessed without any share whatever, hopes for a while, and when it occurs to him, he says, 'What share hast thou given me?' Hence what share the gods set apart for those (Asuras), that same share he now makes over to them in pouring (the refuse of the rice) right under the black antelope skin. He thereby casts it into blind darkness, where there is no (sacrificial) fire. And in the same way he casts the blood of the victim into blind darkness, where there is no fire; thinking, 'Thou art the Rakshas' share!' For this reason they use not the gore of the victim (for sacrificial purposes), since it is the Rakshas' share.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. The sacrifice being now complete, he (the Adhvaryu) walks round (the fire) to the south, and pours out a vessel (of water); for thus it is (poured out) towards north: therefore he pours it out after walking round to the south. He who sacrifices, doubtless, sacrifices with a desire that he also may obtain a place in the world of the gods. That sacrifice of his then goes forth towards the world of the gods: after it follows the fee which he gives (to the priests), and holding on to the priests' fee (follows) the sacrificer.

2. That same path leads either to the gods or to the fathers¹. On both sides two flames are ever burning: they scorch him who deserves to be scorched, and allow him to pass who deserves to pass². Now, water is (a means of) lustration: hence he thereby lustrates that path.

3. A full (vessel) he pours out, because full means all: hence he thereby lustrates that (path) by means of the All. He pours it out continuously, uninterruptedly: hence he thereby lustrates that (path) in a continuous, uninterrupted manner.

4. And again why he pours out a vessel (of water) is: where anything is done wrongly at the sacrifice, there they tear or wound it; and—water being (a means of) lustration—he lustrates it by that (means of) lustration, water; he heals it with water.

5. A full (vessel) he pours out, because full means all: hence he thereby heals it by means of the All. Continuously, uninterruptedly he pours it out: hence he thereby heals it in a continuous (lasting), uninterrupted manner.

6. He (the sacrificer) intercepts it with his open hands held together, while reciting the text (Vâg.

¹ Cf. Mahâbh. XII, 525, 'Two paths are known, one leading to the gods, and one leading to the fathers;' and ib. XIII, 1082, 'That sun is said to be the gate of the paths leading to the gods; and that moon is said to be the gate of the paths leading to the fathers.' See also *Khand.* Up. V, 3. In *Sat. Br.* VI, 6, 2, 4 the gate of the heavenly world is said to be situated in the north-east; whilst that of the world of the fathers, according to XIII, 8, 1, 5, lies in the south-east. Cf. *Kaushit. Up.* I, 2 seq. (Max Müller, *Up.* I, p. 274), 'Verily, the moon is the door of the heavenly world,' &c.

² According to *Harisvâmin*, they scorch him who has not fulfilled his duties, and allow him to pass who has done so.

S. II, 24), 'We have united with lustre, with vigour, with the bodies¹, with the happy spirit. May Tvashtri, the dispenser of boons, grant us riches, and make even what was injured in our body!' What was torn, that he thereby heals.

7. He then touches his face (with the water in his hands). The reason why he thus touches his face is twofold : water means ambrosia, and with ambrosia he accordingly touches himself; also he thereby transfers to himself that sacred work (the sacrifice): for these reasons he touches his face.

8. He now strides the (three) Vishnu-strides. He who sacrifices assuredly gratifies the gods. In gratifying the gods by that sacrifice—partly by *riks*, partly by *yagus*, partly by oblations—he acquires a share among them; and having acquired a share among them, he goes to them.

9. And again why he strides the Vishnu-strides, is: Vishnu, truly, is the sacrifice, by striding (*vi-kram*) he obtained for the gods that all-pervading power (*vikrānti*) which now belongs to them. By his first step he gained this same (earth), by the second this aerial expanse, and by his last (step) the sky. And this same pervading power Vishnu, as the sacrifice, obtains by his strides for him (the sacrificer): for this reason he strides

¹ That is, with the departed persons, the fathers; or, more probably, with new bodies(?), cf. the funereal hymns, Rig-veda X, 14-18; especially X, 15, 14; 16, 5; 14, 8. Perhaps, however, it would be better to construe, 'by (our) bodies we have united with lustre and vigour; by (our) mind with bliss.' In IV, 6, 1, 1 it is said, that the sacrificer is born in the next world with his entire body; similarly XI, 1, 8, 6; XII, 8, 3, 31. For further quotations regarding the views on future existence, see A. Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 20 seq.; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, p. 314 seq.

the Vishṇu-strides. Now it is indeed from this (earth) that most (beings) go (upwards).

10. Hence (he strides thrice) with the texts (*Vâg. S. II, 25 a-c*), 'On the earth Vishṇu strode by means of the gâyatrî metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'In the air Vishṇu strode by means of the trishṭubh metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'In the sky Vishṇu strode by means of the gagatî metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' When one has thus ascended these worlds, that is the goal, that the safe refuge: the rays of him (the sun) who burns there, are the righteous (departed)¹; and what highest light there is², that is Pragâpati or the heavenly world. Having then in this way ascended these worlds, he reaches that goal, that safe refuge. Now he who wishes to give instructions from hence, should come hitherwards from above. Twofold is the reason why he should come hitherwards from above:

11. By (or, from) the escape (of the enemies)³ indeed the conquering gods formerly gained first the sky, and then this aerial expanse; and there-

¹ In VI, 5, 4, 8 we shall meet with the statement, that 'the stars (nakshatra) are the lights of righteous men who go to the heavenly world.' In the same passage, however (as in others), the nakshatras (lunar mansions) are represented as divine female beings (with unclipped wings; cf. *Vâg. S. XI, 61*), with whom, in IX, 4, 1, 9, the moon is said to live together, as the Gandharvas with the Apsaras.

² See par. 16 with note. The Kânva text reads, 'yat param bhâti.'

³ *Apasaraṇataḥ*; i. e. by allowing the enemies to escape, viz. first from the sky to the air, and then from the air to the earth. It also, however, has the meaning of 'from escape;' that is, the gods drove the enemies to the earth, whence there was no escape for them.

upon they drove their enemies away from this (earth), whence there was no escape. And in like manner he (the priest) also by the escape (of the enemies) gains first the sky, and then this aerial expanse; and thereupon he drives his enemies away from this (earth), whence there is no escape. This earth indeed is a firm footing: hence he thereby stands firm on this firm footing.

12. And in this way also (he may stride)¹: 'In the sky Vishṇu strode by means of the *gagati* metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'In the air Vishṇu strode by means of the *trishṭubh* metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'On the earth Vishṇu strode by means of the *gâyatri* metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!'—With the texts (*Vâg. S. II, 25 d, e*), '(Excluded) from this food! from this resort!' (*pratishṭhâ*, he looks down upon his portion and the altar respectively.) For on this (earth) all this food is safely established (*pratishṭhita*): for this reason he says, 'From this food! from this resort!'

13. He then looks towards the east. The east, indeed, is the region of the gods: for this reason he looks towards the east.

14. He looks, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 25 f*), 'We have gone to the realm of light (*svar*).' The

¹ The sacrificer in making the strides of Vishṇu, may begin either with the stride on earth or with that in the sky (*Kâty. III, 8, 11, 12*). He begins from the southern hip (or south-west corner) of the altar, and makes three strides eastward with his right foot in front, reciting one formula with each stride, along the south side of the altar up to the *Âhavanîya* fire.

realm of light assuredly means the gods: hence he thereby says, 'We have gone to the gods.'—With (ib. g), 'We have united with splendour' (he looks on the Âhavanīya fire): he thereby says, 'We have united with the gods.'

15. He then looks up to the sun, for that is the final goal, that the safe resort. To that final goal, to that resort he thereby goes: for this reason he looks up to the sun.

16. He looks up, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 26 a), 'Self-existent art thou, the best ray of light!' The sun is indeed the best ray of light¹, and therefore he says, 'Self-existent art thou, the best ray of light.' "Light-bestowing art thou: give me light (varṇas)!" so say I,' said Yâgñavalkya, 'for at this indeed the Brâhmana should strive, that he be brahmavarṇasin (illumed by the brahma, or sacred writ).' Aupoditeya², on the other hand, said, 'He indeed will give me cows³: (therefore I say), "Cow-giving art thou, give me cows!"' Thus whatever wish he (the sacrificer) entertains (and expresses), that wish is granted to him.

17. He then turns (from left to right), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 26 b), 'I move along the course of

¹ Seven rays of the sun are mentioned, Rig-veda I, 105, 9; II, 5, 2; Âth.-veda VII, 107, 1. Mahidhara remarks that four of them lie in, or point to, the four quarters; one pointing upwards and another downwards; and the seventh, and best, being the disc of the sun itself, called Hiranyagarbha. This apparently is the param bhâs, or most excellent light, which in par. 10 is identified with Pragâpati, or the heavenly world.

² That is, Tumiṅga Aupoditeya Vaiyâghrapadya, as the Kâṇva text reads; cf. Taitt. S. I, 7, 2, 1.

³ The heavenly rays of light are regarded as the heavenly cows, Naigh. I, 5; Nir. II, 6.

the sun;’ having reached that final goal, that safe resort, he now moves along the course of that (sun)¹.

18. Thereupon he steps to (upa-sthâ) the Gârhapatya fire. Twofold is the reason why he steps to the Gârhapatya : the Gârhapatya is a house, and a house is a safe resort, hence he thereby stays in a house, that is, in a safe resort. And, besides, what full measure of human life there is for him here, that he thereby attains (upa-sthâ). This is why he steps to the Gârhapatya fire.

19. He steps to it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 27 a), ‘O householder Agni, may I become a good householder through thee, O Agni, the householder! Mayest thou, O Agni, become a good householder through me, the householder!’ there is nothing in this requiring explanation.—‘May our household matters be unlike a cart with only one bullock,’ he thereby says, ‘may our household matters be free from calamities;’—‘for a hundred winters!’ he thereby says, ‘may I live a hundred years.’ He need not, however, say this; for man lives even longer than a hundred years : hence he need not say this.

20. He then turns (from left to right), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 27 b), ‘I move along the course of the sun:’ having reached that final goal, that safe resort, he now moves along the course of that (sun).

21. Now (in pronouncing the following text) he

¹ When he has executed the *pradakshinâ* movement, he has to repeat the movement in the opposite direction, in accordance with the general rule, Kâty. I, 8, 24. The same applies to par. 20. On the sun-wise circumambulation, with and without fire, see p. 37 note, p. 45 note; also Martin, *Western Isles*, pp. 16–20, 85, 97, 116–119, 241, 277; Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, index, s. v. *deisiol*.

inserts his son's name: 'May this son (N. N.) carry on this manly deed of mine¹!' Should he have no son, let him insert his own name.

22. He then steps up to the Âhavantya fire. Silently he steps to it, thinking, 'In the east my sacrifice shall be completed!'

23. Thereupon he divests himself of the vow, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 28 b), 'Now am I he that I really am.' For, in entering upon the vow, he becomes, as it were, non-human; and as it would not be becoming for him to say, 'I enter from truth into untruth;' and as, in fact, he now again becomes man, let him therefore divest himself of the vow, with the text, 'Now am I he that I really am².'

¹ The Mâdhyandina text of the Vâg. S. does not give this formula. The Kâṇva text of the Samhitâ has the following (Weber's edition, p. 59), 'Woven art thou, a web art thou: weave me along (? extend my life) at this sacrifice, at this holy deed, in this food, in this world!' 'May my son weave on (continue) this work, this manly deed of mine!' Thus also Kâty. III, 8, 25. The Kâṇva text of the Brâhmana, however, mentions only the formula given above. According to Laugâkshi he names his favourite son; according to Sâṅkhâya, his eldest son, or as many sons as he has. See comm. on Kâty. IV, 12, 11.

² See I, 1, 1, 6. For another mode of divesting oneself of the vow, see I, 1, 1, 3.

SECOND KĀNDA.

THE AGNYĀDHĀNA, THE AGNIHOTRA, THE
PINDAPITRĪYAGŪA, THE ĀGRAYANESHṬI,
AND THE KĀTURMĀSYĀNI.

I. THE AGNYĀDHĀNA OR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
SACRED FIRES.

FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

THE Agny-âdhâna (or Agny-âdheya), or ceremony of establishing a set of sacrificial fires, on the part of a young householder, is, as a rule, performed on the first day of the waxing moon. Some authorities also allow the performance to take place at full moon, probably in order to enable the newly-married couple to enter on their sacred duties with as little delay as possible. Moreover, special benefits are supposed to accrue to the performer of the ceremony from the conjunction of the new moon with certain lunar asterisms; though the author of our work, at any rate, does not seem greatly to encourage this practice, but rather to urge the pious householder to set up fires of his own, whenever he feels a longing for the sacrifice.

The normal performance of the Agnyâdhâna, as that of the full and new-moon offerings, requires two days; the first of which is taken up with preliminary rites, while the second—that is, the first day of the respective half-moon—is devoted to the chief ceremonies, beginning with the production of the sacred fire by friction. (See II, 1, 4, 8 seq.)

After the sacrificer has chosen his four officiating priests—viz. the Brahman, Hotri, Adhvaryu, and Âgnidhra (or Agnidh)—he proceeds, together with them, to erect the two sheds or ‘fire-houses.’ In order to determine their exact sites, the Adhvaryu first draws from west to east the so-called ‘easterly’ line (cf. I, 2, 5, 14), and on it marks, at 8, 11, or 12 prakramas or steps from each other, the centres of the Gârhapatya and Âhavanîya fire-places, the outlines of which he then traces, making each a square aratni or cubit in area, the former circular, the latter square. The Dakshi-

nâgni or *Anvâhârya-paṭana*, if it is required at all, is of the same area, but of semicircular form, and lies south of the space between the altar and the *Gârhapatya* fire. The *Gârhapatya* fire-house is constructed with its laths running either from west to east, or from south to north, and a door on the south side; and so as to enclose both the *Gârhapatya* and *Dakshina* fires. The *Âhavanīya* fire-house, on the other hand, with its laths necessarily running from west to east, and an entrance from the east, contains the *Âhavanīya* fire and the altar (*vedi*) adjoining it on the west, and partly enclosing it with its 'shoulders' on the north and south sides. The two houses are also open to each other on the inner side; and sufficient space is left on all sides for freely moving around the fires.

The *Adhvaryu* then procures a temporary fire,—either producing it by friction, or obtaining it from certain specified sources in the village,—and after the usual fivefold lustration of the *Gârhapatya* fire-place (cf. p. 2), he lays down the fire thereon. Towards sunset the sacrificer [while seated east of the *Âhavanīya* house] invokes the gods and manes with 'Gods, fathers! fathers, gods! I sacrifice, being who I am; neither will I exclude him whose I am: mine own shall be the offering, mine own the toiling, mine own the sacrifice!' He then enters the *Âhavanīya* house from the east, passes through it to the *Gârhapatya*, and sits down behind (west of) the fire; his wife at the same time entering the *Gârhapatya* house from the south and seating herself south of him,—both facing the east. Thereupon the *Adhvaryu* hands to the sacrificer two pieces of wood (*arani*),—if possible, of *asvattha*, grown out of a *samî* tree,—to be used next morning for the production (or 'churning') of the sacred fire by one of them (the upper *arani*) being rapidly drilled in a hole in the other (or lower *arani*). [The sacrificer and his wife then lay the upper and lower sticks respectively on their laps; whereupon certain propitiatory ceremonies are performed by them, and honours are paid to the priests and the sticks; and the latter are finally deposited on a seat.] In the house of the *Gârhapatya* a he-goat may then be tied up for the night, which, if it belong to the sacrificer, is to be presented by him to the *Âgnidhra* on the completion of the sacrifice.

After sunset the *Adhvaryu* measures out four vessels of husked rice grains—each containing three handfuls, which quantity is considered sufficient to furnish a meal for one man—on an ox-hide died red [and spread out with the hairy side upwards and the neck-part to the east]. With this rice the (*odana*) *Ātushprāśya*, or 'pap) to be eaten by the four (priests),' is prepared on the provisional *Gârhapatya* fire. When it is ready, the *Adhvaryu* makes a hollow in the pap and pours clarified butter into it. He then takes

three kindling-sticks (*samidh*), anoints them with some of that ghee, and puts them on the fire one after another, with texts (cf. note on II, 1, 4, 5). Thereupon the sacrificer [having paid due honours to the priests by washing their feet and giving them perfumes and wreaths, &c., and assigned to each his share] bids them eat.

During the night the sacrificer and his wife have to remain awake and keep up the fire. When the night clears up, the *Adhvaryu* extinguishes the fire, or, if there is to be a *Dakṣhiṇāgni*, he takes it southwards and keeps it in a safe place till that fire is made up. He then draws with the wooden sword three lines across the fire-place and proceeds with the preparation of the hearth-mounds in the way set forth in the first *Brāhmaṇa* of this Book.

1. Now when he equips (*Agni*, the fire) from this and that quarter, that is the equipping (of the fire) with its equipments¹. In whatever (objects) some of (the nature of) *Agni* is inherent, therewith he equips (the fire); and in thus equipping it he supplies it partly with splendour, partly with cattle, partly with a mate.

2. In the first place he (the *Adhvaryu*) draws (three) lines (with the wooden sword on the *Gârha-patya* fire-place²). Whatever part of this earth

¹ The verb here translated by 'to equip,' is *sam-bhṛi*, 'to carry, or bring, together, to collect;' and then 'to make the necessary preparations, to prepare;' hence *sambhâra*, 'the preparation, outfit,' the technical term for the objects employed in the preparation of the fire-place, with the view of symbolically ensuring success to the fire. In paragraphs 3 seq. the primary meaning 'to bring (together)' has been used, except where it seemed desirable to preserve its technical sense.

² The three lines drawn across the fire-place form a necessary part of its lustration; see p. 2. According to the *Paddhati* on *Kâty.* IV, 8, the *Adhvaryu* first makes the fivefold lustration of the hearth, and thereupon again draws the mystic lines (? or draws the outline of the fire-place, cf. *Kâty.* IV, 8, 16) and proceeds with the *sambhâras*; viz. he sprinkles the lines with water, while the sacrificer takes hold of him from behind; then puts down a piece of gold, and on it throws salt soil and the mould of a mole-hill, with which he forms the hearth-mound (*khara*)—circular in

is either trodden or spit upon, that he thereby removes from it; and he thus establishes his fire on earth that is entirely proper for the sacrifice: this is why he draws lines (across the fire-place).

3. He then sprinkles (the lines) with water. When he thus sprinkles (the fire-place) with water, that is the equipment (of the fire) with water. The reason why he brings water is that water is food; for water is indeed food: hence when water comes to this world, food is produced here. Thus he thereby supplies it (the fire) with food.

4. Water (ap, fem.), moreover, is female, and fire (agni, masc.) is male; so that he thereby supplies the latter with a productive mate. And since all this (universe) is pervaded (or obtained, âpta) by water, he sets up the fire, after he has obtained it by means of water¹. This is why he brings water.

5. He then brings (a piece of) gold. Now Agni at one time cast his eyes on the waters²: 'May I pair with them,' he thought. He came together with them; and his seed became gold³. For this reason the latter shines like fire, it being Agni's

the case of the Gârhapatya, square the Âhavanîya, and semicircular the Dakshinâgni; but each equal in area to a square aratni or cubit. Along the edge of the mound he then lays pebbles close to each other [50 on the Gârhapatya, 73 on the Âhavanîya, and 22 on the Dakshinâgni, according to the Schol. on Kâty. IV, 8, 16]. According to some authorities, the piece of gold is laid on the top of the mound. He thus prepares successively the Gârhapatya, Âhavanîya, and Dakshina hearths; afterwards, if required, those of the Sabhya and Avasathya fires, which are, like the Gârhapatya, of circular form.

¹ An etymological play on the word ap, âpaḥ, 'water,' and the verb âp, 'to obtain, pervade.'

² In the version of this myth given Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 8, the waters courted by Agni are called Varuna's wives.

³ Tâḥ sambabhûva tâsu retâḥ prâsinḥat tad hiranyam abhavat.

seed. Hence it (gold) is found in water, for he (Agni) poured it into the water. Hence also one does not cleanse oneself with it¹, nor does one do anything else with it. Now there is splendour (for the fire): for he thereby makes it to be possessed of divine seed, bestows splendour on it; and sets up a fire completely endowed with seed. That is why he brings gold.

6. He then brings salt. Yonder sky assuredly bestowed that (salt as) cattle on this earth: hence they say that salt soil is suitable for cattle. That (salt), therefore, means cattle; and thus he thereby visibly supplies it (the fire) with cattle; and the latter having come from yonder (sky) is securely established on this earth. Moreover, that (salt) is believed to be the savour (*rasa*) of those two, the sky and the earth²: so that he thereby supplies it (the fire) with the savour of those two, the sky and the earth. That is why he brings salt.

7. He then brings (the earth of) a mole-hill (*ākhu-kartsha*)³. The moles certainly know the

¹ *Sâyana* interprets *enena na dhāvayati* by 'he does not clean (his teeth) with it';—the *St. Petersburg Dict.* by 'he does not get himself conveyed (driven) by it.' The *Kāṇva* text has: *Tasmād enad apsv evānuvindanty apsu punanty apsu hy enat prāśiṇkan nainena dhāvayanti na kim kṇa kurvanti*.

² Cf. *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 2*: 'The sky and the earth were (originally) close together. On being separated they said to each other, "Let there be a common sacrificial essence (*yagnīyam*) for us!" What sacrificial essence there was belonging to yonder sky, that it bestowed on this earth, that became the salt (in the earth); and what sacrificial essence there was belonging to this earth, that it bestowed on yonder sky, that became the black (spots) in the moon. When he throws salt (on the fire-place), let him think it to be that (*viz.* the black in the moon): it is on the sacrificial essence of the sky and the earth that he sets up his fire.'

³ On the mythic connection of (the white, sharp teeth of) the

savour of this earth : hence, by entering deeper and deeper into this earth, they (grow) very fat, knowing, as they do, its savour ; and wherever they know the savour of this earth to be, there they cast it up. Hence he thereby supplies it (the fire) with the savour of this earth : that is why he brings a mole-hill. Moreover, they say of one who has attained prosperity (or splendour, *sri*) that he is *purîshya* ; and *purîsha* and *karîsha*¹ doubtless mean one and the same thing : it is, therefore, for his (Agni's or the sacrificer's) attainment of splendour (*sri*) that he brings a mole-hill.

8. He then brings pebbles. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, once contended for superiority. This earth was then trembling like a lotus-leaf ; for the wind was tossing it hither and thither : now it came near the gods, now it came near the Asuras. When it came near the gods,—

9. They said, 'Come, let us steady this resting-place ; and when firm and steady, let us set up

âkhu (mole, mouse, rat), as of that of the boar, with the thunder-bolt, see Dr. A. Kuhn's ingenious remarks, 'Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks,' p. 202. According to Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 3, Agni at one time concealed himself from the gods, and having become a mole, dug himself into the earth ; so that the mole-hills thrown up by him, have some of Agni's nature attaching to them. The Taittirîyas also put on the hearth the earth of an ant-hill, which the Brâhmana (in the same way as our author does of the mole-hill) represents as the savour (or marrow, essence) of the earth.

¹ The primary meaning of *karîsha* is 'that which is scattered, or strewn about,' hence 'refuse, rubbish' (and *âkhu-karîsha*, 'mole-cast'). Its secondary meaning, as is that of *purîsha*, is 'manure' (or perhaps also 'soft, rich mould'), an article naturally valued by an agricultural population. See I, 2, 5, 17, where *purîsha* is taken symbolically to represent cattle.

the two fires on it; whereupon we will exclude our enemies from any share in it.'

10. Accordingly, in like manner as one would stretch a skin by means of wooden pins, they fastened down this resting-place; and it formed a firm and steady resting-place. And when it was firm and steady, they set up the two fires on it; and thereupon they excluded their enemies from any share in it¹.

11. And in like manner that one (the Adhvaryu) now fastens down that resting-place by means of pebbles; and on it, when firm and steady, he sets up the two fires; whereupon he excludes the (sacrificer's) enemies from any share in it. This is the reason why he brings pebbles.

12. These then are the five equipments²: for fivefold is the sacrifice, fivefold the animal victim; and five seasons there are in the year.

¹ The corresponding myth of Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 5, though very different from ours, yet presents one or two points of resemblance. According to it, nothing was to be seen in the beginning except water and a lotus-leaf standing out above it. Pragâpati (being bent on creating the firm ground) bethought himself that the lotus-stalk must rest on something; and having assumed the form of a boar, he dived and brought up some of the earth. This he spread out (prath) on the lotus-leaf, whence originated the earth (prithivî), which he then fastened down by means of pebbles. Hence the latter are put on the hearth in order to afford a firm foundation for the fire.

² According to the authorities of the Black Yagur-veda there are not five, but fourteen sambhâras, seven of which are taken from the earth, viz. sand, salt, a mole-hill, an ant-hill, mire from a dried-up pool, pebbles, and gold; while the remaining seven consist of pieces of wood from the arvattha, udumbara, palâsa (? two pieces), samf, and vikankata trees, and from some tree that has been struck by lightning. The sprinkling of water about the fire-place is not counted by them as a sambhâra, but as one of the usual acts of lustration. Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3 seq.

13. Now, as to this, they say, 'Six seasons there are in the year.' And in that case the very deficiency (nyûna) itself is rendered a productive union¹, since it is from the lower part (nyûna, i. e. of the body) that offspring is here brought forth. Thus also a progressive improvement² (is assured to the sacrificer): for this reason there are five equipments. And when (it is nevertheless insisted on that) there are six seasons in the year, then Agni is the sixth of them, and thus there is no deficiency.

14. Here also they say, 'He should not equip it even with a single equipment!' For (they argue) all those (objects) are on this earth, and hence, when he establishes the fire on this earth, the latter of itself obtains all those equipments: he need not, therefore, equip it with a single equipment. But let him nevertheless bring (those objects) together; for when he establishes the fire on this (earth), then it obtains all the equipments; and what (benefit) accrues from the equipments being brought together, that also accrues to it³. Let him for that reason bring (the objects) together.

¹ Or, a deficient pairing is effected (on account of the uneven number). I do not quite understand Sâyana's interpretation of the passage, the published text of the commentary being apparently corrupt in one or two places. The Kâṇva text reads: *Tad âhuḥ shad'vâ ritavaḥ samvatsarasyeti yadi vai sha' ritavaḥ samvatsarasya nyûnam u vai pragananam nyûnâd vâ imâḥ pragâḥ pragâyante, &c.*

² Literally, 'a prevailing (or advancing) better-to-morrow,' *svaḥ-sreyasam uttarâvat*.

³ The drift of the author's reasoning evidently is that it is safer, by putting those objects on the fire-place, to make sure of the magic benefits of those symbols being really secured to the fire, and thereby to the sacrificer. The Kâṇva text of this paragraph, though differently worded, yields the same sense; except that it refers to

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He may set up the two fires¹ under the *Kṛittikās*; for they, the *Kṛittikās*, are doubtless Agni's asterism, so that if he sets up his fires under Agni's asterism, (he will bring about) a correspondence (between his fires and the asterism): for this reason he may set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*.

2. Moreover, the other lunar asterisms (consist of) one, two, three or four (stars), so that the *Kṛittikās* are the most numerous (of asterisms)²: hence he thereby obtains an abundance. For this reason he may set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*.

3. And again, they do not move away from the eastern quarter, whilst the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter. Thus his (two fires) are established in the eastern quarter: for this reason he may set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*.

4. On the other hand (it is argued) why he should not set up the fires under the *Kṛittikās*. Originally, namely, the latter were the wives of the Bears (*riksha*); for the seven *Rishis*³ were in former times

the sacrificer himself and to the wishes he entertains in collecting the objects.

¹ That is, the *Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya*, the two principal fires.

² Whilst the *Kṛittikās*, or *Pleiades*, are supposed to consist of seven (or, according to others, of six) stars, the remaining twenty-six *nakshatras* or lunar mansions, according to our author, vary between one and four stars. Hence the *Kṛittikās* are also called *Bahulās*, 'the numerous.' In the later accounts, however, a larger number of stars is attributed to several *nakshatras*. Cf. Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, pp. 368, 381. The *Kāṇva* text has: 'Other *nakshatras* are (i. e. consist of) four; and there is here an abundance, so that he thereby obtains abundance.'

³ *Saptarshi*, or the seven *Rishis*, is the designation of the

called the *Rīkshas* (bears). They were, however, precluded from intercourse (with their husbands), for the latter, the seven *Rishis*, rise in the north, and they (the *Kṛittikās*) in the east. Now it is a misfortune for one to be precluded from intercourse (with his wife): he should therefore not set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*, lest he should thereby be precluded from intercourse.

5. But he may nevertheless set up (his fire under the *Kṛittikās*); for Agni doubtless is their mate, and it is with Agni that they have intercourse: for this reason he may set up (the fire under the *Kṛittikās*).

6. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Rohiṇī*. For under *Rohiṇī* it was that *Pragāpati*, when desirous of progeny (or creatures), set up his fires. He created beings, and the creatures produced by him remained invariable and constant¹, like (red) cows (*rohiṇī*): hence the cow-like nature of *Rohiṇī*. Rich in cattle and offspring therefore he becomes whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fires under *Rohiṇī*.

7. Under *Rohiṇī*, indeed, the cattle set up their fires, thinking that they might attain to (*ruh*) the desire (or love) of men. They did attain to the

constellation of Ursa Major, or the Wain. In the *Rig-veda*, *rīkshāḥ* (bears) occurs once (I, 24, 10), either in the same restricted sense, or in that of stars generally.

¹ 'Tā asya *pragāḥ sriṣṭā* *ekarūpā upastabdhās tasthū rohinya iva.*' The *Kāṇva* text reads: *Tam imāḥ pragāḥ sriṣṭā rohinya ivopastabdhās tasthur ekarūpā iva.* *Sāyana* interprets *upastabdhāḥ* ('propped up, erect,' established) by '*pratibaddhagātayaḥ* (of continuous lineage),' and *ekarūpāḥ* ('uniform') by '*avikkhin-napravāhāḥ* (of uninterrupted flow or succession).' In *Taitt. Br.* I, 1, 2, 2, it is stated that *Pragāpati* created Agni under (the asterism) *Rohiṇī*, and that the gods then set up that fire under the same asterism.

desire of men; and whatever desire the cattle then obtained in regard to men, that same desire he obtains, in regard to cattle, whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fire under Rohiṇī.

8. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Mrigaśrsha*. For *Mrigaśrsha*, indeed, is the head of *Pragâpati*¹; and the head (*siras*) means excellence (*sri*), for the head does indeed mean excellence: hence they say of him who is the most excellent (*śreshṭha*) of a community, that he is the head of that community. Excellence therefore he attains whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fire under *Mrigaśrsha*.

9. On the other hand (it is argued) why one should not set up his fire under *Mrigaśrsha*². The latter, indeed, is *Pragâpati*'s body. Now, when they (the gods) on that occasion pierced him³ with what is called 'the three-knotted arrow,' he abandoned that

¹ For the mythical allusions in this and the succeeding paragraphs, we have to compare Sat. Br. I, 7, 4, 1; Ait. Br. III, 33. According to the version of the myth given in the latter work, *Pragâpati* transformed himself into a roe-buck (*ṛisya*) and approached his own daughter (either the sky, or the dawn), who had assumed the shape of a doe (*rohit*). Out of their most fearful forms the gods then fashioned a divine being called *Bhûtavat* (i. e. *Rudra*), in order to punish *Pragâpati* for his incestuous deed. The latter was accordingly pierced by *Bhûtavat*'s arrow and bounded up to the sky, where he became the constellation called *Mriga* (i. e. *Mrigaśrsha*), while his daughter became the asterism *Rohiṇī*. The arrow on the other hand, with which *Pragâpati* was pierced, became the constellation called 'the three-knotted arrow (perhaps the girdle of Orion).'

² The Black Yagur does not recommend this asterism for the performance of *agnyâdheya*.

³ The *Kânva* text reads, 'When, on that occasion, that god (viz. *Rudra*) pierced him with the three-knotted arrow.'

body, for the body is a mere relic (or dwelling, *vâstu*), unholy and sapless. He should therefore not set up his fires under *Mrigaśrsha*.

10. But he may, nevertheless, set them up (under *Mrigaśrsha*). For, assuredly, the body of that god, *Pragâpati*, is neither a relic nor unholy¹: he may therefore set up (his fires under *Mrigaśrsha*). 'Under the *Punarvasû* he should perform the *Punarâdheya*²,' thus (it is prescribed).

11. He may also set up his fires under the *Phalgunis*. They, the *Phalgunis*, are *Indra's* asterism³, and even correspond to him in name; for indeed *Indra* is also called *Arguna*, this being his mystic name; and they (the *Phalgunis*) are also called *Argunîs*. Hence he overtly calls them *Phalgunis*, for who dares to use his (the god's) mystic name? Moreover, the sacrificer himself is *Indra*, so that he in that case sets up his fires under his own asterism. *Indra* is the deity of the sacrifice; and accordingly his *Agnîâdheya* is thereby brought

¹ *Na vâ etasya devasya vâstu nâyagñîyam na sarîram asti.—Na vai tasya vâstu na nivîryam nâyagñîyam asti*, 'for the relic of that (god) is neither sapless nor impure.' *Kârva* recension.

² I.e. the repetition of the *âdheya*, or setting up of his fires, a ceremony which has to be performed in the event of the *âdheya* having proved unsuccessful; that is, in case he should not have prospered or even sustained losses. The direction has been inserted in this place on account of the position of *Punarvasû*, as the fifth mansion, between *Mrigaśrsha*, the third, and (*Pûrva* and *Uttara*) *Phalgunîs*, the ninth and tenth mansions, in the original order of the *nakshatras*.

³ In *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 2, 4*, the *Pûrve Phalgunî* are assigned to *Aryaman*, and the *Uttare Phalgunî* to *Bhaga*. While, however, both these asterisms are there recommended for the *agnîâdheya*, the *Pûrve Phalgunî* are rejected as unsuitable further on, in par. 8 (? a later addition).

into relation with Indra. He may set up the fires under the first (Pûrva-phalgunis)—whereby an advancing (successful) sacrifice accrues to him; or he may set them up under the second (Uttara-phalgunis)—whereby a progressive (uttarâvat) improvement accrues to him.

12. Let him set up his fires under the asterism Hasta¹, whosoever should wish that (presents) should be offered him: then indeed (that will take place) forthwith; for whatever is offered with the hand (hasta), that indeed is given to him.

13. He may also set up his fires under Kitrâ. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. Both parties were desirous of rising to yonder world, the sky. The Asuras then constructed the fire (altar) called *rauhina* (fit to ascend by), thinking, 'Thereby we shall ascend (â-ruh) to the sky².'

¹ In the Taitt. Br. this asterism is not mentioned as suitable for the agnyâdheya. The Âsv. S. II, 1, 10 omits both Hasta and Kitrâ; but permits the asterisms Visâkhe and Uttare Prosh/hapade.

² In Taitt. Br. I, 1, 2, 4-6 this myth is related as follows: 'There were Asuras, named Kâlakañgas. They constructed a fire (altar) with a view to (gaining) the world of heaven. They put, every man of them, a brick to it. Indra, passing himself off for a Brâhman, put a brick on for himself, saying, "This one, Kitrâ (the wonderful or bright one) by name, is for me!" They climbed up to heaven; Indra, however, pulled out his brick, and they tumbled down. And they who tumbled down, became spiders: two of them flew up, and they became the two heavenly dogs.'" On this myth, Dr. A. Kuhn, 'Über entwicklungsstufen der mythenbildung,' p. 129, remarks: 'The myth given in Homer's Od. xi, 305-325, of Otos and Ephialtes, who, in order to fight the immortal gods, piled Ossa on Olympos, and Pelion on Ossa, ὅτι οὐρανὸς ἄμβρατος ἐστίν, and who are destroyed by Apollon, shows an obvious resemblance to these Indian myths; the more so, if we divest the latter of their Brâhmanical form, by which altar-bricks are sub-

14. Indra then considered¹, 'If they construct that (fire-altar), they will certainly prevail over us.' He secured a brick and proceeded thither, passing himself off for a Brâhman.

15. 'Hark ye!' he said, 'I, too, will put on this (brick) for myself!' 'Very well,' they replied. He put it on. That fire (altar) of theirs wanted but very little to be completely built up,—

16. When he said, 'I shall take back this (brick) which belongs to me.' He took hold of it and pulled it out; and on its being pulled out, the fire-altar fell down; and along with the falling fire-altar the Asuras fell down. He then converted those bricks into thunderbolts and clove the (Asuras') necks.

17. Thereupon the gods assembled and said, 'Wonderfully (kîtram) indeed it has fared with us who have slain so many enemies!' Hence the wonderful nature (kîtrâtva)² of the asterism

stituted for mountains; and if we bear in mind that the later versions of the myth, e. g. in the well-known passage of Ovid, put the Gigantes in the place of the Aloades.' See also Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, p. 372.

¹ The Kâṇva text here proceeds thus: The gods then were afraid and said, 'If those (Asuras) complete (samâsyanti) that (fire-altar), they will prevail over us.' Then Indra having fastened a brick with the lightning-band (ârkenâ dâmnâ) went thither passing himself off for a Brâhman. He said, 'I, too, will put on this (brick) for myself.' They said, 'On then (upa hi)!' He put it on. That (fire-altar) wanted but very little to be built up, when he said, 'I shall take this (brick) which is mine.' 'Take it then (â hi)!' they said. Then seizing it (tâm abhihâya) he pulled it out. On its being pulled out the fire-altar tumbled down. On the fire-altar having tumbled down he made thunderbolts with those bricks and smote those (Asuras). Then the gods prevailed and the Asuras were worsted, &c.

² Or, perhaps, its identity with (Indra's brick) *Kîtrâ*; cf. preceding note.

Kitrâ ; and verily wonderfully it fares with him, and he slays his rivals, his spiteful enemy, whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fires under *Kitrâ*. A *Kshatriya*, therefore, should especially desire to take advantage of this asterism ; since such a one is anxious to strike, to vanquish his enemies.

18. Originally these (nakshatras) were so many different powers (*kshatra*), just as that sun yonder. But as soon as he rose, he took from them (*â-dâ*) their energy, their power ; therefore he (the sun) is called *Âditya*, because he took from them their energy, their power¹.

19. The gods then said, 'They who have been powers, shall no longer (*na*) be powers (*kshatra*)²!' Hence the powerlessness (*na-kshatratvam*) of the nakshatras. For this reason also one need only take the sun for one's nakshatra (star), since he took away from them their energy, their power. But if he (the sacrificer) should nevertheless be desirous of having a nakshatra (under which to set up his fires), then assuredly that sun is a faultless nakshatra for him ; and through that auspicious day (marked by the rising and setting of the sun) he should endeavour to obtain the benefits of whichever of those asterisms he might desire. Let him therefore take the sun alone for his nakshatra³.

¹ The *Kânva* text reads: *Tâni ha vâ etâni kshatrâni nânaiva tepur yathâsau vâ sûryas kândramâ vâ ; teshâm hodyann evâdityaâ kshatram vîryam tegaâ pralulopa, tad vaishâm âdade.*

² This etymology of nakshatra is of course quite fanciful. For Aufrecht's probably correct derivation of the word from *nak ta-tra*, 'night-protector,' cf. *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachf.*, VIII, pp. 71, 72. See also Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, p. 268.

³ The *Kânva* text reads: *Tasmân na nakshatram âdriyeta yadaivaisha kadâ kôdiyâd apy âdadhitaisha hi sarvâni kshatrâni ;*

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The spring, the summer, and the rains, these seasons (represent) the gods; and the autumn, the winter, and the dewy season represent the fathers. That half-moon which increases represents the gods, and that which decreases represents the fathers. The day represents the gods, and the night represents the fathers. And, further, the forenoon represents the gods, and the afternoon the fathers.

2. Those seasons, then, are the gods and the fathers; and whosoever, knowing this, invokes them as the gods and fathers, with his invocation of the gods the gods comply, and with his invocation of the fathers the fathers comply. Him the gods favour at his invocation of the gods, and him the fathers favour at his invocation of the fathers, whosoever, knowing this, invokes (the seasons) as the gods and fathers.

3. Now when he (the sun) moves northwards, then he is among the gods, then he guards the gods; and when he moves southwards, then he is among the fathers, then he guards the fathers¹.

4. When he (the sun) moves northwards, then one may set up his fires;—the gods have the evil dis-

yadyu nakshatrakâmaḥ syâd upo âsita nakshatram ahâsya bhavati no etasyânudayo 'sti tasmâd v apy upaina(m â)sita, 'he need therefore not attend to any nakshatra; but may set up his fires at any time when that (sun) rises, for he (the sun) is all the kshatras. Should he nevertheless be desirous of a nakshatra, let him approach (the sun) with veneration; for then there is a nakshatra for him, and that (sun) does not fail to rise: for this reason let him approach (the sun) with veneration.'

¹ According to the Kâṇva text, it is the rising sun, that guards the god-seasons and father-seasons respectively.

pelled from them (by the sun): he (the sacrificer) therefore dispels the evil from himself;—the gods are immortal: he therefore, though there is for him no prospect of immortality, attains the (full measure of) life, whosoever sets up his fires during that time. Whosoever, on the other hand, sets up his fires when (the sun) moves southwards, he does not dispel the evil from him,—since the fathers have not the evil dispelled from them (by the sun). The fathers are mortal: hence he dies before (he has attained the full measure of) life, whosoever sets up his fires during that time.

5. The spring is the priesthood, the summer the nobility, and the rainy season the common people (vis): a Brāhman therefore should set up his fires in spring, since the spring is the priesthood; and a Kshatriya should set them up in summer, since the summer is the nobility; and a Vaisya should set them up in the rainy season, since the rainy season is the common people.

6. And whosoever¹ desires to become endowed with holy lustre (brahmavar~~ā~~asin), let him set up his fires in spring,—for the spring is the priesthood,—and he will certainly become endowed with holy lustre.

7. And whosoever desires to become a power (kshatra)² in prosperity and renown, let him set up his fires in summer,—for the summer is the nobility (kshatra),—and he will certainly become a power in prosperity and renown.

8. And whosoever may desire to be rich in pro-

¹ I. e. whatsoever Brāhman, as the Kāṇva text reads.

² Kshatram sriyā yasāḥ syām iti. The Kāṇva text reads: Kshatrasya pratimā syām sriyā yasaseti, 'whosoever should wish to be an image of the kshatra in wealth and glory.'

geny and cattle, let him set up his fires in the rainy season¹,—for the rainy season is the common people, and the people means food,—and he certainly becomes rich in progeny and cattle, whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fires in the rainy season.

9. [In the opinion of others] both these (classes of) seasons have the evil dispelled from them, for the sun is the dispeller of their evil, and as soon as he rises he dispels the evil from both these (classes of seasons). He should therefore set up his fires at any time, when he feels called upon to sacrifice; and should not put it off from one day to the morrow: for who knows the morrow of man²?

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. On the day preceding his Agnyâdheya, he (the sacrificer with his wife) should take his food in the day-time. For the gods know the minds of man: they are, therefore, aware that his Agnyâdheya is to take place on the morrow; and all the gods betake themselves to his house and stay (upa-vas) in his house; whence this day is called upavasa tha (fast-day)³.

2. Now, as it would be unbecoming for him to take food before men (who are staying with him as his guests) have eaten; how much more would it be so, if he were to take food before the gods have eaten: let him therefore take his food in the day-time. However, he may also, if he choose, take food at night,

¹ The Black Yagus recommends sarad, autumn, for the Agnyâdheya in the case of a Vairya.

² Ko hi manushyasya svo veda. The Kâṇva text has: Na vai manushyaḥ svastanam veda (veda) ko hi (!) tasmai manushyo yaḥ svastanam vidyât, 'in truth no man knows the morrow, for what man, that knows the morrow, is there for him?'

³ See I, 1, 1, 7 seq.

since the observance of the vow is not necessary for him who has not performed Agnyâdheya. For so long as he has not set up a (sacrificial) fire of his own, he is merely a man, and may therefore, if he choose, take food at night.

3. Here now some tie up a he-goat¹, arguing that the goat is sacred to Agni and that (this is done) for the completeness of the fire. But he need not do this. Should he possess a he-goat, let him present it to the Âgnîdhra on the next morning; for it is thereby that he obtains the object he desires. He need, therefore, take no notice of that (practice).

4. They² then cook a rice-pap sufficient for (the) four (priests) to eat. 'Hereby we gratify the metres,' so they say, arguing that this is done in the same way as if one were to order a team, which he is going to use for driving, to be well fed. He need not, however, do this: for indeed that same wish (which he entertains in so doing) he obtains by the very fact that Brâhmans, be they sacrificial priests or not, are residing in his family (kula)³: he need, therefore, take no notice of that (practice).

5. Having then made a hollow in it (the pap) for

¹ This practice is perhaps the remnant of a former animal offering. See I, 2, 3, 6, where the goat is mentioned as the last of the animals meet for sacrifice.

² That is, as would seem, those ritualists who maintain that a goat should be tied up for that night. The Kâṇva text reads, 'Here some cook that night that kâtu/prârya rice-pap, saying (vadantaḥ), "Hereby we gratify the metres."' According to the Paddhati on Kâty. IV, 8, the quotation 'Hereby we gratify the metres' seems to form the last of the formulas pronounced by the sacrificer, while washing the feet of the priests and offering them food.

³ 'The fulfilment of that wish he obtains through Brahmins, whether officiating priests or not, staying in his house (kula) and taking food there.' Kâṇva text.

clarified butter to be poured in, and having poured clarified butter into it, they anoint three sticks of asvattha wood with this butter and put them on the fire with the (three) *Rik*-verses containing the words 'kindling-stick (*samidh*)' and 'butter (*ghṛita*)¹;' arguing that thereby they obtain what has grown out of a *samī*². It is, however, only by (daily) putting (three kindling-sticks) on the fire for a whole year previous (to the *Ādhāna*) that one obtains that object : let him therefore take no notice of that (practice).

6. And on this point Bhāllabeya remarked, 'If he were to cook that rice-pap, this would assuredly

¹ The three verses containing the words *samidh* and *ghṛita* are Vāg. S. III, 1, 3, 4. Taitt. Br. I, 2, 1, 9-10 has them in the order 1, 4, 3; and does not give the verse Vāg. S. III, 2 (Rig-veda V, 5, 1). As neither version of our Brāhmaṇa makes any mention of this verse, it may be doubted whether originally it formed part of the *Samhitā*. According to Kāty. IV, 8, 5-6 he (? the *Adhvaryu*) is to put on (the three kindling-sticks) with Vāg. S. III, 1, &c., one verse with each stick; whereupon he, (the sacrificer, according to the commentary,) is to mutter III, 4; and according to ib. 7 'the *Adhvaryu* optionally mutters the second.' The *Paddhati* reconciles the different statements thus: he takes the sticks, rises and puts the first on the fire with III, 1; then sitting down he mutters III, 2; thereupon he again rises and puts on the second with III, 3, and the third with III, 4. The commentator, however, alludes to differences of practice in different schools as to this point.

² The sacrificial fire, to be set up at the *Ādheya*, should properly be produced by means of two pieces of *arvattha* wood which has grown out of a *samī* tree. *Sāyana* remarks that the ritualists referred to in our passage consider that the cooking of the rice-pap takes place, not with the view of the latter being eaten by the priests, but merely to afford an opportunity for putting the kindling-sticks on the fire, and thereby securing to the sacrificer the benefits that would have accrued to him from the above mode of ignition. This view, however, is not countenanced by our author, who, on the contrary, favours the daily cooking of a mess of rice-pap for the four priests for a twelve-month preceding the *Agnyādheya*, as a substitute for the production of the fire by friction. See Kāty. IV, 8, 11 (and *Paddhati*).

be a mistake, just as if one were to do one thing, while intending to do another; or if one were to say one thing, while intending to say another; or if one were to go one way, while intending to go another.' And, indeed, it is not proper that they should either carry to the south, or extinguish, that fire on which a kindling-stick is put, or an oblation made, with a *rik* or a *sâman* or a *yagus*. Now they do indeed either take it to the south with the view of its becoming the *Anvâhâryapaṭana* (or *Dakshinâgni*), or (if there is to be no *Dakshinâgni*) they extinguish it¹.

7. Thereupon they² remain awake (during that night). The gods are awake: so that he thereby draws nigh to the gods, and sets up his fires as one more godly, more subdued, more endowed with holy fervour (*tapas*). He may, however, sleep, if he choose, since the observance of the vow is not necessary for him who has not performed *Agnyâdhya*. For so long as he has not set up a (sacrificial) fire of his own, he is a mere man; and he may, therefore, sleep, if he choose.

8. Now some churn (the fire)³ before sunrise and

¹ His argument seems to be that, since the cooking of the rice-pap involves the putting on of consecrated sticks with sacrificial formulas, one is not to cook the pap because that same fire will afterwards have to be extinguished or to be taken to the *Dakshinâgni* hearth. The passage is, however, far from clear to me.

² Viz. the ritualists referred to; that is to say, they make the sacrificer and his wife remain awake all night. *Sâyana* takes *gâgrati* to stand for *gâgarti*, 'he, the sacrificer, remains awake.' The *Kârva* text, however, has, 'Here now they say, he should remain awake that night.'

³ The production of the sacred fire by means of two sticks (*arani*) of the *arvattha* (*Ficus Religiosa*) is thus described by Stevenson, 'Translation of the *Sâma Veda*,' pref. p. vii: 'The process by which fire is obtained from wood is called churning, as it resembles

take it eastwards (from the Gârhapatya to the Âhavanīya) after sunrise, arguing that thereby they secure both the day and the night for the obtainment of out-breathing and in-breathing, of mind and speech. But let him not do so; for when they thus churn (the fire) before sunrise, and take it eastwards after sunrise, both his (fires) are in reality set up before sunrise. By churning the Âhavanīya after sunrise he will obtain that (combination of blessings).

9. The gods, assuredly, are the day. The fathers have not the evil dispelled from them (by the sun); (and accordingly) he (the sacrificer) does not dispel the evil (if he churns the fire before sunrise). The fathers are mortal; and verily he who churns the fire before the rising of the sun, dies before (he has attained his full measure of) life. The gods have the evil dispelled from them (by the sun): hence he (the sacrificer) dispels the evil (from himself, if he churn after sunrise). The gods are immortal; and—though there is for him no prospect of immortality—he attains (the full measure of) life. The gods are bliss, and bliss he obtains; the gods are glorious, and glorious he will be, whosoever, knowing this, churns (the fire) after the rising of the sun.

that by which butter in India is separated from milk. The New-Hollanders obtain fire from a similar process. It consists in drilling one piece of *araxi* wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax held in the hand of an assistant Brahman.' On the mythological associations of the *agni-manthana*, especially with the Teutonic need-fire and the myth of Prometheus; and those of the *arvattha* tree, grown out of a *sami*, with the mountain-ash (roun-tree, rowan-tree, witch-elm, witchen, witch-hazel, witch-wood; eber-esche), see A. Kuhn's epoch-making essay, 'Ueber die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks.'

10. Here now they say, 'If the fire is not set up with either a *ṛik*-verse, or a *sâman*, or a *yagus*, wherewith then is it set up?' Verily, that (fire) is of the brahman: with the brahman it is set up. The brahman is speech: of that speech it is. The brahman is the truth, and the truth consists in those same (three) mystic utterances: hence his (fire) is established by means of the truth.

11. Verily, with '*bhûh* (earth)!' *Pragâpati* generated this (earth)¹; with '*bhuvaḥ* (ether)!' the ether; with '*svaḥ* (heaven)!' the sky. As far as these (three) worlds extend, so far extends this universe: with the universe it (the fire) is accordingly established.

12. With '*bhûh*!' *Pragâpati* generated the Brahman (priesthood); with '*bhuvaḥ*!' the Kshatra (nobility); with '*svaḥ*!' the Vis (the common people). As much as are the Brahman, the Kshatra, and the Vis, so much is this universe: with the universe it (the fire) is accordingly established.

13. With '*bhûh*!' *Pragâpati* generated the Self; with '*bhuvaḥ*!' the (human) race; with '*svaḥ*!' the animals (*pasu*). As much as are the Self, the (human) race, and the animals, so much is this universe: with the universe it (the fire) is accordingly established.

14. '*Bhûr bhuvaḥ*!' this much he utters while laying down the *Gârhapatya* fire; for if he were to lay it down with all (three words), wherewith should he lay down the *Âhavanîya*? Two syllables²

¹ Compare XI, 1, 6, 3.

² Viz. *svaḥ*, pronounced *su-vaḥ*. In laying down the *Gârhapatya* he utters the first two words, consisting of three syllables; and in laying down the *Âhavanîya* he pronounces all three words, consisting of five syllables.

he leaves over, and thereby those (five syllables) become of renewed efficacy; and with all the five syllables—'Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ'—he lays down the Âhavanīya. Thus result eight syllables; for of eight syllables consists the gāyatrī, and the gāyatrī is Agni's metre: he thus establishes that (fire) by means of its own metre.

15. Now when the gods were about to set up their fires, the Asuras and Rakshas forbade them, saying, 'The fire shall not be produced; ye shall not set up your fires!' and because they thus forbade (raksh) them, they are called Rakshas.

16. The gods then perceived this thunderbolt, to wit, the horse. They made it stand before them, and in its safe and foeless shelter the fire was produced. For this reason let him (the Adhvaryu) direct (the Âgnīdhra) to lead the horse to where he is about to churn the fire. It stands in front of him¹: he thus raises the thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter the fire is produced.

17. Let it be one used as a leader²; for such a one possesses unlimited strength. Should he be unable to obtain a leader, it may be any kind of horse. Should he be unable to obtain a horse, it may also be an ox, since that (fire) is related (bandhu) to the ox³.

18. And when they carry that (fire) eastward⁴,

¹ The horse is to stand east of the Gârhapatya fire-place, with its head to the west, where, behind the khara, the Adhvaryu is about to produce the fire.

² Pûrvavah, 'drawing in front,' i.e. a young (newly-harnessed) horse. The term may also mean 'conveying eastwards,' whence it is probably used here; cf. Taitt. Br. I, 1, 5, 6.

³ See XIII, 8, 4, 6, where the ox is said to be sacred to Agni (âgneya). See also p. 292, note 1; and I, 2, 3, 6.

⁴ The following particulars, not alluded to by our author, have

they lead the horse in front of it; so that, in proceeding in front of it, it wards off from it the evil spirits, the Rakshas; and they carry it (to the Âhavanîya) safely and unmolested by evil spirits.

19. Let them carry it (the fire) in such wise that it turns back towards him (the sacrificer); for, assuredly, that fire is the (means of) sacrifice, and it is in the direction of him (the sacrificer) that the sacrifice enters him, that the sacrifice readily inclines to him. And, verily, from whomsoever it (the fire) turns away, from him the sacrifice also turns away; and if any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the sacrifice turn away from him!' then he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

20. Moreover, that (fire) is the (sacrificer's) breath: let them therefore carry it in such wise that it turns

to be supplied here from Kâty. IV, 8, 29 seq., and the commentaries: As soon as fire has been obtained from the two pieces of wood, [it is placed in a pan and covered with dry, powdered gomaya; and] the sacrificer blows it with 'Breath I bestow on the immortal;' and the well-kindled flame he inhales with 'The immortal I bestow on the breath' (see II, 2, 2, 15). The fire is then set ablaze with fire-wood and laid down on the newly-made Gârhapatya hearth-mound with '[Om!] Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ!' (Vâg. S. III, 5); and with 'I lay thee down, O Lord of Vows (vratapati), with the law (vrata) of N.N.?'—the gotra-name being inserted in the case of the Bhrîgu and Ângiras; and those of different Rîshis or gods and divine beings in that of others. At the sacrificer's bidding the Brahman or Adhvaryu then chants the Rathantara-sâman (cf. p. 196, note 2). Then follows the uddharana or taking out fire from the Gârhapatya for the Âhavanîya. A bundle of wood is lighted at the lower ends on the Gârhapatya and placed in a pan on an underlayer of clay. It is then carried eastwards in such a way that the smoke is directed towards the sacrificer following it; the horse being led in front of the fire. At the starting of the procession the Brahman, at the Adhvaryu's call, chants the Vâmadevya-sâman.

back towards him; for it is in the direction of him that the breath enters into him. And, verily, from whomsoever it (the fire) turns away, from him the breath also turns away; and if in that case any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the breath turn away from him!' then he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

21. And, verily, the sacrifice is yonder blowing (wind). Let them, therefore, carry it in such wise that it¹ turns towards him; for it is in the direction of him that the sacrifice enters him, that the sacrifice readily inclines to him. And from whomsoever it turns away, from him the sacrifice also turns away; and if any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the sacrifice turn away from him!' then he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

22. And, verily, that (fire) is the (sacrificer's) breath. Let them, therefore, carry it in such wise that it turns towards him; for it is in the direction of him that the breath enters into him. And from whomsoever it (the fire) turns away; from him the breath also turns away; and if any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the breath turn away from him!' he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

23. He (the Adhvaryu) then makes the horse step on (the Âhavanîya fire-place)². When he has made it step on it, he leads it out towards the east, makes it turn round again (from left to right) and lets it

¹ Viz. the wind indicated by the backward-turned flame of the fire, as it is carried eastwards to the Âhavanîya.

² The Adhvaryu sits down and makes the horse put its right fore-foot on the recently prepared hearth-mound. Having then led it eastwards and turned it round, he calls on the Brahman to chant the *Brîhat-sâman* (see p. 196, note 2).

stand there facing the west. The horse doubtless represents strength : hence he makes it turn round again in order that this strength shall not turn away from him (the sacrificer).

24. He lays that (fire) down on the horse's foot-print¹; for the horse represents strength, so that he thereby lays it down on strength : for this reason he lays it down on the horse's foot-print.

25. In the first place he silently touches (the foot-print with the burning fire-wood). He then lifts it up and touches once more with it; and at the third time he lays it down with (Vâg. S. III, 5) 'Earth! ether! heaven!' For there are three worlds indeed; so that he thereby obtains these (three) worlds. This now is one (mode of laying down the fire).

26. Then there is this other. Silently he touches (the foot-print with it) in the first place; he then lifts it up, and at the second time lays it down with 'Earth! ether! heaven!' For he who wants to lift a load without having a firm footing on this (earth), cannot lift it; nay, it crushes him.

27. Now, when he touches it silently he thereby takes a firm footing on this resting-place; and having obtained a firm footing on it, he lays down (the fire): and thus he wavers not. Here now Âsuri, Pân̄kî, and Mâdhuki held it (the fire) slightly to the back (or west of the fire-place)². 'For,' they argued, 'everything else (that is on the hearth)

¹ Taitt. Br. I, 1, 5, 9, on the contrary, forbids the fire to be laid down on the horse's foot-print, as the sacrificer's cattle is thereby surrendered to Rudra. Moreover, the horse is there made to step beside, not upon, the hearth-mound.

² The Kânva text reads: Tad v Âsuri Pân̄kîr Mâdhukîr iti dadhîre, 'here now they held it thus.'

becomes, as it were, relaxed (on being touched by the fire): he should therefore, after holding it up, lay it down at the first (touching) with "Earth! ether! heaven!" for thus no relaxation takes place.' Let him then do this in whichever way he may deem proper.

28. He (the sacrificer) then goes round to the east side (of the fire), and taking hold of the top part of the burning sticks he mutters (Vâg. S. III, 5): 'Like unto the sky in plenty, like unto the earth in greatness!' When he says, 'Like unto the sky in plenty,' he means to say, 'Like as yonder sky is plenteous with stars, so may I become plenteous!' and when he says, 'Like unto the earth in greatness,' he means to say, 'As great as this earth is so great may I become!'—'On that back of thine, O Earth, that art meet for the worship of the gods'—for on her back he lays down that (fire)—'I lay down Agni, the eater of food, for the obtainment of food.' Agni is an eater of food: 'May I become an eater of food,' this is what he thereby says. This is a prayer for blessing,—he may mutter it, if he choose; or, if he choose, he may omit it.

29. He stands worshipping by (the fire) while muttering the (three) *Rîk*-verses of the queen of serpents (Vâg. S. III, 6–8)¹,—'Hither has come that spotted bull and has settled down before the mother; and before the father on going up to heaven.—She moves along through the luminous spheres, breathing forth from his breath: the mighty (bull) has illumined

¹ These verses form the hymn Rig-veda X, 189, the authorship of which is ascribed to the queen of serpents (either Kadrû, or the earth, according to Mahidhara).

the sky.—He rules over the thirty domains; and song is bestowed on the winged one, yea, with the light at the break of day!’ Thus he recites; and whatever (benefit) has not been obtained by him either through the equipments, or through the asterisms, or through the seasons, or through the laying down of the fire, all that is thereby obtained by him; and for this reason he stands worshipping by (the fire), while muttering the verses of the queen of serpents.

30. They say, however, that one need not stand by (the fire) worshipping with the verses of the queen of serpents. For the queen of serpents, they argue, is this earth; and accordingly when he lays down the fire on her, he thereby obtains all his desires: hence he need not stand by (the fire) worshipping with the verses of the queen of serpents.

SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

THE OBLATIONS.

1. When he has taken out the Âhavantya fire¹, he performs the Full-offering². The reason why

¹ Previously to the performance of the full-offering, the other fires (if there are any more) are laid down. An integral part of the laying down of the Sabhya, or hall-fire, which seems to have been kept up only by Kshatriyas, is a game of dice, played by the priests, with a cow, offered by the sacrificer, for the stake. On an ox-hide, spread north of the sacrificial ground, they place a brass vessel upside down, and on it throw four times five cowries (or, if such are not to be had, five sticks) with ‘Even I win, uneven thou art won (or defeated)!’

² The pûrnâhuti, or ‘full-offering,’ is an oblation of a spoonful of clarified butter. Kâty. IV, 10, 5, and comm., supply the following particulars, applying to all ordinary guhoti-offerings: He puts butter into the butter-pot and places it on the Gârhapatya to

he performs the full-offering is that he thereby causes that Agni to become an eater of food for his own self; that he thereby offers food to him. Even as (a mother or cow) would offer the breast to a new-born child or calf, so does he thereby offer food to him.

2. And having been appeased by that food, he (Agni) waits patiently for the other oblations to be cooked. If, on the other hand, that oblation were not to be offered up in him, he would ere long burn either the Adhvaryu or the sacrificer, for these two pass nearest by him. This is the reason why he makes this offering.

3. He offers it (with a) full (spoon); for the full doubtless means the All (universe), so that he thereby appeases him with the All. He offers it with 'Svâhâ!' for the Svâhâ is undefined, and undefined also is the All, so that he thereby appeases him by means of the All.

4. The first offering which Pragâpati made, he made with 'Svâhâ!' Now that (offering) indeed is virtually the same as this one; and hence he (the sacrificer) also makes it with 'Svâhâ!' At this (offering) he grants a boon (to the priests)¹; but

melt. Having then wiped the dipping-spoon (sruva) and offering-spoon (guhû) with sacrificial grass in the manner described at I, 3, 1, 6 seq., and taken the butter-pot off the fire, and strained the butter with the two stalks of darbha serving as strainers, he fills the guhû with the sruva. He now takes one stick, steps over to the north side of the Âhavanîya fire, strews grass around it, and puts the stick on the fire. He then sits down with bent right knee, and, while the sacrificer takes hold of him from behind, he pours the spoonful of butter into the fire with 'Svâhâ!' the sacrificer pronouncing the dedicatory formula (tyâga), 'This to Agni!'

¹ After the full-offering the sacrificer breaks the silence, imposed on him, by the words, 'I give a boon,' Kâty. IV, 10, 6; presents,

a boon (may mean) everything, so that he thereby appeases him (Agni) with everything.

5. Here now they say, 'When he has made this offering, he need not attend to the subsequent oblations; for by this offering he obtains that wish for which he takes out the subsequent oblations.'

6. He takes out (material for an oblation)¹ to Agni Pavamâna (the Blowing)². Now the blowing one is the breath, so that he thereby puts breath into him (the sacrificer). And this he puts into him by means of this (offering); for breath means food, and this offering also is food.

according to the commentary, being then made to the Adhvaryu and the Brahman. This ceremony is succeeded by the silent performance of the Agnihotra.

¹ The *pûrnâhuti*, which marks the close of the *Agnyâdheya* proper, is followed by the *Agnihotra*, performed with the texts pronounced in a low voice. Not less than twelve days after the *Agnyâdheya* (if at all)—the three fires being kept up during the interval—the young householder has to get performed for him (on the model of the new and full-moon offering, *mutatis mutandis*, there being neither the *uddharana*, or taking out of fire from the *Gârhapatya*, nor the choosing of a Brahman, &c.) the three *ish/îs* mentioned above. At the first *ish/î*, the special *havis* (sacrificial dish) consists of a rice-cake on eight potsherds for Agni Pavamâna;—at the second of two such cakes for Agni Pāvaka and Agni Sûti respectively;—at the third of a potful of boiled rice for Aditi. The three *havis* of the first two *ish/îs* being (according to *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 6, 3*) considered as representing the three bodies (*tanu*) of Agni; these offerings are called *tanûhavis-ish/îs*. They are, however, also called *Pavamânesh/îs*. At these the name of the recipient (Agni Pavamâna, &c.) has to be pronounced in a low voice in the formulas used at the chief offering. The *Taitt. Br.* mentions, besides, the usual *Indrâgni* cake (of the new-moon sacrifice) which is to be offered before the offering to Aditi.

² *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 5, 10*, takes *pavamâna* as 'pure' or 'purified by himself' (*svayam sridha*); *pāvaka* as 'purifying (others);' and *sûti* as 'shining.'

7. He then makes offering to Agni Pāvaka (the Purifying). Now the purifying one means food, so that he thereby puts food into him (Agni, or the sacrificer). And this he puts into him by means of this (offering), for this offering is indeed food.

8. He then makes offering to Agni Suḥi (the Bright). Now brightness means vigour, so that he thereby puts vigour into him. And this he puts into him by means of this (offering); for when he offers up that oblation in him (Agni), then that vigour, that brightness of his blazes up.

9. For this reason they say, 'When he has made that (full) offering, he need not attend to any further oblations; for by this offering he obtains that wish for which he takes out the subsequent oblations.' But let him nevertheless take out the subsequent oblations; for what invisible (blessing, or meaning) there was in that (full-offering) that now becomes thus (visible).

10. Now the reason why he makes offering to Agni Pavamāna, is that the blowing one is the breath. When (the child) is born, then there is breath. And as long as it is not born, it breathes in accord with the mother's breath; but when it is born, then he thereby puts breath into it.

11. And the reason why he makes offering to Agni Pāvaka, is that the purifying one means food: hence he thereby puts food into (the child) when it is born.

12. And the reason why he makes offering to Agni Suḥi, is that brightness means vigour. Now when it (the child) grows by means of food, then there is vigour; and hence, when he has made it grow by means of food, he thereby puts into it that vigour, that brightness. This is why (he offers) to Agni Suḥi.

13. That other (practice) then is altogether erroneous¹. For when Agni passed over from the gods to men, he bethought him, 'I must not pass over to men with my whole body!'

14. He then laid down in these (three) worlds those three bodies of his. That 'blowing (pavamâna)' form of his he laid down on this earth, that 'purifying (pâvaka)' one in the ether, and that 'bright (suîi)' one in the sky. Now the *Rishis* then existing became aware of this: 'Agni has not come to us with his whole body,' they said. They then prepared those oblations for him.

15. Now when he makes offering to Agni Pavamâna, he thereby obtains that form of his (Agni's) which he laid down on this earth; and when he makes offering to Agni Pâvaka, he thereby obtains that form of his which he laid down in the ether; and when he makes offering to Agni Suîi, he thereby obtains that form of his which he laid down in the sky: and thus he lays down the entire Agni un mutilated. For this reason also he should take out the oblations subsequent (to the full-offering).

16. The first oblation has a barhis (altar-covering of sacrificial grass) to itself; the two following ones have one barhis in common. Now the first oblation represents this world, the second one that ether, and the third one the sky. But this earth is compact; and the ether and yonder sky are, as it were, trembling: and in order that these two may counter-balance that (earth), the (last) two (oblations) have one barhis in common.

¹ Viz. the practice of performing the full-offering only, see par. 5. The *Kâṇva* text reads: Tad vâ etat samânam eva sad viparyastam iva.

17. All these sacrificial cakes (for Agni) are on eight potsherds; for of eight syllables consists the (pāda of the) gāyatrī, and the gāyatrī is Agni's metre¹: with its own metre he accordingly establishes that fire. In all, these potsherds amount to twenty-four; for of twenty-four syllables consists the gāyatrī (stanza), and the gāyatrī is Agni's metre: with its own metre he accordingly establishes that fire.

18. He then offers a potful of boiled rice to Aditi. For he who performs those (preceding) oblations moves away, as it were, from this world, since he moves in the ascent of these worlds².

19. Now when he offers a potful of boiled rice to Aditi,—Aditi being this earth, and this earth being a firm resting-place,—he thereby again takes his stand on this firm resting-place. This is why he offers a potful of boiled rice to Aditi.

20. For her, they say, the two samyāgyās³ should be virāg verses; for the virāg is this (earth); or

¹ The Kāṇva text remarks that the anuvākyās (invitatory prayers) and yāgyās (offering prayers) at the three offerings of cake are in the gāyatrī metre; and such indeed is the case. The anuvākyās of the oblations to Agni Pavamāna, Agni Pāvaka, and Agni Suṅi are Rig-veda IX, 66, 19; I, 12, 10; and VIII, 44, 21 respectively: and the yāgyās are IX, 66, 21; V, 26, 1; and VIII, 44, 17 respectively; all of which are gāyatrī stanzas. See Āśv. Sr. II, 1, 20–25. Cf. also I, 7, 2, 15, with note. At the Svishṭakṛit of these two ishās also both formulas are in the gāyatrī metre: the puro'nuvākyās being Rig-veda III, 11, 2, and III, 11, 6; and the yāgyās III, 11, 1, and I, 1, 1 respectively.

² Praṇyavata iva vā esho 'smāl lokāt . . . imān hi lokān samārohann eti. The Kāṇva text has: 'For he who takes out these oblations makes his self, as it were, depart from this world of men for the world of the gods, since he, as it were, moves rising upwards (ūrdhva iva hi samārohann eti).' Cf. paragraphs 14–16.

³ For these (virāg) samyāgye, or invitatory and offering prayers at the Svishṭakṛit, see p. 164, note 2.—Āśv. Sr. II, 1, 29.

trish/ubh verses, for the trish/ubh is this (earth); or *gagati* verses, for the *gagati* is this (earth). Still, however, they should be *virâg* verses.

21. The priests' fee for (offering to) her consists of a cow; for this (earth) is, as it were, a cow: she milks out for men all their desires. The cow is a mother, and this (earth) also is a mother, for she bears the men: for this reason the priests' fee is a cow. This is one mode (of performing those offerings).

22. Then there is this other. He simply offers a cake on eight potsherds to Agni, and thereby, implicitly, to Agni Pavamâna, Agni Pāvaka, and Agni *Suñi*; and immediately after he visibly sets him up (as Agni). For this reason he offers (a cake) to Agni¹, and then a potful of boiled rice to Aditi. The treatment of the potful of rice (in that case) is the same (as before).

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, in performing that sacrifice, they slay it; and in pressing out the king (Soma), they slay him; and in quieting and immolating the victim, they slay it. The *haviryagñā* they slay with the mortar and pestle, and with the two mill-stones.

2. When slain, that sacrifice was no longer vigorous. By means of *dakshinâs* (gifts to the priests) the gods again invigorated it: hence the name *dakshinâ*, because thereby they invigorated (*dakshay*) that

¹ According to the *Kâṇva* recension, the *anuvâkyâ* and *yâgyâ*, in that case, should consist of the verses containing the word *mûrdhan* ('head'), viz. *Vâg. S. XIII, 14, 15*; cf. *Sat. Br. I, 6, 2, 12*.

(sacrifice). Whatever, therefore, fails in this sacrifice when slain, that he now again invigorates by means of gifts to the priests; whereupon the sacrifice becomes successful: for this reason he makes gifts to the priests.

3. He may give six (cows)¹; for six seasons, indeed, there are in the year, and the sacrifice, Pragâpati, is the year: thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many (gifts, dakshinâs) does he thereby invigorate it.

4. He may give twelve; for twelve months there are in the year, and the sacrifice, Pragâpati, is the year: thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many (gifts) does he thereby invigorate it.

5. He may give twenty-four; for twenty-four half-moons there are in the year, and the sacrifice, Pragâpati, is the year: thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many (gifts) does he thereby invigorate it. Such is the measure of the priests' fees; but he may give more, according to (the depth of) his faith. The reason why he gives fees to the priests is this.

6. Verily, there are two kinds of gods; for, indeed, the gods are the gods; and the Brâhmanas who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods. The sacrifice of these is divided into two kinds: oblations constitute the sacrifice to the gods; and gifts to the priests that to the human gods,

¹ Viz. at the tanûhavar-ish/s together, or at least three cows at each ish/s if there are two ish/s. The greater the gift, the greater the merit. According to the Paddhati on Kâty. IV, 10, he is also to entertain a hundred Brâhmanas at the end of the performance. See also Taitt. Br. I, 1, 7, 9-11.

the Brāhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. With oblations one gratifies the gods, and with gifts to the priests the human gods, the Brāhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. Both these kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of bliss (*sudhâ*)¹.

7. Even as seed is poured into the womb, so the officiating priests place the sacrificer in the (heavenly) world², when he now makes gifts to those who, he hopes, will make him go thither. Such, then, (is the manner) of gifts to priests.

8. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from *Pragâpati*, were contending with each other. They were both soulless, for they were mortal, and he who is mortal is soulless. Among these two (classes of beings) who were mortal, *Agni* alone was immortal; and it was through him, the immortal, that they both lived. Now whichever (of the gods) they (the Asuras) slew, he, indeed, was so (slain).

9. Thereupon the gods were left inferior. They went on praising and practising austerities, hoping that they might be able to overcome their enemies, the mortal Asuras. They beheld this immortal *Agnî* (consecrated fire).

10. They said, 'Come, let us place that immortal element in our innermost soul! When we have placed that immortal element in our innermost soul, and become immortal and unconquerable, we shall overcome our conquerable, mortal enemies.'

¹ That is, 'they convey him to the celestial world,' as reads the otherwise identical passage in IV, 3, 4, 4.

² The *Kâṇva* text has 'svarge loke.'

11. They said, 'With both of us is this fire (Agni): let us then treat openly with the Asuras¹.'

12. They said, 'We shall set up (or, establish within ourselves, â-dhâ) the two fires,—what will ye do then?'

13. They replied, 'Then we shall lay it down (ni-dhâ), saying, Eat grass here! eat wood here! cook pap here! cook meat here!' Now that fire, which the Asuras thus laid down, is this same (fire) wherewith men prepare their food.

14. The gods then established that (fire) in their innermost soul; and having established that immortal element in their innermost soul, and become immortal and unconquerable, they overcame their mortal, conquerable enemies. And so this one now establishes that immortal element in his innermost soul; and—though there is for him no hope of immortality—he obtains the full measure of life; for, indeed, he becomes unconquerable, and his enemy, though striving to conquer, conquers him not. And, accordingly, when one who has established his fires and one who has not established his fires, vie with each other, he who has established his fires overcomes the other, for, verily, he thereby becomes unconquerable, he thereby becomes immortal.

15. Now, when, on that occasion, they produce that (fire) by churning, then he (the sacrificer) breathes (blows) upon it, when produced; for fire indeed is breath: he thereby produces the one thus produced. He again draws in his breath: thereby he establishes that (fire) in his innermost soul; and that fire thus becomes established in his innermost soul².

¹ 'Pra tv evâsurebhyo bravâmeti.'—'Hantâsurebhyah pratiprabravâmeti,' Kânva text. ? 'Let us talk them out of it!'

² See p. 297, note 4.

16. Having kindled it, he makes it blaze, thinking, 'Herein I will worship, herein I will perform the sacred work!' Thereby he makes blaze that fire which has been established in his innermost soul.

17. 'It (or some one) might come between,—it might go away!' so (fear some)¹; but, surely, as long as he lives no one comes between him and that fire which has been established in his innermost soul: let him, therefore, not heed this. And as to its becoming extinguished:—surely, as long as he lives, that fire which has been established in his innermost soul, does not become extinct in him.

18. The (sacrificial) fires, assuredly, are those breaths: the Âhavanīya and Gârhapatya are the out-breathing and the in-breathing; and the Anvâhārya-pāṭana is the through-breathing.

19. Now, attendance on (or, the worship of) that consecrated fire (agnyâdheya) means (speaking) the truth. Whosoever speaks the truth, acts as if he sprinkled that lighted fire with ghee; for even so does he enkindle it: and ever the more increases his own vital energy, and day by day does he become better. And whosoever speaks the untruth, acts as

¹ This paragraph is somewhat obscure. The Kâṇva recension has the following more explicit paragraphs instead:—As to this, there is a source of anxiety (âgas) to some, fearing that 'it (that fire) might go out (anvagan).' But let him not heed this, for, assuredly, that fire of his, which has been established in his innermost soul, does not go out. 'The carriage might pass through (vyayâsīt), the cart might pass through;—it (or some one) may come between (me and the fire)!' such is another source of anxiety to some; but let him not heed this either; for, assuredly, the carriage does not pass through, the cart does not pass through that fire of his which has been established in his innermost soul. Cf. XII, 4, 1, 2-3.

if he sprinkled that lighted fire with water ; for even so does he enfeeble it : and ever the less becomes his own vital energy, and day by day does he become more wicked. Let him, therefore, speak nothing but the truth.

20. Now the kinsmen spake unto Aruṇa Apavesi, 'Thou art advanced in years : establish thou the two fires !' He replied, 'Speak ye not thus ! be thou a restrainer of speech¹ ; for he who has established the fires must not speak an untruth : let him rather not speak at all, but let him not speak an untruth. Worship, above all, is truthfulness.'

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

THE PUNARÂDHEYA OR RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SACRED FIRES².

1. Now Varuṇa established this (fire), being desirous of sovereignty. He obtained sovereignty ; and, accordingly, whether one (who has established the fires) knows (this) or not, they call him 'king Varuṇa.' Soma (established the fire), being desirous of glory. He became glorious, and, accordingly, whether one obtains a hold on Soma, or whether

¹ The Kâṇva text has : He said, 'Speak ye not thus ; be thou a restrainer of speech !'—'Speak ye not,' so (he said) ; for, having established the two fires, one should not speak untruthfully (*mṛishâ*), nor should he who utters speech speak untruthfully. He should, therefore, strive to speak nothing but the truth.

² If the householder who has set up his fires, finds, after a year or more, that he does not prosper in his undertakings, or if he has otherwise met with misfortunes, and thus his âdheya has not proved successful, he should set up his fires a second time. The old fires have to be put out, either early in the day on which the performance is to take place, or from three nights to a whole year previous to the ceremony. With the exceptions noticed in the sequel, the performance is the same as that of the âdhâna.

one does not, they both obtain (glory),—for it is glory that people thereby get to see. Glorious therefore he becomes, and sovereignty he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, establishes a sacrificial fire of his own.

2. Now once upon a time the gods deposited with Agni all forms (*rûpa*)¹, both domestic and wild; either because they were about to engage in battle, or from a desire of free scope, or because they thought that he (Agni) would protect them as the best protector.

3. But Agni coveted them, and seizing them he entered the seasons with them. 'Let us go back thither,' said the gods, and betook themselves to (the place where) Agni (was) concealed. They were disheartened and said, 'What is here to be done? what counsel is there?'

4. Then *Tvashtri* beheld that re-consecrated fire (*Punar-âdheya*). He established it and thereby gained an entrance to Agni's beloved abode. He (Agni) gave up to him both kinds of forms, domestic and wild: hence they call them *Tvashtri*'s forms; since it is from *Tvashtri* that all form proceeds²; but all other creatures of whatever kind undergo it.

5. It is for him (*Tvashtri*), then, that one must re-establish the fire: for thus he enters Agni's

¹ Compare the corresponding legend *Taitt. S. I, 5, 1*; according to which the gods deposited their precious goods (*vâmam vasu*) with Agni; and *Pûshan* and *Tvashtri*, on performing sacrifice to Agni exclusively (the *punarâdhyeya*), became possessed of the cattle, whence the latter are said to belong to *Pûshan* (*paushna*) and to *Tvashtri* (*tvâshtra*). Afterwards *Manu* and *Dhâtri* (here identified with the year) also performed the ceremony. See also *Sat. Br. II, 3, 4, 1 seq.*

² Or, since it is to *Tvashtri* that all form belongs.

beloved abode, and the latter gives up to him both kinds of forms, domestic and wild. In that (fire) those two kinds of forms are seen: such is the ascendancy (which one obtains by the punarâdhyeya),—people, indeed, envy him; thus he thrives, and a conspicuous position (is obtained by him).

6. To Agni belongs this sacrifice. Agni is the light, the burner of evil: he burns away the evil of this (sacrificer); and the latter becomes a light of prosperity and glory in this, and a light of bliss¹ in yonder, world. This, then, is the reason why he should establish the fires (a second time).

7. Let him establish the fires (the second time) in the rainy season. The rains are all the seasons, for the rains are indeed all the seasons: hence, in counting over years, people say, 'In such and such a year (or rain, varsha) we did it; in such and such a year (or rain) we did it.' The rains, then, are one of the forms of manifestation (rûpa) of all seasons²; and when people say, 'To-day it is as if in summer,' then that is in the rainy season; and when they say, 'To-day it is as if in spring,' then that, too, is in the rainy season. From the year (or rain, varsha), indeed, (is named) the rainy season (varshâh).

8. There is, moreover, an occult form (through which the rains manifest themselves in the seasons)³. When it blows from the east, then that is the characteristic sign of spring;—when it thunders, it is that of

¹ Gyotir amutra punyalokatvâ, lit. 'a light by (way of) blissful state.' The Kâṇva text has the same reading.

² This speculation is based on the identity of the words for year (varsha; also 'rain') and the rains, or rainy season (varshâh).

³ The characteristics of the seasons here selected are supposed to have a special connection with the rain and rainy season.

summer ;—when it rains, it is that of the rainy season ; when it lightens, it is that of autumn¹ ;—when it ceases to rain, it is that of winter. The rains are all the seasons. The seasons he (Agni) entered : from out of the seasons, therefore, he now produces him.

9. But the sun also is all the seasons : when he rises, then it is spring ;—when the cows are driven together (for milking), then it is summer ;—when it is mid-day, then is the rainy season ;—when it is afternoon, then it is autumn ;—when he sets, then it is winter. At mid-day (*madhyandina*), therefore, he should establish his fires, for then that (sun) is nearest to this world, and hence he produces that (fire) from the nearest centre (*madhya*).

10. Verily, this man is affected with evil, as with a shadow. But then (at mid-day) that (evil) of his (like his shadow) is smallest, and shrinks, as it were, beneath his foot: hence he thereby crushes that evil, when it is smallest. For this reason also he should establish his fires (the second time) at mid-day.

11. He takes it out (from the *Gârhapatya*) by means of sacrificial grass. By means of fire-wood, indeed, he takes it out the first time ; and (were he to take it out) with fire-wood the first time, and with fire-wood the second time, he would commit a repetition, and raise a conflict. Now sacrificial grass means water, and the rainy season also means water. He (Agni) entered the seasons : with water he accordingly produces him from out of the waters ; this is why he takes it (the fire) out by means of sacrificial grass.

12. Having prepared an (ordinary) rice cake on

¹ During the autumn, or sultry season succeeding the rains, there are frequent displays of sheet-lightning along the horizon at night.

two arka¹ leaves, he puts it in the place where he is about to establish the Gârhapatya fire, and thereon lays down the Gârhapatya.

13. Having prepared a (second) barley cake on two arka leaves, he puts it in the place where he is about to establish the Âhavanīya fire, and thereon lays down the Âhavanīya. [Some do so] arguing, 'Thereby we cover them with the first two fires;' but let him not do so, for it is by the nights that they come to be covered.

14. He then offers to Agni a sacrificial cake (puroḍāsa) on five potsherds². Its offering prayers and invitatory prayers consist of paṅkti strophes of five pādas each³; for there are five seasons, and the seasons he (Agni) entered: from the seasons he accordingly produces him.

15. The whole (sacrifice) belongs to Agni; for it was thereby that Tvashtri entered Agni's beloved abode, and therefore the whole (sacrifice) belongs to Agni⁴.

¹ Calotropis Gigantea. These cakes (apūpa, not puroḍāsa) have first to be cooked either on the Avasathya, or on a secular fire. Before the cakes are then put on the Gârhapatya and Âhavanīya fire-places, the latter have to be consecrated in the usual way (cf. p. 2); and, after the putting on of the cakes, the fire-places are sprinkled by the Adhvaryu, while the sacrificer holds on to him from behind. Kāty. IV, 11, 8, Schol.

² Viz. he performs an ishā with such a rice-cake for the havis, as a substitute for the tanûhavir-ishā, offered after the full-offering, at the ādhāna. See II, 2, 1, 6, and note.

³ The paṅkti consists of five octosyllabic pādas. The anuvākya and yāgyā at the chief offering are Rig-veda IV, 10, 2 and 4; those of the svishṭakṛit, ib., verses 4 and 1.—Āsv. II, 8, 14.

⁴ The offering prayers of all libations and offerings at this ishā must therefore contain Agni's name. At each of the fore-offerings and after-offerings a different case-form of agni is added after the respective objects of those offerings,—thus, '... samidho agne

16. They perform it (with the formulas pronounced) in a low voice; for if one wishes to prepare anything specially for a relative or friend, one must take care to keep it secret. Now the other sacrifice belongs to all the deities, but this belongs specially to Agni; and what is (kept) secret, that is (spoken of) in a low voice: this is why they perform it in a low voice.

17. The last after-offering he performs aloud; for then he has completed his work, and every one becomes aware of what has been done.

18. Having uttered his call (and having been responded to by the *Āgnīdhra*)¹, he says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *Samidhs* (kindling-sticks)!—the latter being one of Agni's mystic forms of manifestation (*rūpa*); but he may also say, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fires!'—that being Agni's real (exoteric) form².

'gna āgyasya vyantu,' 'tanūnapād agnim agna . . .,' 'īdo agnināgne . . .,' &c. See par. 19; also p. 148, n. 2; I, 5, 4, 1 seq.; I, 8, 2, 1 seq. The two butter-portions otherwise offered to Agni or Soma respectively (cf. I, 6, 1, 20 seq.) are in this case offered to Agni; the *anuvākyās*, according to *Āsv.* II, 8, 7, being *Rig-veda* VIII, 44, 1, and VI, 16, 16 respectively. See, however, paragraphs 21 seq.

¹ Viz. the *Adhvaryu* calls, *Ō srāvaya*, 'cause (him or one) to hear!' and the *Āgnīdhra* responds by *Astu srausha*, 'yea, may he (or one) hear!'

² Here, at the first fore-offering, an option is apparently left between the former, regular summons (see I, 5, 3, 8), and the latter, modified so as to make it apply directly to Agni. *Kāty.* IV, 11, 11 allows the same option for the first *prayāga* and *anuvāga*. For the latter, however, see further on, par. 24. The *Kāṇva* recension has as follows:—Now when the *Adhvaryu*, on stepping over (to the south side) and uttering his call (for the *Āgnīdhra*) to bid attention, says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *Samidhs*!' then that, indeed, is one of Agni's forms of manifestation (*āgneyam eva tad rūpam*); but here let him say, as it were,

19. He (the Hotri) recites¹, '... They (the Samidhs), O Agni, may accept of the butter! Vaughak²!' '... He (Tanûnapât) may accept the fire of the butter! Vaughak!' '... They (the Ids) may, through Agni, accept of the butter! Vaughak!' '... It (the barhis), the fire, may accept of the butter! Vaughak!'

20. He then says³, 'Svâhâ Agnim!' with reference to Agni's butter-portion;—'Svâhâ Agnim Pavamânam!' if they determine upon (offering to) Agni, the blowing⁴; or 'Svâhâ Agnim Indumantam!' if they determine upon Agni, the drop-abounding⁵;—'Svâhâ Agnim!'—'Svâhâ, the butter-drinking Agnis! May Agni graciously accept of the butter!'—this is the offering-prayer he (the Hotri) pronounces.

21. He (the Adhvaryu) then says, with regard to Agni's (first) butter-portion, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' He (the Hotri) recites⁶, 'Awake Agni with praise, enkindling the immortal, that he may take our offerings to the gods!' For, indeed, when Agni is removed (from the hearth)⁷, he, as it were, sleeps: he (the priest) now awakens, rouses

in a mystic way, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Agnis!' (paroksham iva tv agnîṇ yageti haiva tatra brûyât.)

¹ See p. 317, note 4.

² A modification of the ordinary vaushaḥ. The Kâṇva text has here and in par. 25, as usual, vaushaḥ.

³ At the fifth fore-offering; see I, 5, 3, 22 seq.

⁴ See II, 2, 1, 6, and note; also II, 2, 1, 22.

⁵ This points forward to the second butter-portion, which is offered to Agni Pavamâna or Agni Indumat, instead of Soma; the first being offered to Agni simply. Kâty. IV, 11, 12.

⁶ Rig-veda V, 14, 1. See, however, the formulas prescribed by Ârvalâyana, p. 317, note 4.

⁷ The fire laid down at the âdheya is removed when the punarâdheya is to be performed.

him. For the offering-prayer he recites, 'May Agni graciously accept of the butter!'

22. And, if they determine upon (offering the second butter-portion to) Agni Pavamâna, let him then say, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Pavamâna; and he (the Hotri) recites (Rig-veda IX, 16, 19), 'O Agni, thou breathest forth life; produce thou food and sap for us! drive far away misfortune!' For thus, indeed, it becomes of the nature of Agni. Pavamâna (the one that becomes purified) means the Soma; but this (Soma-element) they eliminate from the butter-portion of Soma¹. For the offering-prayer he recites, 'May Agni Pavamâna graciously accept of the butter!'

23. If, on the other hand, they determine upon (offering to) Agni Indumat, let him say, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Indumat!' He (the Hotri) recites (Rig-veda VI, 16, 16), 'Come hither, I will gladly sing to thee yet other songs, O Agni! mayest thou grow strong by these draughts (indu, drop).' Thus, indeed, it becomes of the nature of Agni: the draught doubtless means Soma, but this (Soma-element) they eliminate from the butter-portion of Soma. For the offering-prayer he recites, 'May Agni, the drop-abounding, graciously accept of the butter!' And thus he makes it all of the nature of Agni.

24. He then says, as to the chief offering (havis), 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni!' 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit (the maker of good offerings)!' 'Pronounce the offering-

¹ Viz. that second butter-portion which by right belongs to Soma (see I, 6, 1, 20 seq.), but is here offered to Agni.

prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit¹! Then where (otherwise) he would say, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the gods²!' he now says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Agnis!'

25. He recites³, '[The divine Barhis] may accept (the offering) for Agni's abundant obtainment of abundant gift! *Vaughak!*'—'[The divine Narâsamsa] may accept (the offering) for abundant obtainment, in Agni, of abundant gift! *Vaughak!*'—'The divine Agni Svishṭakṛit . . . ' this third (after-offering) is already in itself of the nature of Agni; and thus he makes the after-offerings relate to Agni.

26. Those same case-forms (of agni)⁴, which he recites in the offering-prayers, are six; namely, four at the fore-offerings, and two at the after-offerings. Now there are six seasons; and the seasons he (Agni) entered: out of the seasons he accordingly thereby produces him.

27. There are either twelve or thirteen syllables (in these six case-forms)⁵. Now there are either twelve or thirteen months in a year⁶; and the

¹ For the formulas of the chief offering and Svishṭakṛit, see p. 317, note 3.

² That is, at the after-offerings; see I, 8, 2, 14. Cf. also p. 318, note 2.

³ See I, 8, 2, 15. Here a different case-form of the word agni (viz. agneḥ and agnau) is inserted in the offering-formulas of the first two anuyâgas, immediately after the word indicating the object of the offering; the formula of the third and last anuyâga already containing the nominative agniḥ in the same place.

⁴ See p. 317, note 4.

⁵ The locative case agnau, inserted in the offering-prayer of the second after-offering, is optionally made trisyllabic by being written and pronounced agnâ-u.

⁶ For other allusions to intercalary months in the Vedic texts, see Weber, Naxatra, II, p. 336.

year, the seasons, he (Agni) entered: out of the seasons he accordingly thereby produces him. In order to avoid sameness, no two (of these forms) are alike; but (the fault of) sameness he would undoubtedly commit, were any two of them alike. The characteristic form of the fore-offerings is (alternately), 'May they accept,' 'May it (or he) accept¹;' and that of the after-offerings is, 'For the abundant obtainment of abundant gift.'

28. The priests' fee for this (sacrifice) consists of gold². This sacrifice belongs to Agni, and gold is Agni's seed³: this is why the priests' fee consists of gold. Or it may be an ox; for the latter is of the nature of Agni as far as its shoulder is concerned, since its shoulder (by carrying the yoke) is as if burnt by fire. Moreover, Agni is oblation-bearer to the gods, and that (ox) bears (or draws, loads) for men: this is why an ox may be given as the priests' fee.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

II. THE AGNIHOTRA OR MORNING AND EVENING LIBATIONS; AND THE AGNY-UPASTHÂNA OR HOMAGE TO THE FIRES.

1. Pragâpati alone, indeed, existed here in the beginning. He considered, 'How may I be repro-

¹ See I, 5, 3, 15.

² See also II, 2, 4, 15. In Taitt. S. I, 5, 12 (referred to Kâty. XI, 2, 37) 'white gold' (*ragatam hiranyam*), i.e. silver, is expressly mentioned as unsuitable for the *dakshinâ*. The reason adduced is that, when the gods claimed back the goods deposited with Agni, he wept, and the tears he shed became silver; and hence, if one were to give silver as a *dakshinâ*, there would be weeping in his house before a year had passed.

³ See II, 1, 1, 5.

duced?' He toiled and performed acts of penance. He generated Agni from his mouth; and because he generated him from his mouth, therefore Agni is a consumer of food: and, verily, he who thus knows Agni to be a consumer of food, becomes himself a consumer of food.

2. He thus generated him first (agre) of the gods; and therefore (he is called) Agni, for agni (they say) is the same as agri. He, being generated, went forth as the first (pûrva); for of him who goes first, they say that he goes at the head (agre). Such, then, is the origin and nature of that Agni.

3. Pragâpati then considered, 'In that Agni I have generated a food-eater for myself; but, indeed, there is no other food here but myself, whom, surely, he would not eat.' At that time this earth had, indeed, been rendered quite bald; there were neither plants nor trees. This, then, weighed on his mind.

4. Thereupon Agni turned towards him with open mouth; and he (Pragâpati) being terrified, his own greatness departed from him. Now his own greatness is his speech: that speech of his departed from him. He desired an offering in his own self, and rubbed (his hands); and because he rubbed (his hands), therefore both this and this (palm) are hairless. He then obtained either a butter-offering or a milk-offering;—but, indeed, they are both milk.

5. This (offering), however, did not satisfy him, because it had hairs mixed with it. He poured it away (into the fire); saying, 'Drink, while burning (osham dhaya)!' From it plants sprang: hence their name 'plants (oshadhayaḥ).' He rubbed (his hands) a second time, and thereby obtained another

offering, either a butter-offering or a milk-offering ;— but, indeed, they are both milk.

6. This (offering) then satisfied him. He hesitated : ‘ Shall I offer it up ? shall I not offer it up ? ’ he thought. His own greatness said to him, ‘ Offer it up ! ’ Pragâpati was aware that it was his own (sva) greatness that had spoken (âha) to him ; and offered it up with ‘ Svâhâ ! ’ This is why offerings are made with ‘ Svâhâ ! ’ Thereupon that burning one (viz. the sun) rose ; and then that blowing one (viz. the wind) sprang up ; whereupon, indeed, Agni turned away.

7. And Pragâpati, having performed offering, reproduced himself, and saved himself from Agni, Death, as he was about to devour him. And, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agni-hotra, reproduces himself by offspring even as Pragâpati reproduced himself ; and saves himself from Agni, Death, when he is about to devour him.

8. And when he dies, and when they place him on the fire, then he is born (again) out of the fire, and the fire only consumes his body. Even as he is born from his father and mother, so is he born from the fire. But he who offers not the Agnihotra, verily, he does not come into life at all : therefore the Agni-hotra should by all means be offered.

9. And as to that same birth from out of doubt,— when Pragâpati doubted, he, while doubting, remained steadfast on the better (side), insomuch that he reproduced himself and saved himself from Agni, Death, when he was about to devour him : so he also who knows that birth from out of doubt, when he doubts about anything, still remains on the better (side).

10. Having offered, he rubbed (his hands). Thence

a Vikaṅkata¹ tree sprung forth; and therefore that tree is suitable for the sacrifice, and proper for sacrificial vessels. Thereupon those (three) heroes among the gods were born, viz. Agni, that blower (Vâyu), and Sûrya: and, verily, whosoever thus knows those heroes among the gods, to him a hero is born.

11. They then said, 'We come after our father Pragâpati: let us then create what shall come after us!' Having enclosed (a piece of ground), they sang praises with the gâyatrî stanza without the 'Hiñ²': and that (with) which they enclosed was the ocean; and this earth was the praising-ground (âstâva).

12. When they had sung praises, they went out towards the east, saying, 'We (will) go back thither!' The gods came upon a cow which had sprung into existence. Looking up at them, she uttered the sound 'hiñ.' The gods perceived that this was the 'Hiñ' of the Sâman (melodious sacrificial chant); for heretofore (their song was) without the 'Hiñ.' but after that it was the (real) Sâman. And as this same sound 'Hiñ' of the Sâman was in the cow, therefore the latter affords the means of subsistence; and so does he afford the means of subsistence whosoever thus knows that 'Hiñ' of the Sâman in the cow.

13. They said, 'Auspicious, indeed, is what we have produced here, who have produced the cow: for, truly, she is the sacrifice, and without her no sacrifice is performed; she is also the food, for the cow, indeed, is all food.'

14. This (word 'go'), then, is a name of those

¹ The sruva, or dipping-spoon, and the Agnihotra ladle, for instance, are made of this wood; see p. 331, note 2.

² On 'hiñ' as an essential element in the recitation of Sâma-chants, see I, 4, 1, 1 seq.

(cows), and so it is of the sacrifice: let him, therefore, repeat¹ it, (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' and, verily, whosoever, knowing this, repeats it, (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' with him those (cows) multiply, and the sacrifice will incline to him.

15. Now, Agni coveted her: 'May I pair with her,' he thought. He united with her, and his seed became that milk of hers: hence, while the cow is raw, that milk in her is cooked (warm); for it is Agni's seed; and therefore also, whether it be in a black or in a red (cow), it is ever white, and shining like fire, it being Agni's seed.' Hence it is warm when first milked; for it is Agni's seed.

16. They (the men) said, 'Come, let us offer this up!'—'To whom of us shall they first offer this?' (said those gods).—'To me!' said Agni.—'To me!' said that blower (Vāyu).—'To me!' said Sūrya. They did not come to an agreement; and not being agreed, they said, 'Let us go to our father Pragâpati; and to whichever of us he says it shall be offered first, to him they shall first offer this.' They went to their father Pragâpati, and said, 'To whom of us shall they offer this first?'

17. He replied, 'To Agni: Agni will forthwith cause his own seed to be reproduced, and so you will be reproduced.' 'Then to thee,' he said to Sūrya; 'and what of the offered (milk) he then is still possessed of, that shall belong to that blower

¹ Pariharet [?'let him avoid it (the term go in the sense of sacrifice), thinking that it is too holy']. Sâyaṇa merely remarks, that both the cow and the sacrifice are here represented as extremely auspicious (*utkrishṭam puṇyam*). Perhaps we have here a play on the words *upanâma*, 'a by-name,' and *upanâmuka*, 'inclining to (him).' 'Go' (for *go-shṭoma*) is the designation of one of the days of the Abhiplava at the Gavâmayana.

(Vāyu)!’ And, accordingly, they in the same way offer this (milk) to them till this day: in the evening to Agni, and in the morning to Sūrya; and what of the offered (milk) he then is still possessed of, that, indeed, belongs to that blower.

18. By offering, those gods were produced in the way in which they were produced, by it they gained that victory which they did gain: Agni conquered this world, Vāyu the air, and Sūrya the sky. And whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, he, indeed, is produced in the same way in which they were then produced, he gains that same victory which they then gained;—indeed, he shares the same world with them, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra. Therefore the Agnihotra should certainly be performed.

THIRD ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. The Agnihotra, doubtless, is the Sun. It is because he rose in front (agre) of that offering¹, that the Agnihotra is the Sun.

2. When he offers in the evening after sunset, he does so thinking, ‘I will offer, while he is here, who is this (offering);’ and when he offers in the morning before sunrise, he does so thinking, ‘I will offer, while he is here, who is this (offering):’ and for this reason, they say, the Agnihotra is the Sun.

3. And when he sets, then he, as an embryo, enters that womb, the fire; and along with him thus becoming an embryo, all these creatures become embryos; for, being coaxed, they lie down contented².

¹ Apparently an etymological play on the word *agnihotra* = *agre hotrasya*, cf. II, 2, 4, 2.

² *Ītā hi sere* (serate, Kāṇva rec.) *saṃgānāṇāḥ*.

The reason, then, why the night envelops that (sun), is that embryos also are, as it were, enveloped.

4. Now when he offers in the evening after sunset, he offers for the good of that (sun) in the embryo state, he benefits that embryo; and since he offers for the good of that (sun) in the embryo state, therefore embryos here live without taking food.

5. And when he offers in the morning before sunrise, then he produces that (sun-child) and, having become a light, it rises shining. But, assuredly, it would not rise, were he not to make that offering: this is why he performs that offering.

6. Even as a snake frees itself from its skin, so does it (the sun-child) free itself from the night, from evil: and, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, he frees himself from all evil, even as a snake frees itself from its skin; and after his birth all these creatures are born; for they are set free according to their inclination.

7. Then, as to his taking out the Âhavantya (from the Gârhapatya) before the setting of the sun; —the rays, doubtless, are all those gods; and what highest light there is, that, indeed, is either Pragâpati or Indra. Now all the gods approach the house of him who performs the Agnihotra: but whosoever (offering) they approach before the fire has been taken out, from that the gods turn away, and he fails in it; and after the failure of that (offering) from which the gods turn away, people say, that, whether one knows it or not, the sun went down on account of that (fire) not having been taken out.

8. And another reason why he takes out the Âhavantya before the setting of the sun, is this. In like manner as, when one's better comes to visit

one, he would honour him by trimming his house, so here: for whosoever (offering) they approach, after the fire has been taken out, his Âhavanīya (house) they enter, in his Âhavanīya they repose.

9. Now when he offers in the evening after the sun has set, he thereby offers to them after they have entered his fire-house; and when he offers in the morning before sunrise, he offers to them before they go away. Therefore Âsuri said, 'The Agnihotra of those who offer after sunrise we regard as useless¹: it is as if one were to take food to an empty dwelling.'

10. That which affords (the means of) subsistence is of two kinds; namely, either rooted or rootless. On both of these, which belong to the gods, men subsist. Now cattle are rootless and plants are rooted. From the rootless cattle eating the rooted plants and drinking water, that juice is produced.

11. Now when he offers in the evening after sunset, he does so thinking, 'I will offer to the gods of this life-giving juice: we subsist on this which belongs to them.' And when he afterwards takes his evening meal, he eats what remains of the offering, and whereof oblation portions (bali) have been distributed all round²; for he who performs the Agnihotra eats only what remains of the offering.

12. And when he offers in the morning before sunrise, he does so thinking, 'I will offer to the gods of this life-giving juice: we subsist on this which belongs to them.' And when he afterwards takes his meal in the day-time, he eats what remains of the

¹ *Vikkhinna*, ? lit. 'cut off (from its recipient).'

² Bali is the technical term of the portions of the daily food that have to be assigned to all creatures.

offering, and whereof oblation portions have been distributed all round; for he who performs the Agnihotra eats only what remains of the offering.

13. Here now they say,—All other sacrifices come to an end, but the Agnihotra does not come to an end. Although that which lasts for twelve years is indeed limited, this (Agnihotra) is nevertheless unlimited, since, when one has offered in the evening, he knows that he will offer in the morning; and when one has offered in the morning, he knows that he will again offer in the evening. Hence that Agnihotra is unlimited, and in consequence of this its unlimitedness, creatures are here born unlimited. And, verily, he who thus knows the unlimitedness of the Agnihotra, is himself born unlimited in prosperity and offspring.

14. Having milked¹ he puts that (milk) on (the Gârhapatya fire), because it has to be cooked. Here now they say, 'When it rises to the brim, then we shall offer it!' He must not however let it rise to the brim, since he would burn it, if he were to let it rise to the brim; and unproductive indeed is burnt seed: he must not, therefore, let it rise to the brim.

15. He should not offer it without having put it on the fire; for since this is Agni's seed, therefore it is hot (*srīta*, 'cooked'); and by putting it on the

¹ For other ceremonies preceding those above, see I, 3, 3, 13 seq. According to Kâty. IV, 14, 1 he has the Agnihotra cow—standing south of the sacrificial ground and facing the east or north—milked by anybody except a Sûdra. The vessel to be used is of earthenware, and must have been made by an Ârya. The Adhvaryu then takes the vessel, and having entered the Âhavanīya house by the east door and passed over to the Gârhapatya, puts it there on coals previously shifted northwards from the fire.

fire, it is indeed heated : let him, therefore, offer (of the milk) only after he has put it on the fire.

16. He illumines it (with a burning straw)¹ in order that he may know when it is done. He then pours some water to it (with the sruva), both for the sake of appeasement, and in order to supplement the juice. For when it rains here, then plants spring up; and in consequence of the plants being eaten and the water drunk, this juice is produced : hence it is in order to supplement the juice (that he pours water to it); and therefore, if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk, let him have one drop of water poured into it, both for the sake of appeasement, and in order to supplement the juice.

17. Thereupon he ladles four times (milk with the sruva into the Agnihotra ladle²), for in a four-fold way was that milk supplied³. He then takes a kindling-stick (samidh), and hastes up (to the Âhavanīya, with the ladle) to make the libation on the burning (stick)⁴. He offers the first libation

¹ According to Kâty. IV, 14, 5 the Adhvaryu illumines the milk with a burning straw; pours some water to it with the sruva or dipping-spoon; then illumines it once more; and lifts up the pot three several times, putting it down each time further north of the fire. Thereupon he warms the two spoons; and wipes them with his hand; and having warmed them once more, he says to the sacrificer, 'I ladle!' The latter, while standing, replies, 'Ôm, ladle!'

² For the Agnihotra-havanî, or offering-spoon (sruk), used at the morning and evening libation, and made of Vikaṅkata wood (Flacourtia Sapida), see p. 67, note 2. In the case of those who make five cuttings from the havis (pañcāvattin, cf. p. 192 note) he takes five sruva-fuls. Kâty. IV, 14, 10, Comm.

³ Viz. by the four teats of the udder. Comm.

⁴ While holding a billet or kindling-stick (samidh) over the (handle of) the milk-ladle, he [first holds the latter close over the Gârhapatya fire, and thereupon] takes it to the Âhavanīya, keeping

(pûrvâhuti) without putting down (the spoon) beside (the fire, on the grass-bunch). For, were he to put it down beside (the fire), it would be as if, in taking food to somebody, one were to put it down on one's way thither. But when (he makes the libation) without previously putting it down, it is as if, in taking food to somebody, one puts it down only after taking it to him. The second (libation he then makes) after putting it down: he thereby makes these two (libations) of various vigour. Now these two libations are mind and speech: hence he thereby separates mind and speech from each other; and thus mind and speech, even while one and the same (samâna), are still distinct (nânâ).

18. Twice he offers in the fire, twice he wipes (the spout of the spoon), twice he eats (of the milk), and four times he ladles¹;—these are ten (acts), for

it on a level with his mouth, except in the middle between the two fires, where he lowers it for a moment to the level of his navel. He then crouches down [bending his right knee, and looking eastwards, by the north-west corner of the Âhavaniya], puts the billet on [the centre of] the fire, and makes the first libation (pûrvâhuti) on the burning stick (see the formula, par. 30. The sacrificer, as usual, pronounces the dedicatory formula, viz. 'This to Agni!' and, 'This to Sûrya!' respectively). Thereupon he lays down the ladle on the kûrka [a grass-bunch, placed behind the Âhavaniya fire-place, to serve as a seat, and to wipe the hands on; according to others, a flat piece of Varana wood], then takes it up again and silently makes the second libation (uttarâhuti) on the north part of the fire. Kâty. IV, 14, 12-17 with Schol.

¹ He ladles four sruva-fuls of milk into the Agnihotra ladle, and makes in the Âhavaniya fire two libations from this milk (so as to leave the larger quantity in the ladle to be eaten). He then wipes twice the spout of the ladle. [In each of the two other fires he thereupon makes likewise two libations with the sruva, of one spoonful each.] The milk left in the ladle he eats, on the completion of the six libations, by twice taking it out with his ring-finger.

of ten syllables consists the virâḡ stanza, and the sacrifice is virâḡ (shining): he thereby converts the sacrifice into the virâḡ.

19. Now what he offers up in the fire, that he offers to the gods; and thereby the gods are (admitted to the sacrifice)¹. And what he wipes off (the spoons), that he offers to the fathers and plants; and thereby the fathers and plants are (admitted). And what he eats after offering, that he offers to men; and thereby men are (admitted).

20. Verily, the creatures that are not allowed to take part in the sacrifice are forlorn: to those creatures that are not forlorn he thus offers a share at the opening of the sacrifice; and thus beasts (cattle) are made to share in it along with (men), since beasts are behind men².

21. On this point Yâgñavalkya said, 'It (the Agnihotra) must not be looked upon as a (havis-) sacrifice, but as a domestic sacrifice (pâkayagñâ); for while in any other (havis-)sacrifice he pours into the fire all that he cuts off (from the sacrificial dish and puts) into the offering spoon,—here, after offering and stepping outside³, he sips water and licks out (the milk); and this indeed (is a characteristic) of the domestic offering.' This then is the animal

¹ Tasmâd devâḥ santi; anvâbhaktâḥ ('allowed to share in the sacrifice') has probably to be supplied here from the next paragraph.

² Instead of this paragraph, the Kâṇva text reads: 'Behind men are beasts; behind the gods are birds, plants, trees, and whatever else exists here. Thus he makes these creatures share in the sacrifice, those that are not forlorn here.' Compare I, 5, 2, 4.

³ Utsrîpya is variously explained by the commentators here and on Kâty. IV, 14, 27, as 'having gone out,' or 'having slowly moved forward,' or 'having risen,' or 'having poured out (the milk).'

characteristic¹ of that (Agnihotra), for the domestic offering pertains to beasts (or cattle).

22. Now the first of these libations, doubtless, is the same as that which Pragâpati offered in the beginning²; and as those (gods) thereupon continued (to sacrifice)³,—namely, Agni, that blower (Vâyu), and Sûrya,—so this second libation is offered.

23. What first libation (pûrvâhuti) is made, that is the deity of the Agnihotra⁴, and to that (deity) it is accordingly offered; and what second one (uttarâhuti) is made, that indeed is equivalent to the Svishṭakṛit (Agni, the maker of good offering); whence he offers it on the north part (of the fire), since that is the region of the Svishṭakṛit⁵. Moreover, this second libation is made in order to effect a pairing, for a couple forms a productive pair.

24. These two libations, then, form a duad: the past and the future, the born and the to-be-born, the actual⁶ and the hope, the to-day and the morrow,—(these are) after the manner of that duad.

25. The past is the self, for certain is that which is past, and certain also is that which is a self. The future, on the other hand, is progeny; for uncertain is that which is to be, and uncertain also is progeny.

26. The born is the self, for certain is that which is born, and certain also is the self. The to-be-born,

¹ *Paravyam rūpam*,—that is to say, its relation to the *paśu* or animal sacrifice; and hence also to the *idā* at the *haviryagña*; cf. I, 7, 4, 19.

² See II, 2, 4, 4 seq.

³ See II, 2, 4, 18.

⁴ That is to say, it represents the chief offering at the *haviryagña*, which is followed by the (oblation to Agni) *Svishṭakṛit*. See I, 7, 2, 1 seq.

⁵ See I, 7, 3, 20.

⁶ *Āgatam*, 'what has arrived or come to pass,' 'the accomplished.'

on the other hand, is progeny ; for uncertain is what is to be born, and uncertain also is progeny.

27. The actual is the self, for certain is what is actual, and certain also is the self. And hope is progeny, for uncertain is hope, and uncertain also is progeny.

28. The to-day is the self, for certain is what is to-day, and certain also is the self. The morrow is progeny, for uncertain is the morrow, and uncertain also is progeny.

29. Now that first libation is offered on account of the self : he offers it with a sacred text, for certain is the sacred text, and certain also is the self. And that second one is offered on account of progeny : he offers it silently, for uncertain is what (is done) silently, and uncertain also is progeny.

30. [In the evening] he offers (the first libation), with the text (Vâg. S. III, 9, 10), 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, Svâhâ !' and in the morning with, 'Sûrya (the sun) is the light, the light is Sûrya, Svâhâ !' Thus offering is made with the truth ; for, truly, when the sun goes down, then Agni (fire) is the light, and when the sun rises, then Sûrya is the light ; and whatever is offered with the truth, that, indeed, goes to the gods.

31. Here now Takshan recited for Âruni¹, who wished to obtain holy lustre (brahmavarṇasa, inspired nature), 'Agni is lustre, light is lustre ;'— 'Sûrya is lustre, light is lustre.' Holy lustre, therefore, he obtains whosoever, knowing this, thus offers the Agnihotra.

¹ The Kâṇva text has,—Here now Daksha said to Âruni, 'For one wishing to obtain brahmavarṇasa one should offer with this text, "Agni is lustre, light is lustre ;"—"Sûrya is lustre, light is lustre :"' a brahmavarṇasin, then, he becomes for whomsoever they so sacrifice.'

32. That (other text), however, has the characteristic form of generation. In saying, 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, Svâhâ!' he encloses that seed, the light, on both sides with the deity; and the seed, thus enclosed on both sides, is brought forth: thus enclosing it on both sides he causes it to be brought forth.

33. And when, in the morning, he says, 'Sûrya is the light, the light is Sûrya, Svâhâ!' he encloses that seed, the light, on both sides with the deity, and the seed, thus enclosed on both sides, is brought forth: thus enclosing it on both sides he causes it to be brought forth; and this, indeed, is the characteristic form of generation.

34. But *Givala Kailaki* said¹, 'Āruni merely causes conception to take place, not birth: let him therefore offer with that (text, in par. 32) in the evening.

35. 'Then, in the morning, by the text, "The light is Sûrya, Sûrya is the light," he places that seed, the light, outside by means of the deity; and the seed thus brought outside he causes to be born.'

36. They also say, 'In the evening he offers Sûrya in Agni, and in the morning he offers Agni in Sûrya².' Such, indeed, is the case with those who offer after sunrise; for when the sun sets then Agni is the light, and when the sun rises then Sûrya is the light. Here no offence is committed on his (the sacrificer's) part; but an offence is indeed committed where offering is not made distinctly to that deity (viz. Agni or Sûrya resp.), which is the deity of the Agnihotra.

¹ I have made *Givala's* speech extend to the end of par. 35, as is done, no doubt correctly, in the *Kânva* text.

² The *Kânva* has,—Now they say, 'In the evening they offer Agni in Sûrya, and in the morning they offer Sûrya in Agni.' But see the formulas (par. 30), where 'light' is to be taken as Sûrya and Agni respectively.

He says¹, 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, Svâhâ!' and not, 'To Agni Svâhâ!' and in the morning, 'Sûrya is the light, the light is Sûrya, Svâhâ!' and not, 'To Sûrya Svâhâ!'

37. He may also offer (in the evening) with this text (Vâg. S. III, 10), 'Along with the divine Savitri—,' whereby it (the sacrifice) becomes possessed of Savitri for his impulsion; '—along with the Night, wedded to Indra—,' whereby he effects a union with the night, and makes it (the sacrifice) possessed of Indra, for Indra is the deity of the sacrifice; '—may Agni graciously accept! Svâhâ!' whereby he offers to Agni in a direct manner.

38. And in the morning with, 'Along with the divine Savitri—,' whereby it becomes possessed of Savitri for his impulsion; '—along with the Dawn, wedded to Indra,' or 'along with the Day—,' whereby he effects a union either with the day or the dawn², and makes it (the sacrifice) possessed of Indra; for Indra is the deity of sacrifice; '—may Sûrya graciously accept! Svâhâ!' whereby he offers to Sûrya directly: hence he may offer in this way.

39. They then spake, 'Who shall offer this unto us?'—'The priest (brâhmaṇa)!—' Priest, offer this unto us!'—'What is to be my share then?'—'The residue of the Agnihotra!' Now what he leaves in

¹ Here the Kâṇva text begins a new paragraph. The author's object seems to be to show that those who offer the Agnihotra after sunrise, commit a mistake in not offering to Sûrya unmistakably; for while before sunrise, Sûrya is still reposing in Agni, and the oblation, in being poured into the fire, is consequently made to Sûrya directly, those offering after sunrise should rather use the formula 'To Sûrya Svâhâ!' Cf. paragraph 9.

² Instead of 'ahnâm voshasâm vâ,' I adopt 'ahnâ voshasâ vâ,' from the Kâṇva reading 'ushasâ vâhnâ vâ.'

the ladle, that is the residue of the Agnihotra; and what remains in the pot, is as (the rice for oblations which) one takes out from the enclosed part (of the cart)¹. And if any one is to drink it, at least none but a Brāhman must drink it²: for it is put on the fire (and thereby consecrated), and hence none but a Brāhman must drink it.

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. Verily, in him that exists³, these deities reside, to wit, Indra, king Yama, *Nada* the Naishadha⁴ (king), Anasnat Sāṅgamana, and Asat Pāmsava.

2. Now Indra, in truth, is the same as the Āhavanīya; and king Yama is the same as the Gārha-patya; and *Nada* Naishadha is the same as the Anvāhāryapaṭana (Dakshina fire); and because day by day they take that (fire) to the south, therefore indeed they say that day by day *Nada* Naishadha carries king Yama⁵ (further) south.

3. And again what fire there is in the hall (sabhā), that is the same as Anasnat Sāṅgamana: Anasvat (not eating) it is for the reason that people

¹ Yathā parīṇaho nirvaped evam tat. The Kāṇva text has: Yathā (yayā MS.) koshīhā parīṇaho vā nirmimītaivam tat.

² Or, 'anybody may drink it, but none but a Brāhman may drink it.' According to the Schol. on Kāty. IV, 14, 11, the milk which is left in the pot may be drunk by a Brāhman, but by no one else; not even in his own house is a Kshatriya or Vaisya allowed to drink it.

³ The commentator takes it, 'in whatever (sacrificer) exists.' The (Oxf. MS. of the) Kāṇva text has nothing corresponding to the second and third Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ The printed text has Naishidha. See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 225 seq.

⁵ Here Yama is apparently taken as (the god of) death and destruction, caused, as Professor Weber suggests, by the warlike expeditions of *Nada*, king of Nishadha, in the south.

approach it before they eat. And that (place) where they throw the ashes they remove (from the fire-places) is the same as Asat Pâmsava. And whosoever knows this, thus gains all those worlds, traverses all those worlds, thinking, 'In me those gods reside.'

4. Now as to rendering homage to (upasthâna, lit. standing near) these (fires). When in the evening and morning (after the Agnihotra) he stands by the Âhavantya, and sits down by it, that is the homage rendered to that (fire). And when, on stepping back to the Gârhapatya, he either sits or lies down, that is the homage rendered to that (fire). And when, in walking (out of the sacrificial ground), he remembers the Anvâhâryapaṭana, and thus, in his mind, tarries near it, that is the homage rendered to that (fire).

5. And again, before taking food in the morning, having sat down for a moment in the hall, he may also, if he like, walk round (the Sabhya or hall-fire), —and this is the homage rendered to that (fire). And when he steps near where lie the ashes removed (from the fire-places) that is the homage rendered to that (fire). And thus homage has been rendered to those deities of his.

6. Now the Gârhapatya (householder's fire) has the sacrificer for its deity; and the Anvâhâryapaṭana (southern fire) has his foe for its deity: hence they should not take over that (southern fire) every day (from the Gârhapatya); and he indeed has no enemies, for whomsoever, knowing this, they do not take it over every day. Indeed, it is the Anvâhâryapaṭana¹.

¹ That is, the fire on which the Anvâhârya mess of rice, the priests' Dakshinâ at the new and full-moon sacrifice, is cooked. See I, 2, 3, 5; p. 49, note 1.

7. Let them only take it over on the fast-day (of the new and full-moon sacrifice), when they are about to sacrifice on this (the Âhavanîya fire): thus that (southern) one is taken over in order to prevent failure on his (the sacrificer's) part.

8. Or they may also take it over to a new dwelling; and let them then cook on it food (other than meat) for the priests to eat. And should he not be able to procure anything to cook, let him order the milk of a cow to be put thereon and let the priests be asked to drink it. And his enemies will indeed fare ill, for whomsoever, knowing this, they do so: let him, therefore, endeavour by all means to do so.

9. Now when it is first kindled, and there is as yet nothing but smoke, then indeed that (fire) is Rudra. And if anyone (Kshatriya) desires to consume food (belonging to others),—even as Rudra seeks after these creatures, now with distrust, now with violence, now in striking them down,—let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then (when the fire has just been lighted), obtains that food.

10. And when it burns rather brightly, then indeed that (fire) is Varuṇa. And if any one desires to consume food,—even as Varuṇa seeks after these creatures, now, as it were, seizing on them, now with violence, now in striking them down,—let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then, obtains that food.

11. And when it is in full blaze, and the smoke whirls upwards with the utmost speed, then indeed that (fire) is Indra. And if any one wishes to be like Indra in splendour and glory, let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then, obtains that food (object).

12. And when the flame of the waning (fire) gets lower and lower, and (burns) as it were sideways, then, indeed, that (fire) is Mitra. And if any one desires to consume food here through the kindness (maitra, of others),—as one of whom they say, 'Truly, this Brāhman is everybody's friend, he harms not any one,'—let him offer (the Agnihotra) then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then (when the fire gets low), obtains that food.

13. And when the coals are glowing intensely, then, indeed, that (fire) is the Brahman. And if anybody wishes to become endowed with holy lustre (brahmavar̥kasin), let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then, obtains that food (object).

14. Let him endeavour to adhere to some one of these (gods or fires) for a year, whether he (the householder) himself offer (the Agnihotra) or some one else offer for him. If, on the other hand, he offers now in this way, now in another, it is just as if, in digging for water or some other food, one were to leave off in the midst of it. But if he offers uniformly, it is just as if, in digging for water or some other food, one lays it open forthwith.

15. Indeed, these offerings are, as it were, the spades for (the digging up of) food; and, assuredly, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, procures food.

16. Now the first libation (pûrvâhuti) represents the gods, and the second (uttarâhuti) represents the men, and what remains in the ladle represents cattle.

17. Only a little he offers for the first libation, somewhat more for the second, and still more he leaves in the ladle.

18. The reason why he offers only a little for the first libation, is that the gods are fewer than men; and why he offers somewhat more for the second libation, is that men are more numerous than the gods; and why he leaves still more in the ladle, is that cattle are more numerous than men. And, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, his cattle will be more numerous than those (human beings) that have to be supported by him: for he, indeed, is in a prosperous condition whose cattle are more numerous than those (human beings) dependent on his support.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Now when Pragâpati, in creating living beings, created Agni, the latter, as soon as born, sought to burn everything here: and so everybody tried to get out of his way¹. The creatures then existing sought to crush him. Being unable to endure this, he went to man.

2. He said, 'I cannot endure this: come, let me enter into thee! Having reproduced me, maintain me; and as thou wilt reproduce and maintain me in this world, even so will I reproduce and maintain thee in yonder world!' He (man) replied, 'So be it.' And having reproduced him, he maintained him.

3. Now when he establishes the two fires, he reproduces that (Agni); and having reproduced him, he maintains him; and as he reproduces and maintains him in this world, even so does he (Agni) reproduce and maintain him in yonder world.

4. One must not, therefore, remove it (the sacrificial fire from the hearth) prematurely, for too

¹ Ity âbîlam âsa, i. e. 'there was a (general rush) to a hole,' (or perhaps 'to the outlet.')

soon it languishes for him; and as it languishes for him too soon in this world, even so does it languish for him too soon in yonder world: one must not, therefore, remove it prematurely.

5. And when he dies, and they place him on the (funeral) fire, then he is reproduced from out of the fire; and he (Agni) who heretofore was his son¹, now becomes his father.

6. Hence it has been said by the *Rishis* (Rig-veda I, 89, 9), 'A hundred autumns (may there be) before us, O gods, during which ye complete the life-time of our bodies, during which sons become fathers! do not cut us off, midway, from reaching the full term of life!' for he (Agni) who is the son, now in his turn becomes the father: this, then, is why one must establish the fires.

7. Now yonder burning (sun) doubtless is no other than Death; and because he is Death, therefore the creatures that are on this side of him die. But those that are on the other side of him are the gods, and they are therefore immortal. It is by the rays (or reins, thongs, *rasmi*) of that (sun) that all these creatures are attached to the vital airs (breaths or life), and therefore the rays extend down to the vital airs.

8. And the breath of whomsoever he (the sun) wishes he takes and rises, and that one dies. And whosoever goes to yonder world not having escaped that Death, him he causes to die again and again in yonder world, even as, in this world, one regards not him that is fettered, but puts him to death whenever one wishes.

¹ Viz. inasmuch as the householder, by the *Âdhâna*, produces, generates Agni.

9. Now when, in the evening after sunset, he offers two libations, then he firmly plants himself on that Death with those fore-feet of his; and when, in the morning before sunrise, he offers two libations, then he plants himself on that Death with those hind-feet of his. And when he (the sun) rises, then, in rising, he takes him up and thus he (the sacrificer) escapes that Death. This, then, is the release from death in the Agnihotra: and, verily, he who knows that release from death in the Agnihotra, is freed from death again and again.

10. What the arrow-head is to the arrow, that the Agnihotra is to sacrifices. For whither the head of the arrow flies, thither the whole arrow flies: and so are all his works of sacrifice freed by this (Agnihotra) from that Death.

11. Now day and night, revolving, destroy (the fruit of) man's righteousness in yonder world. But day and night are on this side (of the sun) from him (after he has gone up to heaven); and so day and night do not destroy (the fruit of) his righteousness.

12. And as, while standing inside a chariot, one would look down from above on the revolving chariot-wheels, even so does he look down from on high upon day and night: and, verily, day and night destroy not the reward of him who thus knows that release from day and night.

13. [The sacrificer] having gone round the Âhavanîya, (after entering) from the east¹, passes

¹ According to Kâty. IV, 13, 12 [and Schol.], the householder [after taking out the fires and performing his regular twilight adoration (sandhyâ), that is, muttering the Sâvitri, Rig-veda III, 62, 10 (see Sat. Br. II, 3, 4, 39), when the sun has half disappeared or until it becomes visible; cf. Âsval. Grîhyas. XX, 3, 7] passes between the Gârhapatya and Dakshîṇa fires, or south of them,

between (it and) the Gârhapatya (to his seat). For the gods do not know (this) man¹; but when he now passes by them between (the fires), they know him, and think, 'This is he that now offers to us.' Moreover, Agni (the fire) is the repeller of evil; and these two, the Âhavantiya and Gârhapatya, repel the evil from him who passes between them; and the evil being repelled from him, he becomes a very light in splendour and glory.

14. On the north side is the door of the Agni-hotra²: thus (he approaches it) as he would enter (a house) by a door. If, on the other hand, he were to sit down after approaching from the south, it would be as if he walked outside.

15. The Agnihotra, truly, is the ship (that sails) heavenwards. The Âhavantiya and Gârhapatya are the two sides³ of that same heavenward-bound ship; and that milk-offerer is its steersman.

16. Now when he walks up towards the east, then he steers that (ship) eastwards towards the

[enters the Âhavantiya house by the east door], circumambulates the fire from right to left (apadakshinam), and sits down in his place (south of the Âhavantiya fire and altar). The same circumambulation is performed by the wife, who thereupon sits down in her place, south-west of the Gârhapatya.

¹ Or, 'the gods are not aware of (this) man' (na vai devâ manushyam viduḥ). The gods are supposed to be assembled around the altar; see I, 3, 3, 8.

² I do not understand this, there being no door on the north side of the Âhavantiya fire-house. According to the commentator this passage is directed against those who make the sacrificer betake himself to the Âhavantiya from (or along) the south; and he quotes the words 'dakshinena vâ' from Kâtyâyana, apparently IV, 13, 12, where it is said that the sacrificer, in going to the Âhavantiya, has to pass between the two western fires, 'or south of them.'

³ 'Naumande' ? according to the commentator = bhittî (the two walls or sides). The Petersb. Dict. proposes 'the two rudders (or oars).'

heavenly world, and he gains the heavenly world by it. When ascended from the north it makes him reach the heavenly world; but if one were to sit down in it after entering from the south, it would be as if he tried to enter it after it has put off and he were left behind and remained outside.

17. And again, the stick which he puts on the fire (corresponds to) a brick, and the formula wherewith he offers is the Yagus-text wherewith he puts on that brick¹; and when the brick is put on, then a libation is made: hence those same libations of the Agnihotra are offered on his pile of bricks².

18. The fire, assuredly, is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year. Year after year, therefore, is his Agnihotra consummated with the piled-up fire-altar; and year after year does he obtain the piled-up fire-altar, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra.

19. Seven hundred and twenty eighties of *Rik*-verses (he should recite at the Agnihotra in the course of a year). When he offers the Agnihotra in the morning and evening, then there are two libations: hence those libations of his, in the course of a year, amount to—

20. Seven hundred and twenty. Thus, indeed, his Agnihotra is accomplished, year after year, with the great chant³; and year after year does he obtain

¹ Viz. at the Agniñayana, or piling up of the brick-altars at the Soma-sacrifice. As to the putting on of the stick, see II, 3, 1, 17. The *Kânva* text of the *Vâg. S.* (but not that of the *Brâhm.*) gives the formula '*Agnigyotisham* (*Sûryagyotisham*, in the morning) *tvâ vâyumatîm*,' &c. See *Kâty.* IV, 14, 13; 15, 9.

² After the completion of the fifth, and last, layer of the brick-altar, oblations of various materials are made thereon; especially the *Satarudriyahoma*, consisting of 425 single oblations; *Sat. Br.* IX, 1, 1, 1 seq., 2, 1, 1 seq.

³ The *mahad* (or, *brâhad*) *uktha* or great chant, which marks

the great chant, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Once on a time the gods deposited with Agni all their beasts, both domestic and wild; either because they were about to engage in battle or from a desire of free scope, or because they thought that he (Agni) would protect them as the best protector.

2. Now Agni coveted them, and seizing them he entered the night with them. 'Let us go back thither,' said the gods, and betook themselves to where Agni was concealed. Now they knew that he had entered there, that he had entered the night; and when the night returned in the evening, they approached him and said, 'Give us our beasts! give us back our beasts!' Agni then gave them back their beasts.

3. For this then let him respectfully approach the two fires: the fires are givers, and thereby he supplicates them. Let him approach them in the evening, for in the evening the gods approached (Agni). And whosoever, knowing this, approaches (the two fires), to him, indeed, they grant cattle.

4. Then as to why he should not approach them. Now in the beginning both the gods and men were together here. And whatever did not belong to the men, for that they importuned the gods, saying, 'This is not ours: let it be ours!' Being indignant

the conclusion of the Agnikayana, consists of 3×80 *trikas* (strophes of three verses each), or together 720 verses. On the frequent use of number 80 in the fire-ritual, see Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 167.

at this importunity, the gods then disappeared. Hence (it may be argued) one should not approach (the fires), fearing lest he should offend them, lest he should become hateful to them.

5. Then as to why he should nevertheless approach (the fires). The sacrifice, assuredly, belongs to the gods, and the prayer for blessing to the sacrificer. Now the (Agnihotra) libation, doubtless, is the same as the sacrifice; and what he does¹ in now approaching (the fires), that indeed is the sacrificer's prayer for blessing.

6. And again, why he should not approach (the fires). Whosoever follows either a Brâhman or Kshatriya, praising him, thinking, 'He will give me gifts, he will build me a house,' to him, if he strives to please him both in speech and deed, that (master of his) will think himself bound to give gifts. Whosoever, on the other hand, says, 'What art thou to me, that givest me nothing?' him that (master) is likely to hate, to become disgusted with. Hence one should not approach (the fire); for by kindling and offering in it, he already supplicates it, and he should not therefore approach (and importune it again).

7. And again, why he should nevertheless approach (the fires). He alone that asks finds a giver; and the master, moreover, knows nothing of his dependent. But when the latter says, 'I am thy dependent: support me!' then he does know him, and feels himself bound to support him. Let him therefore approach (the fires). This then is the

¹ The Kânva text has: 'And when he approaches (the fires), that (represents) the sacrificer's wish for blessing: what there is here for him, that indeed he thereby makes his own (âtmani kurute).'

whole (argument) as to why one should approach (the fires).

8. Now that (fire) being *Pragâpati*,—when the *Agnihotra* is offered, he casts the seed of all that he rules over, of all that is after his manner: and by approaching (the fire) one imitates (him in) all this, one reproduces all this¹.

9. He begins to pray² with the verse (*Vâg. S. III, 11*) containing the word 'upon (*upa*).' Now the word 'upon' means this (earth), and that in a twofold way: for whatever is produced here, that is produced upon (*upa-gan*) this (earth); and whatever decays, that is buried (*upa-vap*³) in this (earth): hence there is here imperishable, ever-increasing abundance, and with that imperishable abundance he begins.

10. He prays, 'Entering upon the worship—,' worship (*adhvara*) doubtless means sacrifice: 'entering upon the sacrifice' is what he means to say. '—Let us offer prayer to *Agni*—,' for he is indeed about to offer prayer to him; '—to him who hears us even from afar!' thereby he means to say, 'Although thou art afar from us, yet do thou hear this our (prayer), do thou so far think well of it!'

11. [He continues, *Vâg. S. III, 12*], '*Agni*, the head,

¹ Or, 'this All' (*idam sarvam*). The *Kânva* text has *bhûmân*, 'abundance,' instead.

² The mode of approaching and worshipping the fires (*agny-upasthâna*) detailed in pars. 9–41 is ascribed to *Vatsapri* (author of *Rig-veda IX, 68; X, 45 and 46*), and therefore termed *vâtsapra-upasthâna*. It is, however, also called *mahopasthâna* (or *dirghopasthâna*), or great (long) worship, as distinguished from the so-called *kshullakopasthâna* (or *laghûpasthâna*), or little (short) worship, described in II, 4, 1, and ascribed to *Âsuri*.

³ Or 'upa-kiryate,' according to the *Kânva* text.

the summit of the sky; he, the lord of the earth, animates the seeds of the waters.' He thereby follows (and praises) him :—even as a suppliant would speak politely, 'Surely thou art the descendant of so and so! surely thou art able to do this!' so (he does) by this (verse).

12. Thereupon the verse to Indra and Agni (*Vâg. S. III, 13*), 'You two, O Indra and Agni, I will invoke; you two I will delight together with kindly office; you two, the givers of strength and wealth, —you two I invoke for the obtainment of strength!' Indra, doubtless, is the same as that burning (sun); when he sets, then he enters the *Âhavanīya*;—hence he now approaches these two that are thus united, thinking, 'May the two, united, grant me favours:' this is why the Indra-Agni (verse is muttered).

13. [He continues, *ib. 14 seq.*], 'This is thy natural womb, whence born thou shonest forth: knowing this, arise, O Agni, and increase our substance!'—substance, doubtless, means affluence: 'grant to us ever-increasing affluence!' is what he thereby says.

14. 'First was he founded by the founders here, the best offering priest, worthy of praise at the sacrifices; he whom *Apnavâna* and the *Bhrigus* kindled¹, shining brightly in the wood, and spreading from house to house:'—even as a suppliant would speak politely, 'Surely thou art the descendant of so and so! surely thou art able to do this!' so in this (verse). And what he (Agni) really is, as such he speaks of him when he says 'spreading from house to house,' for he does indeed spread from house to house.

¹ Or, as Grassmann, in his translation of the *Riksamhitâ*, takes it, 'he whom the active *Bhrigus* kindled.'

15. 'In accordance with his old (pratna) splendour, the dauntless have milked the shining juice from the wise one that giveth a hundredfold.' The richest of gifts, indeed, is the hundredfold gift; and in order to obtain that (giver) he says, 'the wise one that giveth a hundredfold.'

16. This is a hymn of six verses collected (from the *Rîk*); the first of them containing (the word) 'upon,' and the last containing (the word) 'old' (pratna). And this we recited, because she (the earth) is the one that contains the (word) 'upon;' and that which is 'old' doubtless is yonder (sky), for as many gods as there were 'of old,' in the beginning, so many gods there are now, and hence the 'old' means yonder (sky). Now within these two (worlds) all desires are contained; and these two are in accord with each other for his (the sacrificer's) benefit, and concede all his wishes.

17. Thrice he mutters the first (verse) and thrice the last; for of threefold beginning are sacrifices, and of threefold termination: therefore he mutters thrice the first and the last (verses).

18. Now, in offering the Agnihotra, whatever mistake one commits, either in word or deed, thereby he injures either his own body, or his life, or his vigour, or his offspring.

19. Accordingly (he mutters the texts, Vâg. S. III, 17), 'Thou, O Agni, art the protector of bodies: protect my body! Thou, O Agni, art the giver of life: give me life! Thou, O Agni, art the giver of vigour: give me vigour! O Agni, what defect there is in my body, supply that for me!'

20. And whatever mistake he commits, in offering the Agnihotra, either in word or deed, thereby he

injures either his own body, or his life, or his vigour, or his offspring: 'make that up for me!' he thereby says; and accordingly that (defect) is again made up for him.

21. [He continues, *Vâg. S. III, 18*], 'Kindled, we enkindle thee, the brilliant one, a hundred winters—;' he thereby says, 'may we live a hundred years;' and 'so long we enkindle thee, the great one,' he says, when he says 'we enkindle thee, the brilliant one.' '—We, the vigorous—thee, the invigorating; we, the strong—thee, the giver of strength—;' whereby he says, 'may we be vigorous, mayest thou be invigorating! may we be strong, mayest thou be a giver of strength!' '—We, the uninjured—thee, the uninjurably injurer of enemies!' whereby he says, 'by thine aid may we render our enemies utterly miserable!'

22. 'O thou, rich in lights, may I safely reach thine end!' this he mutters thrice. She that is rich in lights (*ċitrâvasu*) doubtless is the night, since the latter, as it were, rests (*vas*) after gathering together the lights (*ċitra*): hence (at night) one does not see clearly (*ċitram*) from afar.

23. Now it was by means of this same (text) that the *Rishis* reached safely the end of the night; and because of it the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*, did not find them: by it, therefore, he also now reaches safely the end of the night; and because of it the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*, find him not.—This much he mutters while standing.

24. Thereupon, while seated, (he mutters, *Vâg. S. III, 19 seq.*), 'Thou, O *Agni*, hast attained to *Sûrya*'s lustre—;' this he says, because, in setting, the sun enters the *Âhavanîya*; '—to the praise

of the *Rishis*—;’ this he says, because he himself now approaches (and worships, praises, the fire); ‘—to the favourite abode (or dainty);’ his (Agni’s) favourite abode doubtless are the offerings: ‘to offerings’ he thereby says. ‘—May I attain to long life, to lustre, to offspring, to increase of wealth!’ whereby he says, ‘Even as thou didst attain to those (qualities), so may I attain to long life, lustre, offspring, affluence,—that is to say, to prosperity.’

25. He then approaches the cow¹, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 20), ‘Food ye are: may I enjoy your food! wealth ye are: may I enjoy your wealth!’—whereby he means to say, ‘whatever energies are yours, whatever riches are yours, may I enjoy them.’—‘Strength ye are: may I enjoy your strength!’ whereby he says, ‘sap ye are: may I enjoy your sap!’—‘Affluence ye are: may I enjoy your affluence!’ whereby he says, ‘abundance ye are: may I enjoy your abundance!’

26. ‘Ye prosperous ones, disport yourselves—;’ cattle are prosperous: therefore he says, ‘ye prosperous ones, disport yourselves—;’ ‘—in this seat, in this fold, in this place, in this homestead: remain here, go not from hence!’ this he says with reference to himself,—‘go not away from me!’

27. He then touches the cow, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 22 a), ‘Motley thou art, of all shapes;’—for cattle are indeed of all shapes: therefore he calls her all-shaped; ‘—come to me with sap and possession of cattle!’ when he says ‘with sap,’ he means

¹ Viz. the Agnihotra cow, which has supplied the milk for the morning and evening libation; or any cow, if other material than milk be used.

to say 'with juice;' and when he says 'with possession of cattle,' he means to say 'with abundance.'

28. He then steps up to the Gârhapatya, and renders homage to it, with the text (ib. 22 b), 'Thee, O Agni, illuminer of the night¹, we approach day by day with prayer, paying homage unto thee.' He thus renders homage to it in order that it may not injure him.

29. [He continues, ib. 23 seq.], 'Thee that rulest over the sacrifices, the brilliant guardian of the sacred rite, thriving in thine own house;'—whereby he means to say, 'thine own house is this (house) of mine: make it ever more flourishing for us!'

30. 'O Agni, be thou accessible unto us, even as a father is to his son! lead us unto well-being!'—whereby he says, 'As a father is easy of access to his son, and the latter in no wise injures him, so be thou easy of access to us, and may we in no wise injure thee!'

31. Then the dvipadâ verses (Vâg. S. III, 25, 26), 'O Agni, be ever nigh unto us, a kindly guardian and protector! as wealthy Agni, famed for wealth, come hither and bestow on us glorious riches! Thee, the most bright and resplendent, we now approach for happiness to our friends: be with us, hear our call, and keep us safe from every evil-doer!'

32. Now when he approaches the Âhavantya, he prays for cattle: he therefore approaches it with metres great and small, since cattle are of great and small size. And when he approaches the Gârha-

¹ Doshâvatar, 'the illuminer of the dusk;' or perhaps, as Professor Ludwig proposes, 'We approach thee, day by day, at dusk and dawn (in the evening and morning), with prayer.'

patya, he prays for men : hence the first tristich is in the gâyatrî metre, since the gâyatrî is Agni's metre, and he thus approaches him with his own metre.

33. Thereupon (he mutters) the dvipadâ (two-footed) verses. The dvipadâ, doubtless, is man's metre, since man is two-footed, and men are there-with prayed for : and as he now prays for men, therefore (he uses) dvipadâ verses. And whosoever, knowing this, approaches (the two fires), becomes possessed both of cattle and men.

34. He then goes (again) to the cow, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 27), 'O *Idâ*, come hither ! O *Aditi*, come hither !' for both *Idâ* and *Aditi* are cows. He touches her with, 'Come hither, ye much-desired !'—for men's wishes are fixed on them, and hence he says, 'come hither, ye much-desired ;'—'Let there be for me the fulfilment of wishes from you !' whereby he says, 'may I be dear to you !'

35. Thereupon, while standing between the *Âhavanîya* and *Gârhapatya* and looking eastward at the (former) fire, he mutters (Vâg. S. III, 28-30), 'O Lord of prayer, make him sweet-voiced, the offerer of Soma, *Kakshîvat*, *Usig's* son !—Be he with us, he the opulent, the killer of woe, the bestower of wealth, the increaser of prosperity, he the nimble !—Let not the curse of the evil-doer reach us, nor the guile of the mortal : preserve us, O Lord of prayer !'

36. Now when he approaches the *Âhavanîya*, he approaches the sky ; and when (he approaches) the *Gârhapatya*, (he approaches) the earth. Hereby now (he approaches) the ether, that being *Bṛhaspati's* region ; and that region he thereby approaches : this is why he mutters the prayer to *Bṛhaspati*.

37. [He continues, Vâg. S. III, 31-33], 'May the

mighty, the heavenly, the unassailable favour of the three, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa, be (with us)! For the wicked enemy lords it not over them (that are protected by these gods), neither at home nor on dangerous paths: for those sons of Aditi bestow undying light on the mortal that he may live!—In this (prayer) he says, ‘nor on dangerous paths;’ for dangerous indeed are the paths that lie between heaven and earth: those he now walks, and therefore he says, ‘nor on dangerous paths.’

38. Then follows a verse to Indra (Vâg. S. III, 34); for Indra is the deity of the sacrifice, and with Indra therefore he now connects the fire-worship: ‘At no time, O Indra, art thou barren; and never dost thou fail the worshipper—;’ the worshipper, doubtless, is the sacrificer: ‘never dost thou harm the sacrificer,’ this is what he thereby says: ‘—but more and evermore is thy gift increased, O mighty god!’ thereby he says, ‘do thou make us ever more prosperous here!’

39. Then follows a verse to Savitṛi¹ (Vâg. S. III, 35),—for Savitṛi is the impeller (*prasavitṛi*) of the gods; and thus all his (the sacrificer’s) wishes are fulfilled, impelled as they are by Savitṛi.—(He mutters), ‘May we obtain the glorious light of the divine Savitṛi, who, we trust, may inspire our prayers!’

40. Thereupon a verse to Agni (Vâg. S. III, 36),—whereby he finally makes himself over to Agni for protection: ‘May thine unapproachable chariot, wherewith thou protectest the worshippers, encircle us on every side!’ The worshippers, doubtless, are

¹ Or, the Sâvitṛî, that is, the sacred prayer to Savitṛi, the sun, also called Gâyatri, Rig-veda III, 62, 10. Cf. p. 344, note 1.

the sacrificers; and what unassailable chariot he (Agni) possesses, therewith he protects the sacrificers. Hence he thereby means to say, 'what unassailable chariot thou possessest, wherewith thou protectest the sacrificers, therewith do thou guard us on every side.' This (verse) he mutters thrice.

41. He then pronounces his son's name¹: 'May this son (N. N.) carry on this manly deed of mine!' Should he have no son, let him insert his own name.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now after the performance of the Agnihotra he (optionally²) approaches the fires with (Vâg. S. III, 37), 'Earth! ether! sky!' In saying 'Earth! ether! sky!' he renders his speech auspicious by means of the truth, and with that (speech) thus rendered propitious he invokes a blessing:—'May I be well supplied with offspring!' whereby he prays for offspring; '—well supplied with men!' whereby he prays for men (heroes); '—well supplied with viands!' whereby he prays for prosperity.

2. That long (form of) fire-worship is a prayer for blessing, and so is this (short) one a prayer for blessing: hence even with this much he obtains all, and he may therefore worship the fires with it. 'Therewith, indeed, we perform,' so spake Âsuri.

3. Now, when he is about to set out on a journey³, he approaches first the Gârhapatya, and thereupon the Âhavanīya.

¹ See I, 9, 3, 21.

² For this shorter form of worshipping the fires, see p. 349, note 2.

³ That is, a journey which will compel him to pass the night beyond the village boundary.

4. The Gârhapatya he approaches with the text (Vâg. S. III, 37 b seq.), 'Thou, that art friendly to man, protect my offspring!' He (Agni Gârhapatya), truly, is the guardian of offspring; and therefore he now makes over to him his offspring for protection.

5. He then approaches the Âhavanîya, with 'Thou, that art worthy of praise, protect my cattle!' He (Agni), truly, is the guardian of cattle, and therefore he now makes over to him his cattle for protection¹.

6. Thereupon he walks or drives off; and having got as far as what he considers to be the boundary², he breaks silence. And when he returns from his journey he maintains silence from the moment he sees what he considers to be the boundary. And even though there be a king inside (one's house), one must not go to him (or any other person before one has rendered homage to the fires).

7. He first approaches the Âhavanîya fire, and thereupon the Gârhapatya. The Gârhapatya doubtless is a house (*grîhâḥ*), and a house is a safe resting-place: so that he thereby (finally³) establishes himself in a house, that is, in a safe resting-place.

8. He approaches the Âhavanîya fire, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 38 seq.), 'We have approached (thee), the all-knowing, the most liberal dispenser of

¹ The Vâg. S. gives also the formulas with which the Dakshinâgni should be approached, after the other two fires, by the householder, both in starting on, and returning from, his journey. See Kâty. IV, 12, 13; 18. The Kânva text does not allude to the Dakshinâ fire any more than ours.

² According to the Paddhati on Kâty. IV, 12, he has to maintain silence as long as he can see the roof of one of his fire-houses; but according to the Sâṅkhâyana śākhâ he has to do so only as long as he can see one of the fires.

³ The Kânva text reads 'antataḥ.'

goods : O Agni, sovereign lord, bestow on us lustre and strength !' Having then sat down he sweeps the blades of grass¹ (into the fire).

9. Thereupon he approaches the Gârhapatya, with the text, ' He, Agni Gârhapatya, is the lord of the house, the most liberal dispenser of goods to our offspring : O Agni, lord of the house, bestow on us lustre and strength !' Having then sat down, he sweeps off the blades of grass. In this way (householders) mostly approach the fires with muttered prayer.

10. However, one may also approach the fires silently,—and that for this reason :—If in the place (where one lives), a Brâhman or noble—in short, a better man—resides, one dares not say to him, ' I am going on a journey, take care of this (property) of mine² !' Now in this (sacrificial ground) one's betters indeed reside, viz. the divine Agnis : who, then, would dare to say to them, ' I am going on a journey, take ye care of this (property) of mine !'

11. The gods assuredly see through the mind of man : that (Agni) Gârhapatya therefore knows that he (the householder) now approaches in order to give

¹ According to Kâty. IV, 12, 18–19 he [after performing ablutions, and lustrating the Âhavanîya and Dakshîna fire-places, and taking out these fires from the Gârhapatya] approaches the Âhavanîya, while holding pieces of fire-wood in his hand, and mutters the formula given above. He then sits down and silently puts on the fire a piece of wood and the grass that has fallen around the fire. According to the Kâṇva text he mutters the second half of the formula (' O Agni,' &c.) while sweeping the grass (into the fire).

² In Taitt. Br. I, 1, 10, 6, a householder who is about to start on a journey is apparently recommended to entrust his house to a Brâhman, who may be staying in it.

himself up to him. Silently he approaches the Âhavantya fire: that (Agni) Âhavantya knows that he now approaches in order to give himself up to him.

12. Thereupon he walks or drives off; and having got as far as what he considers the boundary line, he releases his speech. And when he returns from the journey, he maintains silence from the moment he sees what he considers to be the boundary. And even though there be a king inside (one's house), one must not go to him.

13. He first approaches the Âhavantya, and thereupon the Gârhapatya. Silently he approaches the Âhavantya; and silently he sits down and sweeps away the grass-blades. Silently he approaches the Gârhapatya; and silently he sits down and sweeps away the grass-blades.

14. Then as to the observances in regard to (the entering of) his house. Now when a householder comes home from a journey, his house trembles greatly for fear of him, thinking, 'What will he say here? what will he do here?' It is therefore for fear of him that speaks or does anything on this occasion that the house trembles and is liable to crush his family; but him who neither speaks nor does anything, his house receives with confidence, thinking, 'He has not spoken here, he has not done anything here!' And should he be ever so angry at anything on this occasion, let him rather do on the next day whatever he might wish to say or do. This then is the observance in regard to the house¹.

¹ The Kâṇva text here adds the formulas Vâg. S. III, 41-43, lines 1 and 2, wherewith he approaches (upatishṭhate) the house. See Kâty. IV, 12, 22. According to Kâty. ib. 23, he then enters

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

III. THE PINDAPITR/YAGŪA OR OBLATION OF OBSE-
QUIAL CAKES TO THE FATHERS.

1. Now the living beings once approached Pragā-pati—beings doubtless mean creatures—and said, 'Ordain unto us in what manner we are to live!' Thereupon the gods, being properly invested with the sacrificial cord¹ and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, 'The sacrifice (shall be) your food; immortality your sap; and the sun your light!'

2. Then the fathers approached, wearing the cord on the right shoulder, and bending the left knee. To them he said, 'Your eating (shall be) monthly; your cordial (svadhā) your swiftness of thought; and the moon your light!'

3. Then the men approached him, clothed and bending their bodies. To them he said, 'Your eating (shall be) in the evening and in the morning; your offspring your death; and the fire (Agni) your light!'

4. Then the beasts approached him. To them he granted their own choice, saying, 'Whensoever ye shall find anything, whether in season or out of season,

the house with the formula Vâg. S. III, 43, line 3, 'For safety, for peace I resort to thee: be there kindness, happiness, all-hail, and blessing!' Thereupon, according to the Schol., he is to proceed in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Gṛihya-sūtras*; cf. *Pârask. G. I*, 18; *Āsv. G. I*, 15, 9.

¹ *Yagñopavitin*, 'sacrificially invested,' i. e. wearing the sacrificial cord in the ordinary way, on the left shoulder and under the right arm. In any performance connected with the deceased ancestors, the cord has to be shifted from the left to the right shoulder and under the left arm (*prâṇinopavitin*, lit. 'eastward invested').

ye shall eat it!' Hence whenever they find anything, whether in season or out of season, they eat it.

5. Thereupon—so they say—the Asuras also straightway¹ approached him. To them he gave darkness (tamas) and illusion (mâyâ): for there is indeed what is called the illusion of the Asuras. Those creatures, it is true, have perished; but creatures still subsist here in the very manner which Pragâpati ordained unto them.

6. Neither the gods, nor the fathers, nor beasts transgress (this ordinance); some of the men alone transgress it. Hence whatever man grows fat, he grows fat in unrighteousness, since he totters and is unable to walk because of his having grown fat by doing wrong. One should therefore eat only in the evening and morning; and whosoever, knowing this, eats only in the evening and morning, reaches the full measure of life; and whatever he speaks, that is (true); because he observes that divine truth. For, verily, that is Brâhmanic lustre (tegas), when one knows to keep His (Pragâpati's) law.

7. Now that (lustre) indeed belongs to him who presents (food) to the fathers once a month. When that (moon) is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he presents (food) to them; for that moon doubtless is king Soma, the food of the gods. Now during that night (of new moon) it fails them, and when it fails, he presents (food to them), and thereby establishes concord (between the gods and fathers). But were he to present (food) to them when it is not failing, he would indeed cause a quarrel between the gods and fathers: hence he presents

¹ Sarvat='repeatedly,' Comm.; sarvad api, 'endlich auch (at last also),' St. Petersburg. Dict.

(food) to them when that (moon) is not seen either in the east or in the west.

8. He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon, doubtless, belongs to the gods; the mid-day to men; and the afternoon to the fathers: therefore he presents (food to the fathers) in the afternoon.

9. While seated behind the Gârhapatya, with his face turned toward the south¹, and the sacrificial cord on his right shoulder, he takes that (material for the offering from the cart)². Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes (the rice) while standing north of the Dakshina fire and facing the south. Only once he cleans (the rice)³; for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away, and therefore he cleans it only once.

10. He then boils it. While it stands on the (Dakshina) fire, he pours some clarified butter on it;—for the gods they pour the offering into the fire; for men they take (the food) off the fire; and for the fathers they do in this very manner: hence, they pour the ghee on it while it stands on the fire.

11. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two libations in the fire. For, in establishing his sacrificial fires, and in performing the new and full-moon sacrifice, that (householder) resorts to the gods. Here, however, he is engaged in a

¹ Dakshinâsîna; the Commentator interprets it by 'sitting south of the cart.'

² The Kârva text has,—*etam karum grîhñâti*, 'he takes that pot, or potful, (of rice).' Doubtless, he is to take from the cart the quantity of rice sufficient for the offerings and put it in the pot (*karu*). According to Kâty. IV, 1, 5-7 he is to take the but-partly-filled pot, or a spoonful (or, according to the Schol., rather less than a spoonful).

³ Compare the detailed account in I, 1, 4, 1 seq.

sacrifice to the fathers : hence he thereby propitiates the gods, and being permitted by the gods, he presents that (food) to the fathers. This is why, on removing (the rice), he offers to the gods two libations in the fire.

12. He offers both to Agni and Soma¹. To Agni he offers, because Agni is allowed a share in every (offering); and to Soma he offers, because Soma is sacred to the fathers. This is why he offers both to Agni and Soma.

13. He offers² with the formulas (Vâg. S. II, 29 a, b), 'To Agni, the bearer of what is meet for the wise, svâhâ!' 'To Soma, accompanied by the fathers, svâhâ'³! He then puts the pot-ladle on the fire,—that being in lieu of the *Svishtakṛit*⁴. Thereupon he draws (with the wooden sword) one line (furrow) south of the *Dakshina* fire⁵,—that

¹ According to Taitt. Br. I, 3, 10, 3, some make a third oblation, viz. as *Sâyana* states, to Yama (the chief of the fathers), with the formula, 'To Yama, accompanied by the *Âṅgiras* and fathers, svadhâ! namaḥ!' see note 3.

² The commentary on *Kâty.* IV, 1, 7 supplies the following particulars :—Having removed the pot off the *Dakshina* fire on the south side, the *Adhvaryu* takes it, along the east, to the north side of the fire. He then shifts the sacrificial cord to his left shoulder (as he is about to offer to gods), puts three sticks on the fire, and sitting down with his face towards the east offers some boiled rice with the pot-ladle (*mekshana*).

³ The *Taittirīyas* use svadhâ! namaḥ! instead of svâhâ! They also offer first to Soma, with 'To Soma, drank by the fathers' (but cf. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 9, 5), and then to (Yama, and finally to) Agni. Taitt. Br. I, 3, 10, 2-3.

⁴ See I, 7, 3, 1 seq.

⁵ Or west (*gaghanena*) of the fire [from north to south], according to the *Kâṇva* text; optionally, according to *Kâty.* IV, 1, 8. *Kâty.* also gives the text 'Expelled are the *Asuras*, the *Rakshas*, seated on the altar' (Vâg. S. II, 29 c) to be muttered during the act.

being in lieu of the altar : only one line he draws, because the fathers have passed away once for all.

14. He then lays down a firebrand at the farther (south) end (of the line). For were he to present that (food) to the fathers, without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rakshas would certainly tamper with it. And thus the Asuras and Rakshas do not tamper with that (food) of the fathers : this is why he lays down the firebrand at the farther end (of the line).

15. He lays it down, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 30), 'Whatsoever Asuras roam about at will¹, assuming various shapes²,—be they large-bodied or small-bodied³,—may Agni expel them from this world!' Agni is the repeller of the Rakshas, and therefore he lays (the firebrand) down in this way.

16. He then takes the water-pitcher and makes (the fathers) wash (their hands)⁴, merely⁵ saying, 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case.

¹ Or, as the Commentator takes *svadhayâ*, '(attracted) by the *svadhâ* (offering to the fathers).'

² That is, according to the Schol., assuming the shapes of deceased ancestors.

³ This explanation of the words *parâpurañ* and *nipurañ*, proposed by the Scholiast, is doubtful.

⁴ The Adhvaryu (having again shifted the sacrificial cord to his right shoulder) pours water through the "fathers' space" (*pitritîrtha*, i.e. the space between the thumb and fore-finger), from right to left, into the line, at its beginning, centre, and end. Kâty. IV, 1, 10, and Schol.

⁵ See paragraph 19.

17. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke, and cut off near the root;—the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men, and the root-part to the fathers: therefore they are cut off near the root. And with one stroke they are severed, because the fathers have passed away once for all.

18. He spreads them (along the line) with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents [to the fathers the three (round) cakes of rice]¹. He presents them thus²;—for to the gods they offer thus; for men they ladle out (the food in any way they please)³; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way: therefore he presents (the cakes to them) thus.

19. With, 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents (one cake) to the sacrificer's father. Some add, 'and for those who come after thee!' but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom (it would be offered) in common⁴: let him

¹ According to the Paddhati on Kâty. the first ball is to be of the size of a fresh âmalaka, or fruit of the Emblic Myrobalan, and each of the two others is to be larger than the preceding one.

² Here the teacher indicated by gesture the part of the hand sacred to the fathers (see p. 365, note 4); and then in the same way that dedicated to the gods, viz. the tip of the fingers.

³ The Kânva recension reads here also 'thus they take out (the food) for men;' the part of the hand dedicated to man being, according to the commentary on Kâty. IV, 1, 10, the part about the little finger (kanish/hikâpradera).

⁴ *Svayam vai teshâm saha yeshâm saha*. According to the commentary, the author apparently means to say, that if he were to add, 'and those who come after thee (i. e. after his father),' he would include the sacrificer himself, and the latter would consequently offer the *pinda* to himself. The form of the presentation-formula rejected by our author is the one adopted in Âśval. Sr. II, 6, 15, except that 'atra' is added there ('who here come after thee').

therefore merely say, 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee!' as to his grandfather; and 'N. N., this for thee!' as to his great-grandfather. He presents (the food) in an order (directed) away from the present time, because it is away from hence that the fathers have once for all departed.

20. He then mutters (Vâg. S. II, 31 a), 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves: like bulls come hither, each to his own share!' whereby he says, 'Eat ye each his own share!'

21. He then turns round (to the left), so as to face the opposite (north) side: for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail,' say some, 'for thus far extends the vital energy.' However¹, having remained so for a moment—

22. He again turns round (to the right) and mutters (Vâg. S. II, 31 b), 'The fathers have regaled themselves: like bulls they have come each to his own share;' whereby he means to say, 'They have eaten each his own share².'

23. Thereupon he takes the water-pitcher and makes them wash themselves³, merely saying,

The Kâṇva text mentions and rejects the two alternative readings, 'ye *ka tvâm anvânka*' and '*yâms ka tvam anvān asi*' ('and those whom thou followest'). In Taitt. Br. I, 3, 10, no presentation-formula is mentioned at all.

¹ The Kâṇva recension has *tad u* instead of *sa vai*.

² 'Formerly the gods and men and fathers (*deva-manushyâḥ pitaraḥ*) drank visibly together, but now they do so invisibly.' Sat. Br. III, 6, 2, 26.

³ Viz. by pouring water on the obsequial cakes. According to Âsval. Sr. II, 7, 5, and other treatises, he also puts down some

'N. N., wash thyself¹!' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest) when he has taken his meal, so here.

24. He then pulls down the tuck² (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the fathers (*pitṛidevatyâ*): therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. Now obeisance means worship (or sacrifice): hence he thereby renders them worthy of worship. Six times he performs obeisance; for there are six seasons, and the fathers are the seasons: for this reason he performs obeisance six times. He mutters (*Vâg. S. II, 32 g*), 'Give us houses, O fathers!' for the fathers are the guardians (*īstate*) of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the cakes have been put back (in the dish containing the remains of boiled rice) he (the sacrificer) smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The

ointment, oil, or butter on the *pindās*, saying, '(Father), N. N., anoint thyself!' &c.; see Donner, *Pindap.*, p. 25.

¹ See paragraph 19.

² *Nîvim udvṛhya* = *paridhânyasya vâsaso dasâ tâm udvṛhya visramsya, Sâyana*. According to Mahâdeva, he (who presents the *pindās*, viz. either the *Adhvaryu* or the sacrificer) has previously to put on a garment with a tuck (*nîvimat paridhânam*), i. e. with the *dasâ*, or unwoven edge of the upper garment, tucked up under the waistband. This he is to pull out. *Kâtyâyana* has the following rules: IV, 1, 15, Having made (them) wash themselves as before, and having loosened (*visramsya*) the tuck, he makes obeisance with 'adoration to your vigour, O fathers!' &c. (*Vâg. S. II, 32 a-f*). [According to the Comm., he adds the formula, 'Give us houses, O fathers! we will give to you of what is (ours).' *Vâg. S. II, 32, 9.*] 16, With 'Put on this your garment, O fathers!' (*Vâg. S. II, 32 h*), he throws three threads (pieces of

(stalks of sacrificial grass) cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also again throws away the fire-brand¹.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

IV. THE ÂGRAYANESHṬI OR OFFERING OF FIRST-FRUITS.

This sacrifice is performed in spring and autumn—generally at new or full moon—at the commencement of the harvest. The oblations, which, as a rule, are prepared from new grain (viz. barley in spring, and rice in autumn), consist of—1. a sacrificial cake contained on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni; 2. a *karu* (mess of boiled grains) for the *Virve Devâh*, prepared with water or milk; and 3. a cake on one potsherd for heaven and earth. *Kâty.* IV, 6 and comm. According to the *Paddhati*, the offering of first-fruits takes place after the new-moon offering, and before the full-moon offering. At the beginning of the harvest of *Panicum Frumentaceum* (*syâmâka*), in the rainy season or in autumn; and at that of bamboo

yarn), one on each cake. 17, Or, woollen fringe [or, wool or fringe (*darâ*), according to others]. 18, Or, hairs of the sacrificer (pulled out from the chest near the heart), if he is advanced in years. 19, He pours [the water, left in the pitcher, on the cakes] with 'Ye (O waters) are a refreshing draught, ye, that bring sap, immortal ghee and milk and foaming mead: gladden my fathers!' (*Vâg.* S. II, 34.) 20, [The *Adhvaryu*] having laid (the cakes on the dish) the sacrificer smells at them. 21, The firebrand and the once-cut stalks of grass (he throws) into the fire. 22, The wife, if desirous of a son, eats the middle cake with, 'Bestow offspring on me, O fathers, a boy crowned with lotuses; that there may be a man here!' (*Vâg.* S. II, 33.) [According to the comment, the other two cakes are thrown into the water or fire; or eaten by a priest.] For other variations, see Donner, *Pindapitriyagñi*. The *Kânva* recension, on the whole, agrees with our text.

¹ The *Kânva* text has as follows: 'Therefore he says, Give us houses, O fathers!' He then smells at the pot (*ukhâ*): that is the sacrificer's share. They again put down the cakes together (with the rice in the pot! *samavadadhati*). The once-severed (stalks of grass) they put on the fire. The firebrand he again shifts to (the fire; *apy-argati*).

in summer, offerings of first-fruits are also made to Soma in the form of a potful of boiled *syâmâka* or bamboo grains respectively.

1. Now *Kahodâ* *Kaushîtaki* spake, 'This sap (of the plants) truly belongs to those two, heaven and earth: having offered of this sap to the gods, we will eat it.' 'That is why the offering of first-fruits is performed.'

2. And *Yâgñavalkya* also spake:—The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from *Pragâpati*, once contended for superiority. The Asuras then defiled, partly by magic, partly with poison, both kinds of plants—those on which men and beasts subsist—hoping that in this way they might overcome the gods. In consequence of this neither did men eat food, nor did beasts graze; and from want of food these creatures well-nigh perished¹.

3. Now the gods heard as to how these creatures were perishing from want of food. They spake unto one another, 'Come, let us rid them² of this!'—'By what means?'—'By means of the sacrifice.' By means of the sacrifice the gods then accomplished all that they wanted to accomplish³; and so did the *Rîshis*.

4. They then said, 'To which of us shall this belong?' They did not agree (each of them exclaiming), 'Mine (it shall be)!' Not having come to an agreement, they said, 'Let us run a race for this (sacrifice): whichever of us beats (the others), his it shall be!' 'So be it!' they said, and they ran a race.

¹ The *Kânva* text has: *Tâ etâ ubhayyaḥ pragâ anasānena not parābabbhūvuh.*

² Viz. the plants, according to the reading of the *Kânva* text: *Hantâsâm oshadhînâm krîtyâm tvad visham tvad apahanâmeti.*

³ The *Kânva* text reads *kalpyam* instead of *kalpam*.

5. Indra and Agni won, and hence that Indra-Agni cake on twelve potsherds¹; Indra and Agni having won a share in it. And where Indra and Agni were standing when they had won, thither all the gods followed them.

6. Now, Indra and Agni are the Kshatra (nobility), and all the gods (or, the All-gods) are the Vis (common Āryan people); and wherever the Kshatra conquers, there the Vis is allowed to share. Thus they (Indra and Agni) allowed the Visve Devâḥ (the All-gods) a share (in the offering); and hence that pap of boiled (rice or barley) grain (offered) to the All-gods.

7. 'Let him prepare it from old (grain)²,' say some; 'for Indra and Agni are the Kshatra (and he should therefore use old grain for the Vaisvadeva pap) lest he (the sacrificer) should exalt (the Vis) to the level of the Kshatra.' Nevertheless let both (the cake and *kāru*) consist of new (grain); for (by the very fact that) the one is a cake and the other a pap, the nobility is not equalled (by the people): hence they should both consist of new (grain).

8. The All-gods spake, 'This sap (of the rice and barley plants) truly belongs to those two, heaven and earth: let us, then, allow those two a share in it!' They accordingly assigned that share to them, to wit, the cake on one potsherd offered to heaven

¹ The MS. of the Kāṇva recension has: Tasmād esha aindrāgno darakapālaḥ purolāso bhavati. The commentary on Kāty. IV, 6, 1, on the other hand, makes it a cake on eleven potsherds.

² Or, he may do so. Kāty. IV, 6, 7 leaves the option between new and old grain.

and earth¹. This is why there is a cake on one potsherd (kapâla) for heaven and earth. Now this (earth) is, doubtless, the cup (depository, kapâla) of that (sap)²; and she indeed is one only: hence (the cake) consists of one potsherd.

9. An offence (is thereby committed) by him³; since, for whatever deity sacrificial food may be taken out, the Svishṭakṛit (Agni, the maker of good offering) is invariably allowed a share in it after (the respective deity). But that (cake) he offers entire, and he does not cut off a portion for the Svishṭakṛit: this is an offence, and consequently (that cake), when offered, turns upside down.

10. Hence they say, 'That (cake) contained on one potsherd has turned upside down: it will throw the kingdom into disorder.' No offence (is; however, committed) by him, for the Âhavantya is the support of oblations; and if, after reaching the Âhavantya, (the cake) were to turn upside down ten times, he need not heed it. And if others ask as to who would care to incur (the result of) such a combination (of errors), let him offer nothing but butter; for clarified butter is manifestly the sap of

¹ This is a 'low-voiced' oblation, the invitatory and offering prayers thereat (with the exception of the concluding 'Vaushat' and 'Om') being pronounced in a low tone. See p. 171, note 1; p. 192, note 1.

² The Kâṇva text has: 'The reason why it consists of one kapâla is that this earth is a kapâla, and that she is one only.'

³ The Kâṇva recension has as follows:—As to this they say, 'It should not be a one-cup cake, (because) therein a neglect is (involved).' Even so (idaṃ nu): for whatever deity they take out sacrificial food, the Svishṭakṛit is invariably made to share in it after (the respective deity). That (cake) they offer whole: this is consequently a neglect. Moreover, it turns round (paryâbhavati). As to this they say, 'That (cake) has turned upside down,' &c.

those two, heaven and earth, so that he thereby manifestly gladdens those two with their own sap or essence : hence he need offer nothing but butter.

11. By performing that same sacrifice, the gods removed the magic spell as well as the poison from both kinds of plants,—those on which men and beasts subsist ; and henceforward the men ate food and the cattle grazed.

12. Now when he performs that sacrifice, he does so either for the reason that no one will then defile (the plants) either by magic or poison ; or because the gods did so. And whatever share the gods assigned (to themselves), that share he thereby makes over to them. Moreover, he thereby renders wholesome and faultless both kinds of plants,—those on which men and beasts subsist ; and these creatures subsist on those wholesome and faultless (plants) of his : this is why he performs that sacrifice.

13. The priests' fee for this (sacrifice) consists of the first-born calf (of the season) ; for that is, as it were, the first-fruits (of the cattle). If he has already performed the new and full-moon offerings, let him first perform those offerings¹, and thereupon the present (offering of first-fruits). If, on the other hand, he has not yet performed (the new and full-moon offerings), let them cook a *kâtushprâsya*² pap on the southern fire, and let the priests eat it.

¹ I do not know how to account for the *vâ*. *Sâyana* seems to take the passage thus :—'If he be a Soma-sacrificer, or if he be performing the *Darsapûrnamâsa*, [let him first perform that sacrifice, and] let him then perform the present one.' The Oxford MS. of the *Kâṇva* text has :—*Etat tasya karma ya igâno vâ syâd darsapûrnamâsâbhyâm vâ yagetâtha yo 'nigâno 'nvâhâryapaṭana evaudanam kâtushprâsyam paṭet tam brâhmaṇebhya upanidadhyât*.

² See II, 1, 4, 4 seq.

14. Verily, there are two kinds of gods: for the gods themselves, assuredly, are gods; and those priests who have studied, and teach Vedic lore, are the human gods. And in like manner as that is offered whereon the Vasha¹ has been pronounced, so is that (offering of first-fruits consecrated by the feeding of the priests). Let him also, at this (sacrifice), give as much as is in his power, for no offering, they say, should be without a dakshinâ. At the Agnihotra (performed at the time of the Âgrayaneshti) let him not offer (milk obtained from the eating of new corn)¹; for were he to offer such at the Agnihotra, he would cause a conflict (between the deities of the two offerings). The Âgrayana is one thing, and the Agnihotra is another: let him, therefore, not offer (new material) at the Agnihotra.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

THE DÂKSHÂYANA SACRIFICE.

This peculiar modification of the new and full-moon sacrifice seems to have been originated and generally to have been practised among the Dâkshâyanas, a royal family which was evidently still flourishing at the time of our author².

Here also two days were, as a rule, required for the performance, both at full and new moon; but while, at the ordinary sacrifice,

¹ Kâty. has the rules IV, 6, 11: 'In the case of one, who only performs the Agnihotra (and no longer the Darsapûrnamâsa), the evening and morning Agnihotra-oblation (at the time of the Âgrayana) is performed with new (corn).' 12, 'Or with the milk of (a cow) which has been fed with such (new corn).' The Kânva text has: 'Now at the Agnihotra also some offer (milk obtained from new corn), but let him not do so; for he would raise a quarrel were he to offer (such milk).'

² See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 223; IV, p. 358; Ludwig, Rig-veda III, p. 195.

the first day was completely taken up with the preliminary ceremonies, the Dākshâyâṇas spread the special offerings over both days, making each time two separate *ishîs* of them. The special *havis*, or sacrificial dishes, were, at the ordinary full-moon sacrifice, a rice-cake (to Agni, and another) to Agni and Soma; and at the new-moon sacrifice, a cake (to Agni, and another) to Indra and Agni, or, as an alternative, a dish of curds (*sânnâyya*) prepared of sweet and sour milk, offered to Indra (or Mahendra). The Dākshâyâṇas, on the other hand, offered the Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni cakes in the fore-noon of the first day, that of full and new moon respectively. The afternoons of the same days were then taken up with preliminary rites, such as the eating of fast-day food, the cutting of a *palâsa* branch, driving away of the calves from the cows, &c. The second day's performance commences (after the Agnihotra) with the election of the Brahman. The chief oblations of the day are (a cake to Agni, and) sour and sweet milk, offered separately to Indra at full moon; and mixed (as *sânnâyya* or *payasyâ*) to Mitra and Varuṇa at new moon.

At full moon some authorities add a special *ishî* to Indra *Vimrîdh* ('the Averter of evil'). The new-moon performance concludes with libations of whey to the divine coursers (the horses of the gods); and, optionally, with an *ishî* to Âditya.

The performance of the Dākshâyâṇa sacrifice was held to be obligatory only for a period of fifteen years (see XI, 1, 2, 13), whereas the ordinary new and full-moon offerings had to be performed for double that period from the setting up of the sacred fires. Nay, even the daily performance of it with certain modifications, for a whole year, was supposed to acquit the householder of any further obligation in this respect; his sacrificial duties being henceforth limited to the performance of the Agnihotra, or morning and evening libations. The daily performance of the Dākshâyâṇa is so regulated that an afternoon and following forenoon are alternately assigned to the two days' ceremonies of the ordinary fortnightly Dākshâyâṇa sacrifice.

1. In the beginning Pragâpati, being desirous of offspring, sacrificed with this sacrifice: 'May I abound in offspring and cattle; may I obtain prosperity; may I become glorious; may I become an eater of food!' so he thought.

2. Now he was indeed Daksha; and because

he sacrificed in the beginning with this sacrifice, it is called Dâkshâyana-sacrifice. Some, however, call it the Vasishtha-sacrifice; for he (Pragâpati) is indeed vasishtha (the best)¹, and after him they call it. He sacrificed with that sacrifice; and what race, what prosperity of Pragâpati was then produced through his performing that sacrifice, that same race he procreates, that same prosperity he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him therefore perform that sacrifice.

3. Now that same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Prâttdarsa Svaikna; and he indeed was an authority² to those who emulated him. An authority, therefore, he will become, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.

4. Him Suplan Sârñgaya approached for the sake of sanctity; and accordingly he was taught that sacrifice and another³; and having learnt it he went back to the Sriñgayas. Now they knew that he was coming to them after studying the sacrifice for their sake. They said, 'Verily, with the gods (saha devaiḥ) he has come to us who has come after studying the sacrifice:' thus he (was called) Sahadeva Sârñgaya; and even now the saying is, 'Lo, Suplan has taken another name!' He performed that sacrifice; and what race and prosperity of the Sriñgayas was then produced through his performing that sacrifice, that same race he procreates, that same prosperity he obtains, whoso-

¹ The Kânva text has :—Sa u vâ ekena nâmnâ vasishtha, 'and with one of his names he (Pragâpati) is indeed (called) Vasishtha.'

² Vivâtanam; vivâtanam, Kânva recension.

³ Viz. the Sautrâmanî-sacrifice, according to XII, 8, 2, 3.

ever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.

5. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Devabhâga Srautarsha. He was Purohita both to the Kurus and the *Sriṅgayas*. Now a very high position (is held by him) who is the Purohita of one kingdom: how much higher, then, is the position (of one) who (is the Purohita) of two (kingdoms). A very high position accordingly he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.

6. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Daksha Pârvasi; and even to this day these (descendants of his) the Dâkshâyanas are possessed of the royal dignity: royal dignity he, therefore, here obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.—Day by day there is one cake¹: thereby Fortune (*srī*) is (wedded) to him without a rival wife and undisturbed. He offers on two days of the full moon and on two of the new moon: for two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained.

7. Now when², at full moon, he offers a (cake) to Agni and Soma on the first day,—these are two deities, and two means a pair: hence a productive pair is thereby obtained.

8. And on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Indra's Sânnâyya³,—these are two deities, and two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained.

¹ Viz. on the first day of the full moon a cake to Agni-Soma; on that of new moon a cake to Indra-Agni; and on the second day of either ceremony the (ordinary) cake to Agni.

² Or, 'Now, as to the reason why' (*yad*) here and in the sequel.

³ See I, 6, 4, 9 seq.

9. Again when, at new moon, he offers a (cake) to Indra and Agni on the first day,—these are two deities, and two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained.

10. Then on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Mitra and Varuṇa's curds. Now Agni's cake (is offered), for the sole purpose that it may not forsake the sacrifice¹. Then those two, Mitra and Varuṇa, are two deities, and two means a pair: hence a productive pair is thereby obtained; and thus is (produced) that form (of the sacrifice) whereby he becomes many, whereby he is reproduced.

11. And when, at full moon, he offers the Agni-Soma (cake) on the first day, then this is for him that victim which they slaughter for Agni and Soma on the fast-day (of the Soma-sacrifice)².

12. And on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Indra's Sānnāyya. Now Agni's cake is for him what the morning libation is (at the Soma-sacrifice), for the morning libation is indeed sacred to Agni; and the Sānnāyya is for him the mid-day libation, for the mid-day libation is indeed sacred to Indra.

13. And again when, at new moon, he offers the Indra-Agni (cake) on the first day, that is for him the same as the third (or evening) libation; for the third libation is sacred to the All-gods, and Indra and Agni truly are all the gods³.

14. And on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Mitra and Varuṇa's curds. Now Agni's cake is (offered) for the sole purpose that it should not

¹ See I, 6, 2, 6, with note.

² On the upavasatha (fast-day, or day of preparation) preceding the Soma-sacrifice a he-goat is sacrificed to Agni and Soma.

³ Compare II, 4, 3, 5 seq.

forsake the sacrifice; and that dish of curds (payasyâ) is to him the same as that barren cow, the anûbandhyâ, which has to be slaughtered for Mitra and Varuṇa (at the Soma-sacrifice)¹: thus by performing the full and new-moon offering one gains as much as is gained by performing a Soma-sacrifice; and that (offering) is indeed a great sacrifice.

15. And again when, at full moon, he offers the Agni-Soma (cake) on the first day,—it was by that (offering) that Indra slew Vṛitra²; it was thereby he gained that supreme authority which he now wields³: and so does he (the sacrificer) thereby slay his wicked spiteful enemy and gain the superiority. And as to his mixing (sweet and sour milk),—the Sânnâyya is (the oblation) of the new moon (amâ-vâsyâ)⁴, and the new moon⁵ means being far away: to him who had slain Vṛitra this was forthwith (offered), and him they regaled with that draught. He therefore who, knowing this, prepares the Sânnâyya at full moon, forthwith

¹ In connection with the so-called udayanîyâ ishî, or concluding offering, of the Soma-sacrifice, a barren cow, called anû-bandhyâ (literally, 'to be bound afterwards'), is offered to Mitra and Varuṇa. In default of such a cow, an ox, or even a dish of curds (payasyâ) serves the same purpose. See Kâty. Sr. X, 9, 12-15; Sat. Br. IV, 5, 2, 1 seq.

² See I, 6, 4, 12.

³ Thus the frequently-occurring phrase 'vyagayata yâsyeyam vigitis tâm' (literally, 'he conquered that conquest which is now theirs') has been translated throughout.

⁴ On the derivation of amâ-vâsyâ ('dwelling at home, or together'), see I, 6, 4, 3 seq.

⁵ Or, 'the dwelling at home,' or '(Indra's) dwelling together (with Agni) means (Indra, the Vṛitra-slayer) being far away.'

drives away evil. Now that moon doubtless is king Soma, the food of the gods: they extract it on the first day, intending to consume it on the next day; consequently when that (moon) wanes, it is being consumed by them.

16. And when, at full moon, he offers the Agni-Soma (cake) on the first day, he thereby (as it were) extracts that (Soma); and, when extracted, he adds that juice to it, and makes it strong by means of that juice¹. Whosoever, then, knowing this, prepares the Sānnāyya at full moon, renders his offering palatable to the gods, and his offering is palatable to the gods.

17. And again as to why, at new moon, he offers the Indra-Agni (cake) on the first day. Indra and Agni doubtless are the deities of the new and full moon: it is to these, therefore, that he offers directly and expressly; and directly to the new and full moon is offering made by him who thus knows this.

18. And on the morrow there is Agni's cake and Mitra and Varuṇa's curds. Now Agni's cake is (offered) for the sole purpose that it may not forsake the sacrifice. Mitra and Varuṇa, on the other hand, are the two half-moons: the waxing one is Varuṇa, and the waning one is Mitra. During that night (of new moon) these two meet, and when they are thus together he pleases them with that (cake-offering): and, verily, all is pleased with him, all is obtained by him who thus knows this.

19. In that same night Mitra implants seed in Varuṇa, and when it (the moon) wanes, then it is

¹ See I, 6, 4, 6 seq.

produced from that seed. Now as to why that oblation of curds (*payasyâ*) to Mitra and Varuṇa is here exactly analogous (to the Sânnâyya offered at new moon)¹.

20. The new moon doubtless is entitled to the Sânnâyya: it is prepared both then and at full moon. Now were he also here (at the full-moon offering) to mix together (the sweet and sour milk), he would commit a repetition and cause a quarrel (between the respective gods)². Having collected that (Soma or moon) from the waters and plants, he causes him to be born from out of the oblations; and on being born from the oblations, he is visible in the western (sky).

21. It is through union that he produces him: the curds (*payasyâ*, fem.) are female, and the whey is seed. Now what is produced by union is (produced) properly: hence he thereby produces him by a productive union; and therefore there is an offering of curds.

¹ Or, to the offering of sour and sweet milk at full moon; see next note. The Kânva text has: 'Now as to why the oblation of curds is here made exactly analogous (at the full and new-moon ceremonies).' Perhaps it may also refer to the exact correspondence of the offering of curds to Mitra and Varuṇa at new moon and at the Soma-sacrifice.

² At the new-moon offering of the Dâkshâyana, the sânnâyya or *payasyâ* offered to Mitra and Varuṇa is prepared in the ordinary way (as at the new-moon ceremony), by fresh (boiled or un-boiled) milk being added to the sour milk of the preceding night's milking. At the full-moon offering, on the other hand, the sour and sweet milk remain separate, and constitute two different havis, or sacrificial dishes, dedicated to Indra. The terms *san-nî* ('to bring together') and *sânnâyya* are here likewise applied to the offering of the separate substances.

22. He then offers the whey¹ to the (divine) Coursers. Now the Coursers are the seasons, and the whey is seed: and thus the seed is cast properly, and the seasons bring forth the seed so cast in the form of these creatures. This is why he offers the whey to the Coursers.

23. He offers, as it were, behind the sacrifice: for it is from behind that the male approaches and impregnates the female. He first offers in the east. With 'O Agni, accept . . . !' he repeats the *Vashaṭ*,—this is in lieu of the *Svishṭakṛit*; and (the latter)² he offers in the east.

24. He then sprinkles (the whey) in the several quarters, with the texts (*Vâg. S. VI, 19 b-g*), 'The quarters!—The fore-quarters (*pra-dis*)!—The by-quarters (*â-dis*)!—The intermediate quarters (*vi-dis*)! The upper quarters (*ud-dis*)!—To the quarters,—*Svâhâ* ³!' Five are the quarters, and five the

¹ Before the oblations of curds are made, the whey is poured off into a vessel (then optionally sprinkled with butter), and placed on the *utkara*, or heap of rubbish. After the stalk of grass has been thrown into the fire (see I, 8, 3, 19), or after the dismissal of the spoons (I, 8, 3, 27), the *Adhvaryu* takes the whey and sprinkles the *barhis* (the grass covering on the altar) with it. He then pours the remaining whey into the *guhû* spoon and calls on the *Hotri* to recite the invitatory prayer to the Coursers. Thereupon he betakes himself with the spoon to the north of the fire, calls on the *Hotri* for the offering-formula, and at the two concluding *Vashaṭ*s pours some of the whey into the east part of the fire. He then sits down and sprinkles the whey on the fire according to the several quarters, beginning in the east, and moving around from left to right (*pradakṣiṇam*), with the respective texts, *Vâg. S. VI, 19 b-e*; after which he makes two more libations in the centre and east part of the fire, with VI, 19 f and g.

² The *Kâṇva* text has *tadu* instead of *sa vai*. On the oblation to Agni as 'the maker of good offering,' see I, 7, 3, 1 seq.

³ *Svâhâ* is uttered after each formula,—'The quarters, *Svâhâ* !' &c.

seasons: he thus effects a union between the quarters and the seasons¹.

25. Five partake of that (whey remaining in the spoon),—viz. the Hotri, the Adhvaryu, the Brahman, the Âgnîdhra, and the Sacrificer; for five are the seasons, so that the characteristic nature of the seasons is thereby obtained; and the seed that is cast is firmly implanted in the seasons. The sacrificer partakes of it first, thinking, 'May I first obtain seed!' But also last (he partakes of it)², thinking, 'May seed remain in me last of all!' By saying, 'Invited,—invite thou³!' they make it (the whey to resemble) the Soma.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

V. THE KÂTURMÂSYÂNI OR SEASONAL SACRIFICES.

A. THE VALSVADEVA.

The three seasonal or four-monthly sacrifices are performed at the parvans, or commencement of the three seasons (spring, rainy

¹ *Ritûn evaitad digbhir mithunân karoti, Kânva recension.*

² The author does not express himself quite clearly. The sacrificer is to partake of the whey before the priests and also (or, as an alternative) after them. According to Kâty. IV, 4, 26-27, the sacrificer is to eat either last of all, or first and last. The Kânva text has: Prathamô yagamâno bhakshayati prathamô retah parigrîhnamîty athottamo mayy uttamam retah pratishhâd iti,—accordingly he is to eat first and last.

³ Each of them, in his respective order, takes the spoon, calls on the others in the same order with 'O sacrificer (Hotri, Adhvaryu, &c.) invite!' Their permission having been given by 'Invited (thou art)!' he then takes some of the whey, with one of the texts: 'I eat thee, the courser (or whey, vâginam) of the seasons, the coursers!' 'I, the courser (or, mighty one) eat, invited, of the invited, to the whey.' 'May I be a racer in the race!' Kâty. IV, 4, 13-15.

season, and autumn), viz. the Vaisvadeva generally on the full moon of Phâlguna; the Varunapraghâsâh on that of Âshâdha; and the Sâkamedhâh on that of Kârttika. As a fourth Kâtur-mâsya, ritual authorities add the Sunâsîrîya, though they are at variance as to the exact time of its performance; and neither is its true significance clearly indicated. It apparently marks merely the conclusion of the seasonal offerings (which, as a rule, are only performed once, cf. II, 6, 3, 12 seq.); but while the author of the Satapatha allows it to be performed at any time (within four months) after the Sâkamedhâh, other ritualists hold that its performance should take place on the fifth full moon after the Sâkamedhâh, or, in other words, exactly a year after the Vaisvadeva. See Weber, Nakshatra, II, p. 334 seq.

1. Verily, in the beginning, Pragâpati alone existed here¹. He thought within himself, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled and practised austerities. He created living beings². The living beings created by him passed away: they are those birds. Now man is the nearest to Pragâpati; and man is two-footed: hence birds are two-footed.

2. Pragâpati thought within himself, 'Even as formerly I was alone, so also am I now alone.' He created a second (race of beings); they also passed away: they are those small crawling reptiles other than snakes. He created a third (race), they say; they also passed away: they are those snakes. Yâgñavalkya, on his part, declared them to be of two kinds only; but of three kinds they are according to the Rîk.

3. While praising and practising austerities, Pragâ-

¹ Or, Pragâpati alone was this (universe). Cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, p. 70.

² By pragâh, or (living) beings, mammalia—especially man and domestic animals—seem to be understood.

pati thought within himself, 'How comes it that the living beings created by me pass away?' He then became aware that his creatures passed away from want of food. He made the breasts in the fore-part of (their) body¹ teem with milk. He then created living beings; and by resorting to the breasts, the beings created by him thenceforward continued to exist: they are these (creatures) which have not passed away.

4. Hence it has been said by the *Rishi*²,—'Three generations have passed beyond,'—this is said regarding those that passed away;—'Others settled down around the light (arka, the sun)'—the light doubtless is the fire: those creatures which did not pass away, settled down around the fire; it is with regard to them that this is said.

5. 'The great one (neut.)³ remained within the worlds'—it is with regard to Pragâpati that this is said.—'The blower (or, purifier) entered the regions'—the regions doubtless are the quarters, and these were indeed entered by that blowing wind: it is with regard to them that this verse was uttered. And in like manner as Pragâpati created these living beings, so they are propagated: for whenever the breasts of woman and the udder of cattle swell, then whatever is born is born; and by resorting to the breasts these (beings) continue to exist.

6. Now that milk is indeed food; for in the beginning Pragâpati produced it for food. But that

¹ Âtmāna evāgre; the Kâṇva text has âtmany evāgre.

² Rig-veda VIII, 90, 14.

³ Or perhaps better, as Ludwig takes it, 'On high he took his place within the worlds.'

food also means living beings (progeny), since it is by food that they exist : by resorting to the breasts of those who have milk, they continue to exist. And those who have no milk are nursed by the former as soon as they are born ; and thus they exist by means of food, and hence food means progeny.

7. He who is desirous of offspring, sacrifices with that oblation, and thereby makes himself the sacrifice, which is Pragâpati¹.

8. In the first place² there is a cake for Agni on eight potsherds. Agni indeed is the root, the progenitor of the deities ; he is Pragâpati ('lord of creatures') : hence there is a cake for Agni.

9. Then follows a potful of boiled rice (*karu*) for Soma. Soma doubtless is seed, and that in Agni, the progenitor ; he (Agni) casts the seed Soma : thus there is at the outset a productive union.

10. Then follows a cake on twelve or eight potsherds³ for Savitri. Savitri indeed is the impeller (*pra-savitri*) of the gods ; he is Pragâpati, the intermediate⁴ progenitor : hence the cake to Savitri.

11. Then follows a potful of boiled rice for Sarasvatî ; and another for Pûshan. Sarasvatî doubtless is a woman, and Pûshan is a man : thus there is again a productive union. Through that twofold productive union Pragâpati created the living beings,—

¹ ? Or, Pragâpati, the real, the existent, 'Pragâpatim bhûtam.'

² Instead of the preliminary Anvârambhanîyâ-ishî (see p. 7), a special ishî may be performed on this occasion, with a cake on twelve potsherds to Agni Vaisvânara, and a potful of boiled rice (*karu*) to Parganya, for oblations. Kâty. V, 1, 2-4.

³ According to Taitt. S. I, 8, 2, it is one on twelve potsherds.

⁴ Madhyatah, lit. 'from the middle.'

through the one (he created) the upright, and through the other those looking to the ground. This is why there are these five oblations¹.

12. After that (follows), as a foundation for the curds, a cake on seven potsherds for the Maruts. The Maruts indeed are the people (*visaḥ*), the people of the gods. They roamed about here entirely unimpeded. Having approached Pragâpati, when he was sacrificing, they said, 'We shall destroy those creatures of thine which thou art about to create by means of this offering².'

13. Pragâpati reflected, 'My former creatures have passed away; and if those (Maruts) destroy these (creatures), then nothing will be left.' He accordingly set aside for them that share, the Maruts' cake on seven potsherds; and that is this same cake on seven potsherds for the Maruts. The reason why it is one of seven potsherds, is that the host of the Maruts is (distributed in troops) of seven each³. This is why there is a cake on seven potsherds for the Maruts.

14. Let him offer it to the 'self-strong' (Maruts); since they gained that share for themselves. [If], however, they (the priests) do not find an invitatory and an offering prayer (addressed) to the 'self-strong' (Maruts)⁴, let it be (offered) simply to the

¹ While the five preceding oblations are common to all the seasonal offerings (Kâty. V, 1, 15), the succeeding ones are peculiar to the Vairavadeva.

² The Kânva text adds, 'if thou wilt not assign a share to us.'

³ In Rig-veda VIII, 96, 8, the Maruts are said to be sixty-three in number, divided into nine troops of seven each.

⁴ The Kânva text has: Tad uta yâgyânuvâkye svatavatyaau na vindanti; yadi yâgyânuvâkye svatavatyaau na vinded api mârutya eva syâtâm.

Maruts. It is offered for the safety of creatures: hence it is offered to the Maruts.

15. Thereupon follows the oblation of curds (payasyâ). Now it is on milk that the creatures subsist, it was by means of milk that they were preserved: hence he now offers to them that by which they were preserved, and whereon they subsist; and the beings whom he creates by means of the foregoing offerings, subsist on that milk, on that oblation of curds.

16. Therein a union takes place: the curdled milk (payasyâ, fem.) is female, and the whey is seed. From that union the infinite All was gradually generated; and since the infinite All was gradually generated from that union, therefore it (the offering of curds) belongs to the All-gods.

17. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Heaven and Earth. Now when Pragâpati had created the living beings by those offerings, he enclosed them within heaven and earth; and so they are now enclosed within heaven and earth. And in like manner he, who by means of those oblations creates living beings, thereby encloses them within heaven and earth: this is why there is a cake on one potsherd for Heaven and Earth.

18. Now as to the course of proceeding. They do not raise an *uttara-vedi*¹ in order that it (the sacred work) may be unobstructed, that it may be entire, that it may be (worthy) of the All-gods.—The *barhis* is tied up in three (bunches), and then

¹ The *uttara-vedi*, or northern (or upper) altar, is not required at the performance of the *Vaisvadeva*, but at that of the *Varuna-praghâsâh*; see II, 5, 2, 5 seq.

again in one¹; for such is the characteristic form of generation, since father and mother are a productive (pair), and what is born forms a third element: hence that which is threefold is again (made) one. Thereto flowering shoots (of sacrificial grass) are tied: these he uses for the *prastara*²; for this is a productive union, and productive indeed are flowering shoots: this is why he takes flowering shoots for the *prastara*.

19. On putting the sacrificial dishes in their place, they churn the fire³. For it was after Agni was born that *Pragâpati*'s offspring was born; and so for this (sacrificer) also offspring is born after Agni (the fire) has been produced: this is why they churn the fire, after they have deposited the sacrificial dishes in their place.

¹ Three bunches of sacrificial grass are tied together with one band. *Kâty.* V, 1, 25.

² For the *prastara*, or bunch of grass representing the sacrificer, see I, 3, 3, 5 seq.; I, 8, 3, 11 seq.

³ *Kâty.* V, 1, 27 seq. supplies the following details:—With the text (*Vâg.* V, 2 a, &c.), 'Agni's birth-place art thou,' the *Adhvaryu* takes up a piece of wood and puts it on the altar. With 'the two testicles are ye' he lays on it two stalks of sacrificial grass. With 'Urvasî thou art' he places the lower *arazi* (see p. 294, note 3) thereon. With 'Âyus (old age, or the son of *Purûravas* and *Urvasî*) thou art' he touches the butter in the pot with the upper *arazi*; and with 'Purûravas thou art' he puts it down on the lower *arazi*. He then calls on the *Hotri* to recite 'to the fire being churned out.' With the three formulas 'with the *gâyatri* (*trishubh, gagatî*) metre I churn thee!' he churns thrice from left to right, and then alternately both ways until fire is produced. He then calls on the *Hotri* to recite 'to the born fire' (*Sâṅkh.* III, 13, 21); and in carrying the fire towards the *Âhavanîya* he makes him recite 'to (the fire) being carried forward.' With the text V, 3, he throws it down on the *Âhavanîya* hearth; and (having put a kindling-stick on it) he makes two libations of butter thereon with V, 4.

20. [At the Vaisvadeva-offering] there are nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings¹. Now the virâḡ metre consists of ten syllables: hence he obtains both times an inferior (incomplete) virâḡ for the sake of production, because it was from that inferior (lower) source of production² that Pragâpati twice produced creatures—both the upright and those looking to the ground. This is why (the Vaisvadeva) has nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings.

21. There are three Samishṭayagus³; for this (offering) is decidedly greater than an (ordinary) havir-yagñā⁴, since it has nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings. However, there may also be only a single Samishṭayagus, since this is a havir-yagñā. The priest's fee for it (consists of) the first-born calf (of the season).

22. And what race, what prosperity accrued to Pragâpati from his offering this sacrifice, that same race he produces, that same prosperity he attains

¹ The same number of prayâgas and anuyâgas are prescribed for the Varuṇapraghâśâḥ (see II, 5, 2, 30 and 41, with notes) and for the Mahâhavis of the Sâkamedhâḥ. Kâty. V, 2, 8.

² Or rather, from that productive nyûna (womb, lit. defective, lower); see II, 1, 1, 13.

³ See I, 9, 2, 25 seq. The formula used, if there be only one Samishṭayagus, is the same as at the Darṣapûrnamâsa, viz. II, 21 b (VIII, 21). If there are three, they are offered to the wind (vâta), the sacrifice, and the lord of sacrifice respectively; the formulas Vâḡ. S. VIII, 22 a b being used with the second and third. Kâty. V, 2, 9. For the Varuṇapraghâśâḥ and Sâkamedhâḥ three Samishṭayagus are prescribed, and for the Sunâsirîya only one.

⁴ Viz. such as the new and full-moon sacrifice, which serves as the model sacrifice, and at which there are only five fore-offerings and three after-offerings. See I, 5, 3, 1 seq.; I, 8, 2, 7 seq.

whosoever, knowing this, offers this sacrifice: let him therefore perform this sacrifice.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

B. THE VARUNAPRAGHÂSA OFFERINGS.

1. Now it was by means of the Vaisvadeva that Pragâpati produced living beings. The beings produced by him ate (ghas) Varuṇa's barley corn; for originally the barley belonged to Varuṇa. And from their eating Varuṇa's barley corn the name Varuṇa-praghâsâh (is derived).

2. Varuṇa seized them; and on being seized by Varuṇa, they became rent all over¹; and they lay and sat them down breathing in and breathing out. The out-breathing and in-breathing forsook them not, but all the other deities² forsook them; and owing to these two, the creatures did not perish.

3. Pragâpati healed them by means of that oblation: both the creatures that were born and those that were unborn he delivered from Varuṇa's noose; and his creatures were born without disease and blemish.

4. Now when this (sacrificer) performs these offerings in the fourth month (after the Vaisvadeva), he does so either because thus Varuṇa does not seize his offspring, or because the gods performed (the same offering); and both the children that have been born to him and those that are yet unborn he thereby delivers from Varuṇa's noose, and his children are born without disease and blemish. This is why he performs these offerings in the fourth month.

¹ Paridîrṇa, i. e. swollen, dropsical.

² In the St. Petersb. Dict. devatâ is here taken as 'organ of sense.'

5. At this (sacrifice) there are two altars and two fires¹. The reason why there are two altars and two

¹ For the performance of the Varuṇapraghâśâḥ the Adhvaryu and his assistant, the Pratiprasthâtṛi, have to prepare,—to the east of the Âhavanîya, and at the distance of at least three steps (prakrama) from it,—two altars, separate from each other by about a span (of thumb and fore-finger), one south of the other. The northern one, belonging to the Adhvaryu, is to measure between four and five cubits along the west side, and between three and four cubits along the east side; the two sides being between six and eight cubits distant from each other. The southern altar, reserved for the Pratiprasthâtṛi, is to be of the usual size of the altar at the haviryagñâ. The ceremonies, detailed in I, 2, Brâhmanas 4 and 5, have to be performed also on the present occasion. In the middle of the east side of the northern altar a stake is fixed in the ground. On the north side of the northern altar, and contiguous with it, a pit (kâtvâla), $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits (the length of the wedge) square, is dug, so as to be separated on the west from the utkara (heap of rubbish) by a narrow passage. With the mould dug up from the pit, the so-called uttara-vedi (upper or north altar) is raised on the northern altar, either of the same dimensions as the pit ($1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits square) or one third of the area of the northern altar, and so that the stake marks the middle of its east side. In the centre of this mound he makes a hollow (or 'navel'), a span square; and the whole mound is then bestrewed with fine gravel. The texts used while tracing the sides of the pit, thrice throwing the wooden sword within the marked-off space, and raising the uttara-vedi, are given Vâg. S. V, 9-10. During the night the uttara-vedi remains covered with udumbara or plaksha branches or with sacrificial grass. Next morning the two fires for the newly-constructed fire-places are taken from the Âhavanîya, either by dividing the latter into two equal parts, or by means of two bundles of firewood (threefold bound, see p. 389, note 1), lighted at it, and carried eastwards in a pan covered with sand or mould. While the fires, together with the lustral water and a spoonful of ghee, taken from the pot by five ladlings with the sruva, are taken eastward, the Hotṛi thrice recites the verse 'Pra devyam deva,' &c.; and the Pratiprasthâtṛi draws, with the wooden sword, a line from the Âhavanîya to the south-west corner (or 'right hip') of the northern altar, or to the uttara-vedi. The Adhvaryu, standing between the two altars, then besprinkles the uttara-vedi with water, while muttering the

fires, is that thereby one frees the creatures from Varuna's noose both ways,—on the one side (he frees) the upright, and on the other those looking to the ground: this is why there are two altars and two fires.

6. On the northern (uttara) altar he raises the *uttara-vedi* (upper or north altar), not on the southern one. Varuna, doubtless, is the nobility, and the Maruts are the people: he thus makes the nobility superior (*uttara*) to the people; and hence people here serve the Kshatriya, placed above them. This is why he raises the *uttara-vedi* on the northern, not on the southern altar.

7. In the first place there are those five oblations¹. For by means of those five oblations Pragâpati produced the creatures, with them he freed the creatures both ways from Varuna's noose,—on the one side (he freed) the upright, and on the other those that tend to the ground: this is why there are those five oblations.

8. Then follows a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni. Indra and Agni indeed are the out-breathing and in-breathing: thus this is like

texts Vâg. S. V, 11; whereupon he pours out on it crosswise the spoonful of clarified butter, with the texts V, 12; and lays, with the mantras V, 13, three enclosing-sticks (*paridhi*) of *pîtadâru* wood round the 'navel' (see I, 3, 4, 2 seq.), and puts bdellium, fragrant reed-grass, and the front-hair of a ram on the 'navel' as a foundation (*sambhâra*, see II, 1, 1, 1 seq.) for the fire, which is then laid down thereon. On a hearth-mound (*khara*), a cubit square, formed on the southern altar, the *Pratiprasthâtri* also lays down his fire, after performing the usual fivefold lustration (see p. 2). Thereupon the *pramîta*-water is brought forward in the way set forth at I, 1, 1, 12 seq. Kâty. V, 3, 9-4, 21. For a different mode of transferring the fire to the special fire-places, see p. 396, note 1.

¹ See II, 5, 1, 11, with note.

doing a good turn to one who has done him a good turn; for it is owing to these two that his creatures¹ did not perish. Hence he now restores his creatures by means of the out-breathing and in-breathing, bestows out-breathing and in-breathing on them: this is why there is a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni.

9. On both (fires) there is an oblation of curds. It is on milk that the creatures subsist and by means of milk that they were preserved; hence it is with that by which they were preserved and whereon they subsist, that he delivers them both ways from Varuṇa's noose,—on the one side (he delivers) the upright and on the other those looking to the ground. This is why there is an oblation of curds on both (fires).

10. The northern one is offered to Varuṇa, since it was Varuṇa who seized his (Pragâpati's) creatures: hence he thereby directly delivers them from Varuṇa's noose. The southern one is offered to the Maruts. It is for the sake of diversity that it is offered to the Maruts; for a repetition he would undoubtedly commit, were he to offer both to Varuṇa. Moreover, it was from the south that the Maruts intended to slay his (Pragâpati's) creatures, and with that share he propitiated them: for this reason the southern (oblation of curds) belongs to the Maruts.

11. Upon both (dishes of curds) he scatters karīra-fruits²; for with karīra-fruits Pragâpati

¹ That is, his offspring and cattle.

² The fruit of Capparis Aphylla. According to Sâyana, on Taitt. I, 8, 3, it is karīra-shoots—which he says resemble the Soma-creeper (somavallī)—that are so used; but he also mentions that some authorities take karīra to mean the fruit. According to a sūtra he

bestowed happiness (ka) on the creatures, and so does he (the sacrificer) thereby bestow happiness on the creatures.

12. Upon both of them he also scatters samī-leaves; for with samī-leaves Pragâpati bestowed bliss (sam) on the creatures, and so does he now thereby bestow bliss on the creatures.

13. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Ka (Pragâpati); for by that cake on one potsherd to Ka Pragâpati indeed bestowed happiness (ka) on the creatures, and so does he (the sacrificer) now bestow happiness on the creatures by that one-cup cake: this is why there is a cake on one potsherd for Ka.

14. And on the first day, after husking and slightly roasting barley on the Dakshinâgni, they prepare therewith as many dishes of karambha¹ as there are members of the (sacrificer's) family, exceeded by one.

15. At the same time they also prepare a ram and a ewe; and if he be able to procure wool other than from eḍaka sheep, let him wash it and stick it on both the ram and the ewe; but should he not be able to procure wool other than from eḍaka sheep, tufts of kusa grass may also be (used).

16. The reason why there are a ram and a ewe is that the ram manifestly is Varuṇa's victim, so that he thereby manifestly delivers the creatures from Varuṇa's noose. They are made of barley, because it was when they (the creatures) had eaten barley that Varuṇa seized them. A pair they form, so that he

quotes, above a hundred samī-leaves and above a thousand karīras should be strewn over the two dishes of curds. Cf. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 5, 5.

¹ A kind of porridge prepared with roasted barley, coarsely ground, and sour curds.

delivers the creatures from Varuna's noose through conjugal union.

17. The ewe he places on the southern, and the ram on the northern dish of curds; for in this way alone a proper union is effected, since the woman lies on the left (or north) side of the man.

18. The Adhvaryu places all the (other) sacrificial dishes upon the northern altar; and the Pratiprasthâtri places on the southern altar that dish of curds (belonging to the Maruts).

19. Having thus placed the sacrificial dishes, he churns the fire; and having churned it and placed it on (the hearth)¹, he offers thereon. The Adhvaryu in the first place says (to the Hotri)², 'Recite to the fire that is being kindled!' Both (the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthâtri) then put firewood on (the fire) and both reserve one kindling-stick each; and they both pour out the first libation (âghâra). Thereupon the Adhvaryu says, 'Agnîdh, trim the fire!' Although the summons is given, the trimming does not take place (immediately)³.

20. Thereupon the Pratiprasthâtri returns (to where the sacrificer's wife is seated). When he is about to lead the wife away, he asks her, 'With

¹ The author here apparently alludes to a different way of transferring the fire to the new fire-places from that detailed by Kâtyâyana (see p. 392, note 1). The same mode seems to be referred to by the Paddhati on Kâty. V, 4 (p. 467). According to this mode (called samâropana, or mounting of the fire), the old fires are 'taken up' by means of the two aranis being lighted, or rather heated, at them, and then 'churned out' and placed on the newly-prepared hearth-mounds.

² For the detailed course of procedure, see I, 3, 5, 1 seq.

³ Asamsrishâm eva bhavati sampreshitam. The Kâṇva recension reads, asamsrishâ evâgnir bhavati sampreshita. Cf. par. 30.

whom holdest thou intercourse?' Now when a woman who belongs to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits (a sin) against Varuṇa. He therefore thus asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth; this is why he thus asks her. And whatever (connection) she confesses¹ not, that indeed will turn out injurious to her relatives.

21. He then makes her say the text (III, 44), 'We invoke the Maruts, the voracious consumers of enemies, delighting in their porridge.' This (verse) is (of like import) as the invitatory prayer: she therewith invites them to these dishes².

22. Of these (dishes) there is one for each descendant; as many (children) as there are in the (sacrificer's) family, so many (dishes) there are, exceeded by one. There being one for each descendant, he thereby delivers from Varuṇa's noose one by one the children born to him; and there being an additional one, he thereby delivers from Varuṇa's

¹ According to Kāty. V, 5, 7-9, she is either to give the total number or the names of her lovers, or to hold up as many stalks of grass. [If she have none, she is to reply, 'with no one else.' Comm.]—'He makes the wife speak (confess): (thereby) he renders her pure, and then he leads her to penance. Were she not to reveal (the name of) a paramour she has, she would harm a dear relative. Let her declare "N. N. is my paramour," by thus declaring (any one) she causes him to be seized by Varuṇa.' Taitt. Br. I, 6, 5, 2.

² According to the Black Yagus, the Pratiprasthātrī mutters this formula, while leading the mistress to the place of offering. The sacrificer then recites as the invitatory prayer the verse given in par. 28 (Vāg. S. III, 46); while the offering-prayer (Vāg. S. III, 45) and the text III, 47 (par. 29) are muttered by both the husband and wife. Taitt. I, 6, 5, 3 argues against the practice of the wife being made to pronounce the anuvākya.

noose those children of his that are as yet unborn : this is why there are (the same number of dishes) exceeded by one.

23. (In the form of) dishes they are, because it is from dishes that food is eaten ; and of barley they are prepared, because it was when they (the creatures) had eaten the barley corn that Varuṇa seized them. From the winnowing basket she offers, because food is prepared by means of the winnowing basket. The wife offers (together with her husband) : thus he delivers his offspring from Varuṇa's noose through conjugal union.

24. She offers previously to the sacrifice, previously to the oblations, since the people do not eat offerings, and the Maruts are the people. Now when Pragâpati's creatures, being seized by Varuṇa, became rent all over, and sat and lay them down, breathing in and breathing out, then the Maruts destroyed their sin ; and so do the Maruts now destroy the sin of his (the sacrificer's) offspring. This is why she offers previously to the sacrifice, previously to the oblations.

25. He¹ offers in the southern fire, with the text (III, 45), 'Whatever (sin we have committed) in the village and forest,'—for both in the village and in the forest sin is committed ;—'whatever in society and in our own self,'—by 'whatever (we have committed) in society,' he means to say 'against man ;' and by 'whatever in our own self' (indriya), he means to say 'against the gods ;'—'whatever sin

¹ According to Kâty. V, 5, 11, either the mistress alone offers, or she together with her husband. In the latter case, the offering-formula (as well as the dedicatory formula, 'This to the Maruts') is pronounced by both.

we have here committed, that we expiate by offering, Svâhâ!—whereby he says ‘whatsoever sin we have committed, from all that we rid ourselves.’

26. Thereupon he mutters the (verse) addressed to Indra and referring to the Maruts.—Now when the Maruts destroyed the sin of Pragâpati’s creatures, he thought within himself, ‘I hope they will not destroy my creatures.’

27. He muttered that (verse) addressed to Indra and referring to the Maruts. Indra indeed is the nobility, and the Maruts are the people; and the nobility are the controllers of the people: ‘They shall be controlled,’ he thought; and therefore (that verse, Vâg. S. III, 46) is addressed to Indra.

28. ‘Let there not, O Indra, be (fight) for us here in battles with the gods, since there is a share for thee in the sacrifice, O fiery one!—for thee, the mighty showerer of gifts, whose Maruts the song of the offerer stream-like celebrates.’

29. He then makes her say the text (Vâg. S. III, 47), ‘The men skilled in the work have done the work,’—those skilled in the work have indeed done the work;—‘with pleasing song;’—for with song they have done it. ‘Having done the work for the gods;’—for the gods indeed they have done the work;—‘go home, ye companions!’—they are now together with her while she is led thither from another place: hence she says, ‘ye companions’ (*sakâ-bhû*, ‘being together’). ‘Go home,’ she says, because that wife doubtless is the hind part of the sacrifice, and he has just now made her take her seat to the east of the sacrifice. ‘Home’ doubtless means the house, and the house is a resting-place: hence he thereby makes her rest in that resting-place, the house.

30. Having led her back (to her seat) the Prati-prasthâtri returns (to his place by the side of the southern altar). They now trim the fire¹. When the fire has been trimmed, both (the Adhvaryu and Prati-prasthâtri) make the second libation (of butter). Thereupon the Adhvaryu, having called (on the Âgnîdhra) for the 'Sraushat,' chooses the Hotri. The chosen Hotri then seats himself on the Hotri's seat beside the northern altar; and having seated himself, he urges (the Adhvaryu and Prati-prasthâtri) to proceed. Being thus urged to proceed, they both take up the spoons and step across (to the south side of the fires). After stepping across and calling for the 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer on the kindling-sticks!' and 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' at each (subsequent fore-offering). Pouring (the butter in the spoons) together (into the *guhû*) at the fourth², they both proceed with the nine fore-offerings³.

31. Thereupon the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri),

¹ The *Kânva* text has more correctly, 'He trims both fires;' since it is the Âgnîdhra who has to trim both the northern and southern fires. See par. 19.

² The recipients of the first four fore-offerings are the same as at the normal haviryagñia (cf. p. 146 note), viz. 1. the kindling-sticks (*samidhs*); 2. *Tanûnapât* (or *Narâsamsa*); 3. the *Id's*; 4. the *Barhis*. The remaining ones are—5. the doors (of heaven); 6. dawn and night; 7. the two divine Hotris; 8. the three goddesses (*Sarasvatî*, *Idâ*, and *Bhârati*); 9. all the deities to whom offering is made during the sacrifice (see I, 5, 3, 22 seq.). The objects of the first eight offerings are identical with those of the first eight verses of the Âpri hymns.

³ Or, 'at every fourth (fore-offering)?' According to the *Pad-dhati* on *Kâty. V, 5*, the butter is poured together at the fourth and seventh *prayâgas*. See also I, 5, 3, 16.

'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' referring to Agni's butter-portion¹. Both (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthâtri) having taken four 'cuttings' of butter, they step across (to the north side of their respective fires). Having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-formula to Agni!' After the 'Vashat' has been uttered, they both pour out the oblation.

32. The Adhvaryu then says, 'Pronounce (the invitatory prayer) to Soma!' referring to Soma's butter-portion. Both having taken four cuttings of butter, they step across. Having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Soma!' After the 'Vashat' has been uttered, they both pour out the oblation.

33. Thus whatever has to be done by speech, that the Adhvaryu does, and not the Pratiprasthâtri. Now as to why the Adhvaryu alone calls for the 'Sraushat.' Here indeed when the 'Vashat' is pronounced,—

34. The Pratiprasthâtri is merely the imitator of what is done (by the Adhvaryu). For Varuna is the nobility, and the Maruts are the people: hence he thereby makes the people the imitators, the followers of the nobility. But were the Pratiprasthâtri also to call for the 'Sraushat,' he would doubtless make the people equal in power to the nobility: for this reason the Pratiprasthâtri does not call for the 'Sraushat.'

35. The Pratiprasthâtri sits down, after taking the two offering-spoons in his hand. The Adhvaryu then

¹ See I, 6, 1, 20 seq.

proceeds with those oblations,—viz. Agni's cake on eight potsherds, Soma's pap, Savitri's cake on twelve or eight potsherds, Sarasvati's pap, Pūshan's pap, and Indra and Agni's cake on twelve potsherds.

36. Thereupon, being about to proceed with those two oblations of curds, (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthâtri) exchange (the ram and ewe): the ram which was on the Maruts' (dish of curds) he (the Adhvaryu) places on that of Varuṇa; and the ewe which was on Varuṇa's (dish of curds) he (the Pratiprasthâtri) places on that of the Maruts. Now the reason why they make this exchange, is this,—Varuṇa is the nobility, and the male represents energy: hence they thereby bestow energy on the nobility. The female, on the other hand, is without energy; and the Maruts are the people: hence they thereby cause the people to be without energy. This is why they make this exchange.

37. The Adhvaryu now says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Varuṇa!' He then pours an 'under-layer' of butter (into the *guhâ*), takes two cuttings from Varuṇa's curds, and with either of the two cuttings puts the ram (in the spoon). He then pours butter thereon, replenishes (the place whence) the two cuttings (have been made), and steps across (to the south side of the fire). After stepping across and calling for the 'Sraushat,' he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Varuṇa!' and, on the 'Vashat' being uttered, he pours out the oblation.

38. Thereupon the Adhvaryu takes both spoons in his left hand; and taking hold of the Pratiprasthâtri's garment, says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the Maruts!' The

Pratiprasthâtri then makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in his *guhû*), and two cuttings from the curds of the Maruts, and with either of the two cuttings puts the ewe (in the spoon). He then pours butter thereon, replenishes (the place of) the two cuttings, and steps across (to the south of the fire). The Adhvaryu, having called for the 'Sraushat,' says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Maruts!' and on the 'Vashat' being uttered, (the Pratiprasthâtri) he pours out the oblation.

39. The Adhvaryu then proceeds with the cake on eleven potsherds for Ka; and having made that offering, he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit ("the maker of good offering")!' The Adhvaryu then takes cuttings from all (his) oblations, one from each; and the Pratiprasthâtri also takes one cutting from that oblation of curds (to the Maruts). They then pour twice butter upon (the portions), and step across (to the south side of the fires). On stepping across and calling for the 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit; and after the (concluding) 'Vashat,' they both pour out the oblation.

40. The Adhvaryu now cuts off the fore-portion. Having then cut off the *Idâ* piece by piece, he hands it to the Pratiprasthâtri; and the Pratiprasthâtri puts thereon two cuttings from the Maruts' curds. He (the Adhvaryu) then pours twice butter thereon. After invoking (the *Idâ*), they cleanse themselves¹.

41. Thereupon the Adhvaryu says, 'O Brahman, shall I step forward?' Having put on the (remaining) kindling-stick², he says, 'Agnîdh, trim the fire!'

¹ See I, 8, 1, 18-43.

² See II, 5, 2, 19, and I, 8, 2, 3.

He, the Adhvaryu, then pours the clotted butter¹ (in the *prishadâgya-upabhrîṭ*) into the two spoons (the *guhû* and *upabhrîṭ*); and the *Pratiprasthâtri* also, if he have any clotted butter, divides it into two parts and pours it (into the two spoons); but if there is no clotted butter, he divides the butter in the *upabhrîṭ* in two parts and pours them out separately. Then both step across (to the south side of the fires). The Adhvaryu, having stepped across and called for the '*Sraushat*,' says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pronounce the offering-formula to the gods!' and, 'Pronounce the offering-formula!' at each (subsequent after-offering). Thus they both perform the nine after-offerings², pouring together (the butter from the spoons) at the (or at every) fourth after-offering. The reason why there are nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings, is that he thereby delivers the creatures both times from Varuna's noose,—by the former (he delivers) the upright and by the latter those looking to the ground: for this reason there are nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings.

42. They both then separate the spoons³, after laying them (on the altars). Having separated the spoons, and anointed the enclosing-sticks; and having thereupon taken hold of the (middle) enclosing-

¹ *Prishad-âgya* (lit. mottled butter) is clarified butter mixed with sour milk.

² The recipients of the nine after-offerings are as follows: 1. The divine Barhis; 2. the divine doors; 3. the divine dawn and night; 4. the two divine benefactresses (*goshtrî*); 5. the two goddesses of potent sacrifice (*ûrgâhutî*); 6. the two divine *Hotris*; 7. the three goddesses; 8. the divine *Narâramsa*; 9. the divine Agni *Svish-takrîṭ*. Cf. p. 400, note 2.

³ See I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

stick, and called for the (Âgñidhra's) 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu thus addresses (the Hotri)¹, 'The divine Hotris are summoned for the proclamation of success; the human is called upon for the song of praise!' The Hotri then intones the song of praise (sûktavâka). Thereupon both seize their prastara-bunches and throw them (into the fires); both take a single straw each therefrom and remain sitting by (the fires); when the Hotri recites the song of praise,—

43. The Âgñidhra says, 'Throw after!' Both (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthâtri) throw (the stalk) after (the prastara); and both touch themselves.

44. He (the Âgñidhra) then says², 'Discourse (with me)!' [The Adhvaryu asks,] 'Has he gone (to the gods), Agñidh?'—'He has gone!'—'Bid (the gods) hear!'—'Yea, may (one) hear!'—'Good-speed to the divine Hotris! Success to the human!'—The Adhvaryu also (afterwards)³ says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the "All-hail and blessing!"' They both throw the enclosing-sticks (into the fire); and after taking up the spoons together, they both place them on the wooden sword⁴.

45. Thereupon the Adhvaryu returns (to the Gârhapatya fire) and performs the Patñisamyâgas⁵. The Pratiprasthâtri, in the meantime,

¹ See I, 8, 3, 10 seq.

² See I, 8, 3, 20 seq.

³ In thus briefly recapitulating the chief points of the course of sacrificial performance, the author's object is merely to assign to each officiating priest—especially to the Adhvaryu and his assistant, the Pratiprasthâtri—his special share of business. In the actual performance, the pronunciation of the formula of 'All-hail and blessing' (see I, 9, 1, 26), of course, comes after the throwing of the enclosing-sticks into the fire (see I, 8, 3, 22).

⁴ See I, 8, 3, 26.

⁵ See I, 9, 2, 1.

remains waiting. After performing the *Patñśam-yâgas*, the *Adhvaryu* steps up (to the northern fire).

46. He (the *Adhvaryu*) performs the three *Sami-shṭayagus* (with the respective texts)¹; the *Prati-prasthâtri* takes up his spoon (and performs those oblations) silently.—The same garments, worn by the sacrificer and his wife at the *Vaisvadeva*, should be put on also on this occasion. They now take (the *havis*) mixed with the burnt scrapings of the *Varuna* curds, and betake themselves to (the place of) the expiatory bath (*ava bhrîtha*). This (ablution) stands in relation to *Varuna*, (being performed) with a view to deliverance from *Varuna*'s power. No *Sâman*-hymn is sung on this occasion, for at this (sacrifice) nothing whatever is performed with a *Sâman*-hymn. Having silently walked thither and entered (the water), he (the *Adhvaryu*) immerses (the vessel containing the scrapings).

47. With the text (*Vâg. S. III, 48*), 'O laving bath, laving thou glidest along: with the help of the gods may I wipe out the sin committed against the gods, and with the help of mortals the sin committed against mortals! Preserve me, O God, from injury from the fiercely-howling (demon)!' Those (garments worn while bathing)² he may give

¹ See p. 390, note 3.

² *Kâty. V, 5, 30-33*, and the scholiasts supply the following particulars: The sacrificer and his wife, accompanied by the priests, are to repair to some quiet part of flowing water. The *Adhvaryu* then takes the sacrificer by the arm and makes him enter the water. Thereupon he himself enters, strews sacrificial grass on the water, puts a stick on it, and thereon offers a spoonful of butter to *Agni*. Then follow six oblations, viz. four fore-offerings, performed in the usual way (the one to the *Barhis* being omitted);

to whichever (priest) he chooses, since they are not the garments of an initiated person. Even as a snake casts its skin, so does he cast away all his sin.

48. Thereupon they shave (the sacrificer's) hair and beard; and take up the two fires¹,—for only after changing his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground) he performs that (other) sacrifice², since it is not proper that he should perform the Agnihotra on the uttaravedi: for this reason he changes his place. Having gone to the house³ and 'churned out' the fires, he performs the full-moon offering. These seasonal offerings doubtless are detached sacrifices; whereas the full-moon offering is a regular, established sacrifice: hence he finally establishes himself by means of that regular sacrifice; and therefore he changes his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground).

an oblation of butter to Varuṇa, and another of the scrapings of curds to Agni and Varuṇa. Other authorities offer ten oblations instead of six, viz. four fore-offerings, two 'butter-portions' to Agni and Soma, the two oblations to Varuṇa and Agni-Varuṇa, and two after-offerings. The Adhvaryu then immerses the butter-pot, with the text Vâg. S. III, 48. Thereupon the sacrificer and his wife bathe without diving, but wash each other's back. They then come out of the water and put on fresh clothes.

¹ Viz. by lighting (or heating) at them two arāṇis or churning-sticks, by means of which the fires are transferred to the old hearths. According to the Paddhati, the remaining ceremonies of the ishṣi, from the offering of the Barhis (see I, 9, 2, 29) to the end, are performed previously to the lifting of the fires.

² Viz. the full-moon sacrifice, see II, 6, 2, 19, where, however, agnau instead of agnî. The construction here is quite irregular. The Kâṇva text has: keśaṁmasrûptvâgnî samârohayata udavasâya hy etena yagate.

³ That is, to the ordinary sacrificial ground.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

C. THE SĀKAMEDHA OFFERINGS¹.

1. Verily, by means of the Varunapraghāsāḥ Pragāpati delivered the creatures from Varuna's noose; and those creatures of his were born without disease and blemish. Now with these Sākamedha offerings,—therewith indeed the gods slew Vṛitra, therewith they gained that supreme authority which they now wield; and so does he now therewith slay his wicked, spiteful enemy and gain the victory: this is why he performs these offerings in the fourth month (after the Varunapraghāsāḥ). He performs them on two successive days.

2. On the first day he offers a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Anīkavat². For it was after

¹ The performance of the Sākamedha offerings requires two days. In the first place—after the Āhavanīya has been 'taken out' from the Gārhapatya—both fires are taken up by means of (or 'made to mount') the two kindling-sticks, and transferred (by 'churning out') to another altar (the uttaravedi). On the first day oblations are then made to Agni Anīkavat, the Marutaḥ Sântapanāḥ and the Maruto Grīhamedhinaḥ, these being completed on the next morning by a Darvihoma to Indra, and an oblation of cake to the Marutaḥ Krīḍinaḥ. Then follows the Mahāhavis, consisting—besides the five constant oblations—of oblations to Indra-Agni, Mahendra, and Visvakarman. In the afternoon takes place the Mahāpitṛiyagnā, or (Great) sacrifice to the Manes (performed on a special altar and fire-place, south of the Dakshināgni); which is succeeded by the Traiyambaka-homa, or offering to Rudra Tryambaka, performed on a cross-way somewhere north of the sacrificial ground.

² That is, Agni, the 'sharp-pointed' or 'sharp-edged,' an epithet apparently referring to the pointed flames or tongues of Agni. The St. Petersburg Dict. takes it to mean 'Agni, possessed of a face.' Perhaps it may mean, 'Agni, constituting the front or van of the army.' In Sat. Br. III, 4, 4, 14, Agni is likened to the point (anīka) of the thunderbolt, Soma to its shaft (salya), and Vishṇu

shaping Agni into a sharp point¹, that the gods rushed forward, intent on slaying *Vṛitra*; and that sharp point, Agni, swerved not. And so does he (the Sacrificer) now rush forward, after shaping Agni into a sharp point, intent on slaying his wicked, spiteful enemy; and that sharp point, Agni, swerves not: this is why he sacrifices to Agni *Anīkavat*.

3. Thereupon, at midday, he offers a potful of boiled grain (*karu*) to the Maruts, the Scorchers (*Sântapanâḥ*), for at midday indeed the scorching winds scorched *Vṛitra*; and thus scorched he lay panting and gasping, being rent all over. And so do the scorching winds scorch his (the Sacrificer's) wicked, spiteful enemy: hence (he sacrifices) to the Maruts, the Scorchers.

4. Thereupon, (in the evening, he offers a potful of boiled grain) to the Maruts, the Householders (*Grihamedhinaḥ*). That pap he cooks after driving

to the part where the point is fixed on the shaft (*kulmala*). Compare the corresponding passage in *Taitt. Br. I, 6, 6*: 'The gods and Asuras were contending. Agni spake, "My body is *anīkavat* (possessed of an army, acc. to *Sâyana*): satisfy it and you will overcome the Asuras!" The gods prepared a cake on eight potsherds for Agni *Anīkavat*. Agni *Anīkavat*, being pleased with his share, produced for himself four *anīkas*; and thereby the gods prevailed and the Asuras were defeated. . . . Now Agni *Anīkavat* is yonder sun: his rays are the *anīkas*.' Here *anīka* would rather seem to mean either 'dart' or 'face.' [In *Taitt. Br. I, 6, 2, 5*, in the battle between the gods and Asuras, Agni is represented as the *mukham* of the gods, which *Sâyana* takes to mean the 'van-guard' or 'the champion' of the gods. Compare also *Sat. Br. II, 6, 4, 2*; *XI, 5, 2, 4*.] Acc. to the Black Yagus, the cake to Agni *Anīkavat* is to be prepared (or offered) simultaneously (*sâkam*) with the rising of the sun; whence is probably derived the term '*Sâkam-edha*.'

¹ I. e. into a sharp-pointed weapon; or, perhaps, 'after appointing Agni their leader.' Cf. p. 449 note; and *Sat. Br. V, 3, 1, 1*.

away the calves (from the cows) with the (palāsa-) branch, and having (all the cows) milked into the pot containing the strainers. Now, whenever (in preparing the pap) they use (whole) rice-grains, then that is a *karu*: this nourishment¹ the gods took when they were about to slay *Vṛitra* on the morrow; and so does he (the Sacrificer) now take that nourishment, being about to slay his wicked, spiteful enemy. The reason, then, why it is milk-pap, is that milk is nourishment, and rice-grains are nourishment, and that he thus puts into him (*âtman*) that twofold nourishment. For this reason it is a rice-pap (prepared) with milk.

5. The practice, in regard to this (pap, is as follows). The same altar covered (with sacrificial grass) which served for the (oblation to) the Maruts, the Scorchers, is (now used)². Near this covered altar they lay down the enclosing-sticks and pieces of wood. Having had (the cows) milked in the same way (as before), he (the *Adhvaryu*) cooks the pap; and having cooked it and basted it with butter, he removes it from the fire.

6. They then rinse either two plates or two dishes, and put that (pap) thereon in two equal

¹ That is, strengthening food. Instead of *medhas*, the *Kânva* recension has throughout *medham* (as once in our text).

² At the preceding offering, that to the Maruta *h* *Sântapanâh*, the *ishî* is either to be interrupted at the end of the *Samish/ayagus* (see I, 9, 2, 25-28), or only the offering of the *Barhis* (I, 9, 2, 29-31) is to be omitted. The concluding ceremonies are to be performed either on the same day, after the offering to the Maruto *Grihamedhinah*—which itself concludes with the *Idâ*, and (acc. to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 6, 6) has neither fore-offerings nor after-offerings—or the following morning after the *Darvihoma* (see par. 17). *Kâty.* V, 6, 3-5; 32-33.

parts. Having then made a hollow in each (pap), he (the Adhvaryu) pours clarified butter therein, and wipes both the dipping-spoon and the offering-spoon. Thereupon he takes the two dishes of pap, and walks up (to the altar); and again, he takes the dipping and offering spoons, and walks up; and having touched¹ the covered altar, and laid the enclosing-sticks round (the fire)², he puts on as many pieces of firewood as he thinks fit. He then deposits those two dishes of pap, and the dipping and offering spoons, in their places (outside the altar). The Hotri sits down on the Hotri's seat. Taking the dipping and offering spoons, he (the Adhvaryu) says,—

7. 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' with reference to Agni's butter-portion. He then takes four 'cuttings' of butter from the hollow of the southern pap, and steps over (to the south side of the fire). Having stepped over, and called for the (Âgnîdhra's) 'Sraushat,' he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vasha has been uttered.

8. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Soma!' with reference to Soma's butter-portion. He then takes four cuttings of butter from the hollow of the northern pap, and steps over. Having stepped over and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Soma!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vasha has been uttered.

9. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer

¹ According to Kâty. V, 6, 14, he is to do so either silently, or with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2) used in spreading the sacrificial grass on the altar. See I, 3, 3, 11.

² See I, 3, 3, 13; 3, 4, 1 seq.

to the Maruts, the Householders!' He makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in the offering-spoon) from the hollow of the southern pap, takes two cuttings from the latter, pours some butter thereon, and steps across. Having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Maruts, the Householders!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the Vasha^t has been uttered.

10. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svish^tak^rit¹!' He makes an under-layer of butter from the hollow of the northern pap, takes two cuttings from the latter, pours some butter thereon, and steps across. Having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Svish^tak^rit!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the Vasha^t has been uttered. Thereupon he cuts off the Idâ², but no fore-portion³. Having invoked (the Idâ), they cleanse themselves. This is one mode of performance.

11. Then there is this other. The same altar covered (with sacrificial grass) which has served for the Maruts, the Scorchers, is (used now). Near this covered altar they lay down the enclosing-sticks and pieces of firewood; and having had (the cows) milked in the same way (as before) he cooks the rice-pap. The butter he puts on so as to be no mere accessory⁴. Having cooked (the pap) and basted

¹ See I, 7, 3, 1 seq.

² See I, 8, 1, 1 seq.

³ See I, 7, 4, 6 seq.

⁴ Ned eva prativesam âgyam adhisrayati. There seems to be some mistake here. The commentary on Kâty. V, 6, 6 has 'tad eva' instead of 'ned eva.' Sâyana says that the butter is put on the Dakshinâgni; but according to Kâty. V, 6, 24, it is put on the fire together with the pap. The Kânva text has, abhyardha âgyam

it, and removed it (from the fire), he anoints it. He then removes the butter in the pot (from the fire), and wipes the dipping and offering spoons. Thereupon, taking the dish with the pap, he walks up (to the altar); and again, taking the butter in the pot, he walks up; and again, taking the dipping and offering spoons, he walks up (to the altar). He then touches that covered altar, lays the enclosing-sticks round (the Âhavantya fire), and puts on as many pieces of wood as he thinks fit. He then deposits successively¹ (in their respective places) the dish with the pap, the pot with butter, and the dipping and offering spoons. The Hotri sits down in the Hotri's seat. Taking the dipping and offering spoons, he (the Adhvaryu) says,—

12. 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' with a view to (offering) Agni's butter-portion. He then takes four 'cuttings' of butter from the pot and steps across (to the offering-place on the south side of the fire). Having stepped across and called for the (Âgnîdhra's) Sraushaṭ, he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vashaṭ has been uttered.

13. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Soma!' with a view to Soma's butter-portion. He then takes four cuttings of butter from the pot, and steps across. Having stepped

sthâlyâm adhisrayati, 'he puts on the butter in the pot on the near side.'

¹ In the original this is expressed by repetition of the verb, as was the case in the last sentence but one, where the original construction is retained. The Kâṇva text has merely, 'Having taken (the pap) with the dish, he hastes up (udâdravati).'

across, and called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-formula to Soma!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

14. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the Maruts, the Householders!' He then makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in the *guhû*), takes two cuttings from that pap, pours some butter thereon, re-anoints (replenishes with butter the parts of the sacrificial dish from which he has made)¹ the two cuttings, and steps across (to the offering-place). Having stepped across and called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Maruts, the Householders!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

15. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni *Svishakrit*!' He then makes an under-layer of butter, takes one cutting from the pap, pours twice butter thereon, without, however, re-anointing the (place of the) cutting; and steps across. Having stepped across, and called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni *Svishakrit*!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

16. He then cuts off the *Idâ*, but no fore-portion. Having invoked (the *Idâ*), they (the priests) eat it. As many members of (the sacrificer's) household as are entitled to partake of the remains of sacrificial

¹ 'Pratyanakti' is probably the same as 'pratyabhghârayati,' generally applied to the basting of the *avadâna-sthâna*, or that part of the havis from whence the cuttings have been made (*Kâty.* I, 9, 11; the 'replenishing' of the havis in *Sat. Br.* I, 7, 3, 6 refers to the same thing). See, however, *Kâty.* V, 6, 22, where it is ruled that no *pratyabhghârâna* is to take place at the present sacrifice. The *Kânva MS.*, on the other hand, reads, 'he does not re-anoint the two cuttings.' Perhaps he is to anoint separately the two cut-off pieces.

food¹ may eat (of the pap); or the officiating priests may eat it; or, if there be abundant pap, other Brâhmans also may eat of it. The pot having then been covered, before it is quite emptied, they put it away in a safe place, for the 'full-spoon ceremony.' Thereupon they let the calves together with their mothers; and thus the cattle take that nourishment. That night he performs the Agnihotra with rice-gruel. In the morning they milk a cow, which suckles an adopted calf², for the purpose of the offering to the fathers.

17. Thereupon, in the morning, either after or before the performance of the Agnihotra—which ever he pleases—he cuts out (the remaining rice-pap) with the darvi-spoon³ from the un-emptied pot, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 49), 'Full, O spoon, fly away, well filled fly back to us!

¹ That is, those who have been invested with the sacrificial cord. According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 1 the mistress of the house is not to eat of it, but an additional (prativeśa) pap is to be cooked specially for her on the Dakṣhiṇa fire.

² 'In the morning they tie up the (adopted) calf of a nivânyâ (cow suckling a strange calf),' Kârva text.

³ The Darvi-homa, or oblation of a darvi-spoonful of boiled rice to Indra, the associate of the Maruts, may be considered as part of the *Grîhamedhîyâ ishî*, being, as it were, an offering of remains (or scrapings, *nishkāsa*, Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 3); cf. Kâty. V, 6, 33. Like all *Guhoti*-offerings, the darvi-homa is performed by the *Adhvaryu* while seated on the north side of the fire. According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 3, it is to be offered in the *Gârhapatya*, but according to Kâty. V, 6, 38 (comm.) in the *Âhavanîya*. If the concluding ceremonies of the *Sântapanîyâ ishî* (from the offering of the *Barhis*) have not already been performed on the previous night, they have to be performed after the conclusion of the darvi-homa. If, however, only the offering of the *Barhis* was then omitted, the darvi-homa, if performed before the Agnihotra, is followed immediately by that oblation.

O thou (Indra), of a hundredfold powers, let us two barter food and drink, like wares!' In like manner as an invitational prayer (is used at offerings) so does he by this (verse) invite him (Indra) to that share.

18. Let him then tell (the Sacrificer) to make a bull roar. 'If it roars,' say some, 'then that (sound) is the Vashaṭ; let him offer after that Vashaṭ.' And in this way indeed he calls Indra in his own form to the slaying of *Vṛitra*¹; for the bull is indeed Indra's form: hence he thereby calls Indra in his own form to the slaying of *Vṛitra*. If it roars, then one may know that Indra has come to his sacrifice, that his sacrifice is with Indra. And should it not roar, let the priest, seated on the south side (viz. the Brahman), say, 'Sacrifice!'—this, indeed, is Indra's voice.

19. He offers with the text (*Vâg. S. III, 50*), 'Give unto me, (and) I give unto thee. Bestow (gifts) on me, (and) I bestow on thee²! And mayest thou give me guerdon, (and) I will give thee guerdon! Svâhâ!'

20. He then offers a cake on seven potsherds to the sportive (*Kṛtdinaḥ*) Maruts. For when Indra went forward in order to slay *Vṛitra*, the sportive Maruts were sporting around him singing his praises; and even so do they sport around this (Sacrificer), singing his praises, now that he is about to slay his wicked, spiteful enemy: this

¹ On the symbolic connection of the seasonal offerings, especially the *Sâkamedhâḥ*, with the slaying of *Vṛitra*, the evil spirit of drought, see II, 6, 4, 1.

² According to *Mahîdhara*, this first line is spoken by Indra to his worshipper; the second line containing the latter's reply.

is why (he sacrifices) to the sportive Maruts¹. Thereupon (follows the performance) of the Great Oblation (Mahâ-havis): this (performance) is in accordance with that of the great (seasonable) oblation².

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, by means of the Great Oblation the gods slew *Vṛitra*³; by means of it they gained that supreme authority which they now wield; and so does he (the Sacrificer) thereby now slay his wicked, spiteful enemy, and gain the victory: this is why he performs this sacrifice.

2. The mode of its performance (is as follows): They raise an *uttara-vedi*⁴; they use clotted butter⁵; and they churn the fire. There are nine

¹ Comp. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 4: When Indra had slain *Vṛitra* (with the thunderbolt) he went to the farthest distances, thinking that he had missed (his aim). He said, 'Who will know this' [viz. whether *Vṛitra* is really dead or not, comm.].? The Maruts said, 'We will choose a boon, then we will know (find it out): let the first oblation be prepared for us! They sported (danced about) on him (*Vṛitra*, and thereby found out that he was dead).

² That is to say, the Mahâ-havis, or Great Oblation, though apparently only an integral part of the *Sâkamedhâh*, is in reality its chief ceremony, and may therefore be considered as being itself on a par with the other seasonal offerings; hence it requires the five oblations common to all the *Kâturmâsyas*; see II, 5, 1, 8-11. The Black Yagur it seems does not use the term Mahâ-havis, but assigns more importance to the Mahâ-pitriyagña (see II, 6, 1, 1 seq.). See Âpastamba's *Paribhâṣhâs*, 80, 81 (M. Müller, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* IX), according to which the sacrifice to the Manes belongs to the Mahâyagñas.

³ See p. 416, note 1.

⁴ See p. 392, note 1. The southern altar is not required at the present ceremony.

⁵ See p. 404, note 1.

fore-offerings and nine after-offerings¹, and three Samishṭayagus. In the first place there are those five oblations².

3. Now as to why there is a cake on eight potsherds for Agni. With Agni, (shaped into) a sharp point (tegas)³, indeed, they (the gods) slew him (Vritra); and Agni, that sharp point, swerved not: hence there is (a cake) for Agni.

4. Then as to why there is a rice-pap for Soma. With the aid of Soma, the king, indeed they slew him, they who have Soma for their king: hence there is a pap for Soma.

5. Then as to why there is a cake on twelve, or eight⁴, potsherds for Savitri. Savitri, indeed, is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods; and impelled by Savitri they slew him: hence there is (a cake) for Savitri.

6. Then as to why there is a rice-pap for Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī in truth is Speech; and Speech indeed it was that cheered them up, saying, 'Strike! slay⁵!' Hence there is a pap for Sarasvatī.

7. Then as to why there is a rice-pap for Pūshan. Pūshan doubtless is this earth⁶, and this

¹ See II, 5, 2, 30 and 41.

² See II, 5, 1, 11, with note 9.

³ See II, 5, 3, 2. This cake, again, is to be prepared (or offered) simultaneously with the rising of the sun; see p. 409 note.

⁴ According to Taitt. S. I, 8, 4 it is to be one on twelve potsherds.

⁵ The Kāṇva text has, 'Attack (abhipadyasva)! strike! slay!'

⁶ This identification of Pūshan with the earth is very strange, the more so as, at II, 5, 1, 11, special stress is laid on the male nature of Pūshan. Perhaps it is in his character of bountiful bestower of food and cattle, or as the tutelary god of travellers, that he is so identified.

earth, indeed, gave him (*Vṛitra*) up to slaughter; and they slew him, thus given up by her: hence there is a rice-pap for Pûshan.

8. Then follows a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni; for by means of that they slew him, since Agni means fiery glow (*tegas*), and Indra means manly power, and by means of these two powers they did indeed slay him. Moreover, Agni is the priesthood, and Indra is the nobility; having allied these two, having closely united the priesthood with the nobility, they (the gods) slew him by means of these two powers: hence there is a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni.

9. Then follows a rice-pap for Mahendra. For before the slaying of *Vṛitra* he was indeed Indra; but after slaying *Vṛitra* he became Mahendra (the great Indra), even as (a king becomes) a mahârâga, after obtaining the victory: hence there is a rice-pap for Mahendra. And thereby indeed he renders him great (strong) for the slaying of *Vṛitra*: for this reason also there is a rice-pap for Mahendra.

10. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Visvakarman. To the gods, indeed, on performing the Sâkamedha-sacrifice and obtaining the victory (over *Vṛitra*), that sacred work (*karman*) was made complete (*visva*), and all was conquered; and so is that sacred work made complete, and all is conquered, by him who has performed the Sâkamedha-sacrifice and obtained the victory: hence there is a cake on one potsherd for Visvakarman.

11. And, verily, by performing this sacrifice the gods became what race, what prosperity of the gods there now is; and that same race he propagates,

that same prosperity he attains, whosoever, knowing this, performs this sacrifice. Let him therefore perform this sacrifice.

SIXTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, by means of the Great Oblation the gods slew *Vṛitra*, and gained that supreme authority which they now wield. And by means of the sacrifice to the fathers they then recalled to life those of them that had been slain in this battle; and they, indeed, were the fathers: hence the name *Pitṛiyagñā*¹ (sacrifice to the Manes).

2. Now the spring, the summer, and the rainy season,—they are those who vanquished (*Vṛitra*); and the autumn, the winter, and the dewy season,—they are those whom they (the gods) recalled to life².

3. Now when he performs that sacrifice, he does so, hoping that thus they (the Asuras) will not slay any of his, or because the gods did so (perform it). Moreover he thereby offers to those (fathers) the share which the gods assigned to them; and thus he gratifies those whom the gods recalled to life, and leads his own fathers up to a better world; and whatever injury or loss he suffers through his own unrighteous conduct (or wrong sacrificial performance)³ that is thereby made good to him: that is why he performs this sacrifice (to the fathers).

¹ This is generally called the *Mahâpitṛiyagñā*, as distinguished from the ordinary monthly *Pitṛiyagñā* of the new-moon sacrifice; for which see II, 4, 2, 1 seq.

² See II, 1, 3, 1 seq.

³ Instead of '*ākaraṇena*,' the *Kāṇva* MS. has '*karāṇēna* (l).' Cf. *Sâyana*'s interpretation '*anukaraṇena anugamanena ka*.'

4. He offers a cake on six potsherds to the Pitaraḥ Somavantaḥ, or to Soma Pitṛimat¹. Six doubtless are the seasons, and the fathers are the seasons: hence it is one of six potsherds.

5. Thereupon they parch barley-grain on the Anvâhâryapaṭana (or Dakshinâgni) for the Pitaro Barhishadaḥ². They then grind one half of it; and (the other) half remains thus unground,—this is the parched grain for the Barhis-seated fathers.

6. Then a porridge is (prepared) for the Pitaro 'gnishvâtâtâḥ³ (by the ground half of the parched grain) being mixed with the milk of a cow suckling an adopted calf, by stirring it once with a single splinter. It is indeed once for all that the fathers have departed, and hence it is stirred but once. These are the oblations.

7. Now those (fathers) who have sacrificed with Soma are the Pitaraḥ Somavantaḥ; and those who gain the world (of the gods) by means of cooked (sacrificial food) offered by them are the Pitaro Barhishadaḥ; and they who (have offered) neither the one nor the other, and whom Agni consumes by burning, they are the Pitaro 'gnishvâtâtâḥ. These, then, are the fathers⁴.

8. He takes out [the rice for] that cake of six potsherds, while seated behind the Gârhapatya, and looking southwards, with the sacrificial cord over his right shoulder. From thence he rises and

¹ That is, either to 'the fathers, accompanied by Soma (or possessed of Soma),' or to 'Soma, accompanied by the fathers.' The Black Yagus assigns the oblation to Soma Pitṛimat.

² That is, 'the fathers seated on the barhis.'

³ That is, 'the fathers consumed by the fire.'

⁴ 'These, then, are the three kinds of fathers,' Kâṇva recension.

threshes (the rice), while standing north of the Dakshina-fire, with his face towards the south. He cleans it but once¹; since it is once for all that the fathers have departed.

9. He places the two mill-stones on (the black antelope skin, so as to be inclined) towards the south²; and puts the six potsherds on the south part of the Gârhapatya hearth. The reason why they keep the southern direction is because that is the region of the fathers: this is why they keep the southern direction.

10. Thereupon he raises a square altar south of the Dakshinâgni³. He makes the corners point towards the intermediate quarters. There are doubtless four intermediate quarters, and the fathers are the intermediate quarters: this is why he makes the corners point towards the intermediate quarters.

11. In the centre of this (altar) he lays down the fire. From the east, indeed, the gods came westwards to the men: hence one offers to them while standing

¹ Not thrice, as at an ordinary ish/i; see I, 1, 4, 23.

² Not towards the east, as at the Darsapûrnamâsa; cf. p. 38, note 3. At offerings to the Manes the south, as a rule, takes the place of the east, the west that of the south, &c.

³ At the conclusion of the Âptya ceremony (cf. I, 2, 2, 18-3, 5) he erects south of the (ordinary) Dakshina-fire a (quadrangular) shed (see further on, paragraph 20) with a door on the north side. Inside it he prepares a quadrangular altar (of the same size as at the Darsapûrnamâsa; cf. I, 2, 5, 14) with the corners towards the intermediate quarters, in the centre of which he makes the (new) Dakshinâgni hearth. [According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 5-6 no digging takes place in preparing the altar (which is to be square) at the Pitriyagña.] When the Dakshina-fire is transferred to the new fire-place, the Prâñitâ-water (see p. 9, note) is carried after it, followed by the Brahman and Sacrificer, and placed east (not north) of the hearth. The laying down of the fire is preceded by the usual fivefold lustration of the hearth (see p. 2).

with his face towards the east. On all sides are the fathers, for the fathers are the intermediate regions, and the intermediate regions are indeed on all sides : this is why he lays down the fire in the centre.

12. From thence he throws the grass-bush (stambayagus) eastwards¹. Having thrown away the grass-bush, he first encloses (the altar) thus (viz. on the west side), then thus (viz. on the north side), then thus (on the east side). Having enclosed it with the first line of enclosure, he (the Adhvaryu) draws (three) lines (across the altar)² and [the Âgnîdhra] removes (from them the dust) which has to be removed. In the same way he encloses it with the second line of enclosure; and having enclosed it with the second line of enclosure, and smoothed it down, he says, 'Place the sprinkling water on (the altar)!' They accordingly place the sprinkling water on (the altar); and the firewood and barhis they lay down beside it³. He (the Âgnîdhra) wipes the spoons. He then walks up (to the altar) with the butter (and

¹ Instead of northwards, as is done at the normal ishî; see I, 2, 4, 12 seq.

² After tracing the first line of enclosure, the Adhvaryu draws three lines across the altar, either from west to east or from south to north; and says to the Âgnîdhra, 'Take thrice!' The latter then takes the dust from the lines and throws it on the utkara (the heap of rubbish, formed north of the altar in preparing the latter), and thereupon again obliterates them. According to Kâty. II, 6, 29, the same ceremony may be performed at the Darsapûrnamâsa; but there no mention is made of it by our author (see I, 2, 5, 12).

³ Viz. the Âgnîdhra lays them down between the altar and the prañîtâh (see p. 422, note 3); the firewood behind (west of) the sacrificial grass (barhis), and both with the tops towards the south. The wooden sword also has been previously put down by the Adhvaryu close behind the prañîtâh.

puts it down thereon¹, north of the sprinkling water). He (the Adhvaryu) takes butter, while 'sacrificially-invested²'

13. Here now they say, 'Let him take butter in the upabhṛit (by) twice (ladling with the dipping spoon); since there are two after-offerings³ at this (sacrifice).' Let him, nevertheless, ladle eight times into the upabhṛit: let him do so, lest he should depart from the manner of the sacrifice. After ladling out butter, and shifting his cord back to the right shoulder,—

14. The Adhvaryu takes the lustral water, and sprinkles first the firewood, and then the altar⁴. Thereupon they hand the sacrificial grass⁵ to him, and he puts it down (on the altar) with the knot to the east. Having thereupon sprinkled it and

¹ The lady of the house not being present at the sacrifice to the Manes, neither the ceremony of girding (I, 3, 1, 12 seq.), nor that of her looking at the butter—while it is taken from the Gârhapatya fire, along the east side of the Âhavanīya to the altar—takes place on this occasion. According to the commentators on Kâty. V, 8, 25 (Paddh. p. 519), however, the Adhvaryu has to look down on the butter, with the same text (Vâg. S. I, 30) which was used by the sacrificer's wife. For some details to be supplied here, see I, 3, 1, 22–28.

² He has hitherto worn his sacrificial cord on the right shoulder and under the left arm ('eastward-invested'), and now shifts it so as to be on the left shoulder and under the right arm ('sacrificially-invested'). As to the taking or ladling of butter into the offering-spoons, see I, 3, 2, 1 seq.

³ See I, 3, 2, 9.

⁴ See I, 3, 3, 1 seq.

⁵ The barhis, on this occasion, must have been cut close to the root (upamûlam, II, 4, 2, 17; ûpamûle ditam, Kânva rec.). According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 6–7, on the other hand, it has apparently to be torn up with the roots (yat parushi dinam tad devânâm, yad antarâ tan manushyânâm, yat samûlam tat pitṛînam).

poured out (the lustral water on the lower ends of the grass-stalks), and untied the knot, he (at once) seizes the knot, not the prastara¹;—it is once for all that the fathers have departed: hence he does not take the prastara.

15. After undoing the band, he moves thrice² round from right to left, spreading the sacrificial grass all over (the altar); while spreading it all over from right to left in three layers, he reserves as much as may serve for the prastara-bunch. He then moves again thrice round (the altar) from left to right. The reason why he again moves thrice round from left to right, is that, while the first time he went away from here after those three ancestors of his, he now comes back again from them to this, his own world: that is why he again moves thrice round from left to right.

16. He lays the enclosing-sticks along (the fire, with their tops) towards the south³; and the prastara also he spreads (with the grass-tops) towards the south; nor does he lay down the two vidhr̥tis between (the barhis and the prastara). Once for all the fathers have departed from hence: therefore he lays no vidhr̥tis between.

¹ As he did on the former occasion, I, 3, 3, 5.

² According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 7, because the fathers abide in the third world from here (*trīṭīye vâ ito loke pitarāḥ*).

³ Viz. he is to lay down the enclosing-sticks along the north, west, and east sides, the last two with their tops towards the south. The third text (cf. I, 3, 4, 4) has, of course, to be changed to 'May Mitra-Varuṇa lay thee around in the east,' &c.; as has also the one he mutters after putting the two sticks on the fire, to 'May the sun guard thee from the south against any imprecation!' (I, 3, 4, 8.) According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 8—9, on the other hand, he is to lay down only two enclosing-sticks (viz. the middle or western, and the northern one, cf. Sâyana on Taitt. S. II, p. 72).

17. Thereon he lays the *guhû*, and east of it (on the barhis) the *upabhrî*. Having then put down the *dhruvâ*, the cake, the parched grain, and the porridge (each east of the preceding one), he touches the oblations.

18. All of them having now become 'sacrificially-invested,' the Sacrificer and Brahman (being) thus (invested) walk round (from the east, along the south) to the west side; and the *Âgnîdhra* (from the west) to the east side (of the fire)¹.

19. They perform this (sacrifice) in a low voice. Secret, indeed, are the fathers, and secret also is (what is spoken) in a low voice: hence they perform (the offering) in a low voice.

20. They perform it in an enclosed place. Secret, indeed, are the fathers, and secret also is that which is enclosed: hence they perform in an enclosed place.

21. While putting firewood (on the fire), he then says (to the *Hotri*), 'Recite to the fire, as it is being kindled!' Only (this) one kindling-verse the *Hotri* recites², (and that) thrice;—the fathers have departed once for all: hence the *Hotri* recites thrice only one kindling-verse.

22. He recites, 'Loving we deposit thee (O Agni), loving we enkindle thee: O loving one, bring

¹ Here he remains standing, while the Sacrificer and Brahman sit down facing the east.

² Instead of the ordinary eleven verses, the first and last of which are recited thrice; see I, 3, 5, 6. According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 9, 1, the *Adhvaryu* summons the *Hotri* with 'Recite to the fire, as it is being kindled for the gods (and) fathers!' The bunch of firewood, with the exception of one stick, which is reserved for the after-offerings, is divided into three parts, one of which is thrown on the fire at the same time when the syllable 'om' is pronounced by the *Hotri* at the end of the kindling-verse.

hither the loving fathers to eat their oblation! Thereupon he says, 'Bring Agni hither¹! bring Soma hither! bring hither the fathers, accompanied by Soma! bring hither the fathers, seated on the barhis! bring hither the fathers, consumed by Agni! bring hither the butter-drinking gods! bring hither Agni for the Hotriship! bring hither (thine) own greatness²!' Having thus called on (Agni) to bring hither (the fathers and gods), he sits down.

23. Having then called³ for the (Âgnîdhra's) 'Sraushat,' he does not elect the Hotri; for this being a sacrifice to the Manes, he does not elect the Hotri⁴, lest he should consign the Hotri to the Manes. He says, 'Hotri, seat thyself!' and takes his seat. The Hotri, having sat down on the Hotri's seat, urges (the Adhvaryu) to proceed; and thus urged, the Adhvaryu takes the two spoons and steps across to the west (of the fire); and having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the kindling-sticks!' He performs four fore-offerings⁵,

¹ The Kâṇva MS. reads, 'Bring Agni hither, O Agni!' Before this, Âsval. II, 19, 7 inserts, 'Bring hither the gods (and) fathers for the sacrificer!' See I, 4, 2, 16.

² According to the Kâṇva text he adds here the same formula as at ordinary ishâs (I, 4, 2, 17), 'Bring (them) hither, O Gâtavedas, and offer up a good offering!' For the formulas 'Bring hither Agni for the Hotriship! bring hither thine own greatness!' Âsval. II, 19, 8 apparently substitutes 'Bring hither Agni Kavyavâhana!' cf. further on, par. 30.

³ 'The Adhvaryu, having offered the two libations of butter, and called for the Sraushat,' Kâṇva recension.

⁴ On the pravara, or election of the (divine and human) Hotri, see I, 4, 2, 1 seq., 5, 1, 1 seq. The call 'Hotri, seat thyself!' here takes the place of the formulas given I, 5, 1, 5 seq.

⁵ See I, 5, 3, 1 seq.

omitting the one to the Barhis; for the barhis means offspring, and he therefore performs the four fore-offerings without the one to the barhis, lest he should consign his offspring to the fathers. Thereupon they proceed with the two butter-portions; and having offered the two butter-portions,—

24. They all shift their sacrificial cord over to the right shoulder, being now about to proceed with those (chief) oblations. The Sacrificer and Brahman, (being) thus (invested), step across (from the west) to the east side, and the Āgnīdhra (from the east) to the west side (of the fire). And furthermore, the (Adhvaryu's) call for the 'Sraushat' is 'Ōm svadhâ!' and the (Āgnīdhra's) response is 'Astu svadhâ!' and the Vashat-call is 'Svadhâ nama!'.

25. As to this, Âsuri said, 'Let them call for the Sraushat (by "Ō Srāvaya"), and let them respond with the "(Astu) Sraushat," and let them pronounce the "Vashat," lest we should depart from the manner of the sacrifice.'

26. [The Adhvaryu] then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the fathers, accompanied by Soma!' or '—to Soma, accompanied by the fathers!'—Two invitatory prayers he (the Hotri) pronounces (at the offerings), because it is with one that one moves the gods, and with two the fathers, since the fathers have departed once (for all)²: hence he pronounces two invitatory prayers.

¹ At the sacrifice to the Manes, the Āgnīdhra, when uttering his response, stands south of the Adhvaryu. See p. 132, note. The first syllable of 'svadhâ' is protracted. According to the comm. on Kâty. V, 9, 12, the offering formulas also begin with 'Yē svadhâmahe,' instead of 'Yē yagâmahe' (see I, 5, 2, 16 and note).

² I do not quite see the pertinency of the reason here alleged, unless it be that the author means to say that once (by the first

27. [The Adhvaryu] makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in the *guhû* or offering-spoon). He then cuts a piece from the cake, and together therewith some of the parched grain and the porridge¹. This he puts down at the same time (in the *guhû*); makes two sprinklings of butter thereon; and re-anoints (replenishes with butter, the parts of the sacrificial dishes from which he has made) the cuttings. He does not walk over (to the south side of the fire); but having risen and stepped up (to the fire) on the same side (where he was seated), and called (on the *Âgnîdhra*) for the 'Sraushat', he says (to the *Hotrî*), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fathers, accompanied by Soma!' and pours the oblation (into the fire) as soon as the *Vasha*² has been uttered.

act) the fathers have departed, and by a second act they return hither. According to *Âsval.* II, 19, 22, the two invitory prayers to the *Pitarah* *Somavanta* are Rig-v. X, 15, 1; IX, 96, 11; to *Soma Pitrimat*, Rig-v. I, 91, 1; 20; to the *Pitaro Barhishada*, Rig-v. X, 15, 4; 3; to the *Pitaro 'gnishvâtâtâh*, Rig-v. X, 15, 11; 13; [to *Yama* X, 14, 4; 5.]—The offering-prayers being respectively, Rig-v. X, 15, 5; VIII, 48, 13; X, 15, 2; X, 15, 14; [X, 14, 1.]

Somewhat different the *Black Yagus*; viz. *Soma Pitrimat*, *anuvâkyâs* Rig-v. I, 91, 1; IX, 96, 11; *yâgyâ* VIII, 48, 13; *Pitaro Barhishada*, *anuvâkyâs* X, 15, 4; 3; *yâgyâ* X, 15, 5; *Pitaro 'gnishvâtâtâh*, *anuvâkyâs* X, 15, 11; 14 (*ye 'gnishvâtâtâh*, &c. I); *yâgyâ 'vânyâyai dugdhe*, &c. [Then either *upahoma* with the formulas X, 15, 1; 2; IV, 2, 16; or] an oblation to *Agni Kavyavâhana* (*anuvâkyâs*, 1. 'yad agne kavyavâhana,' 2. X, 15, 12; *yâgyâ* X, 14, 3) [and another to *Yama Ângirasvat Pitrimat* (*anuv.* X, 14, 4; 5; *yâgyâ* X, 14, 6).] *Taitt. S. I*, 8, 5; II, 6, 12; *Taitt. Br. I*, 6, 9.

¹ From the centre of each sacrificial dish he makes one 'cutting' with the *srîtavâdâna*, shaped like a cow's ear. *Kâty. V*, 9, 2, and *Schol.*

² Or rather the '*Svadhâ nama*,' cf. par. 24. The Adhvaryu makes the oblation with his left hand, while looking towards the south. *Paddh. on Kâty. V*, 9.

28. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitational prayer to the fathers, seated on the barhis!' He then makes an under-layer of butter, takes a 'cutting' from (the north part of) the parched grain, and together therewith some of the porridge and the cake; puts down all this at the same time (in the *guhû*); makes two sprinklings of butter thereon, and re-anoints (the places of) the cuttings. He does not walk across; but having stepped up (to the fire) on the same side and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fathers, seated on the barhis!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

29. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitational prayer to the fathers, consumed by the fire!' He then makes an under-layer of butter, takes a cutting from (the south part of) the porridge, and therewith some of the cake and the parched grains; puts down all this at the same time (in the *guhû*); makes two sprinklings of butter thereon, and re-anoints (the places of) the cuttings. He does not walk across; but having stepped up (to the fire) on the same side, and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fathers, consumed by the fire!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

30. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitational prayer to Agni Kavyavâhana!' that being for (Agni as) the *Svishtakṛit* ('maker of good offering'). For to the gods indeed he is *havyavâhana* ('bearer of oblations'), and to the fathers he is *kavyavâhana* ('the bearer of what is meet for the wise'): hence he says, 'Pronounce the invitational prayer to Agni Kavyavâhana!'

31. He makes an under-layer of butter (in the offering-spoon); then cuts a piece from (the front part of) the cake, and therewith some of the parched grain and the porridge; puts down all this at the same time; and makes two sprinklings of butter thereon. The (places from which he has made the) cuttings he does not replenish with butter, nor does he walk across; but having stepped up (to the fire) on the same side (where he was seated), and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Kavyavâhana!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vashat has been uttered.

32. Now the reason why he does not walk across (to the ordinary place of offering), but pours out the oblation after stepping up (to the fire) on the same side, is that the fathers have departed once for all; and the reason also, why he cuts but once from each of the sacrificial dishes, is that the fathers have departed once for all. And the reason why in making the cuttings, he keeps them together, is that the fathers are the seasons;—he thus keeps the seasons together, joins them to one another: that is why in making the cuttings, he keeps them together.

33. Here now some hand over that entire (remaining) porridge to the Hotri; and the Hotri, having invoked it¹, smells it and hands it to the

¹ According to the comm. on Kâty. V, 9, 13, 'manthah' is, in that case, substituted for 'idâ' in the invocation, see I, 8, 1, 19 seq. The Kânva MS. has as follows: Thereupon, by way of idâ, they place that same porridge into the hand of the Hotri. The Hotri, having invoked it, smells it. They hand it to the Âgnîdhra. The Âgnîdhra smells it. They hand it to the Brahman. The Brahman smells it. As to this Âsuri said, 'As from any other oblation they cut off the "idâ" and the fore-portion, so let them cut off and smell,

Brahman. The Brahman smells it and hands it to the Âgnîdhra; and the Âgnîdhra also smells it. And so indeed they do this. But, as from any other oblation they cut off the *Idâ* and the fore-portion, so let them cut from this also; and having invoked it (the *Idâ*) they smell it, but do not eat it. 'But,' said Âsuri, 'we think that some should be eaten, of whatever is offered up in the fire.'

34. Now he who is about to present (the obsequial cakes to the fathers),—either the Adhvaryu or the Sacrificer,—takes the vessel of water and walks thrice round (the altar) from right to left sprinkling all about (the altar). He then, with the text, 'N. N., wash thyself¹!' pours out water (in the north-west corner of the altar) for the Sacrificer's father² to wash himself; and (in the south-west corner), with 'N. N., wash thyself!' for the grandfather; and (in the south-east corner), with 'N. N., wash thyself!' for the great-grandfather.

but not eat: some indeed must be eaten of that of which offering is made in the fire.'

¹ See II, 4, 2, 16 seq. According to the comm. on Kâty. V, 9, 17, some sprinkle three times round the altar for each of the three ancestors. But according to the Paddhati, he sprinkles once round the altar, beginning from the north-west corner; then he sits down and pours out water in that corner for the father. Thereupon, after walking round in the opposite direction (from left to right) to the south-west corner, he again sprinkles all round, and in the same way pours out water in that corner for the grandfather; and after retracing his steps as far as the south-east corner, he performs the same circumambulation, and pours out water in that corner for the great-grandfather; whereupon he again retraces his steps up to the west of the altar.

² In the case of a sacrificer whose father is still alive, these ceremonies are performed in honour of the father's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

As one would pour out water for (a guest) who is to take food with him, so in this case.

35. Thereupon he takes one 'cutting' from the cake and puts it in his left hand; from the parched grain also he takes one cutting and puts it in his left hand; and from the porridge also he takes one cutting and puts it in his left hand.

36. And in the corner (of the altar) opposite this intermediate quarter (viz. the north-west), he then presents (an obsequial cake¹) to the Sacrificer's father, with the formula, 'N. N., this for thee!' And in the corner opposite this intermediate quarter (the south-west), he presents one to the Sacrificer's grandfather, with 'N. N., this for thee!' And in the corner opposite this intermediate quarter (the south-east), he presents one to the Sacrificer's great-grandfather, with 'N. N., this for thee!' And in the corner opposite this intermediate quarter (the north-east), he cleanses (his hands), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 31), 'Here, O Fathers, regale yourselves! Like bulls come hither, each to his own share!' whereby he means to say, 'Eat ye each his share!' And the reason why he thus presents (food) to the Fathers is that in this way he does not exclude his own fathers from this sacrifice.

37. Thereupon they all, being sacrificially invested, walk out (of the shed) on the north side, (pass along the east side of, and) stand by the (north) side of, the Âhavantya fire. For he who has established his fires, and performs the New and Full-moon sacrifices, approaches the gods; but they have just been

¹ He mixes the three pieces (about as much as a thumb's joint each) cut from the sacrificial dishes, and forms them into three *pindas* or round cakes.

performing the sacrifice to the Manes, and therefore they now propitiate the gods.

38. They stand by the *Āhavantya* fire (worshipping) with two (verses) addressed to Indra [viz. *Rig-veda* I, 82, 2-3; *Vâg. S.* III, 51-52], since the *Āhavantya* is Indra. 'The friends have eaten, and regaled themselves, and have shaken off (the enemies)¹; the self-shining bards have extolled (thee) with their newest hymn: yoke, then, thy pair of bay steeds, O Indra!—To thee, the splendid, we will sing praises, O bountiful one! Thus praised, do thou now issue forth, with well-filled car, agreeably to our desire! yoke, then, thy pair of bay steeds, O Indra!'

39. Thereupon they return to the *Gârhapatya* and stand by it worshipping with the verses (*Rig-veda* X, 57, 3-5; *Vâg. S.* III, 53-55), 'We invoke the Mind with man-lauding strain², and with the hymns of the fathers.—May the Mind come back to us for (us to obtain) wisdom, vigour, and life, and that we may long see the sun!—May the divine race restore to us the Mind, O Fathers, that we may abide with the living kind!' They have indeed been performing the sacrifice to the Manes; but now they return to the (land of the) living: hence he says, 'That we may abide with the living kind!'

40. Thereupon he who has presented (the obsequial cakes) again shifts his sacrificial cord to the right shoulder and betakes himself (to the fire in the shed), and mutters (*Vâg. S.* II, 31), 'The

¹ '—the friends have shaken off (their intoxication),' Ludwig; '—they showered down upon us delightful gifts,' Grassmann; 'they shook their dear (bodies),' Sâyana; '—have trembled through their precious (bodies),' Wilson.

² The *Rig-veda* has 'somena' instead of 'stomena.'

Fathers have regaled themselves: like bulls they came each to his share:’ whereby he means to say, ‘they have eaten each his own share.’

41. He now takes the vessel of water and again, while sprinkling, walks thrice round (the altar) from left to right (sunwise). With ‘N. N., wash thyself!’ he pours out water (in the respective corner) for the Sacrificer’s father to wash himself; with ‘N. N., wash thyself!’ for the grandfather; with ‘N. N., wash thyself!’ for the great-grandfather. As one would pour out water for (a guest) who has taken food with him, so in this case. And as to his again walking thrice round from left to right, while sprinkling,—they think, ‘This holy work of ours shall be accomplished sunwise¹,’ and hence he walks thrice round from left to right, while sprinkling.

42. He then pulls down the tuck (of the nether garment)² and makes obeisance (to the Fathers). The tuck, doubtless, is sacred to the Fathers: hence he makes obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck; and obeisance means worship: hence he thereby recognises them as entitled to worship. Six times he makes obeisance to them, since there are six seasons, and the Fathers are the seasons: hence he thereby establishes his sacrifice in the seasons,—that is why he makes obeisance six times³. ‘Give houses

¹ The Kāṇva text has, ‘The reason why he moves thrice round, sprinkling from left to right, is that, after going after those three ancestors of his, he thereby leaves them, and returns to this, his own, world.’ See II, 6, 1, 15.

² On the *nīvi*, or unwoven end of the waist-cloth (Hindi *dhoti*, Mahr. *dhotar*), which had to be passed under and tucked up behind, at the beginning of the present ceremony, see p. 368, note 2. Cf. *Āpast. Dharmas.* I, 2, 6, 19.

³ For the six formulas used for this purpose; see p. 368, note 2.

unto us, O Fathers!' he (further) says, because the Fathers are the guardians of houses;—and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacred performance.

43. Being now about to proceed with the after-offerings, they all invest themselves sacrificially (by shifting the cord over to the left shoulder); and thus (invested) the Sacrificer and Brahman walk round to the west, and the Âgnîdhra to the east, side; and the Hotri sits down on the Hotri's seat.

44. He (the Adhvaryu) then says, 'Brahman, I shall step forward.' Thereupon he puts the stick (reserved at the time of kindling) on (the fire), and says, 'Âgnîdh, trim the fire!' He then takes the two spoons and crosses over to the west side. After crossing over and calling for the 'Sraushat,' he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the gods!' He performs two after-offerings, omitting the one to the Barhis; for the Barhis means offspring: hence he performs two after-offerings, omitting the one to the Barhis, lest he should consign his offspring to the Fathers.

45. He then separates the two spoons¹, after laying them down (in their respective places on the altar); and having separated them, and anointed the enclosing-sticks, he takes one enclosing-stick, calls for the 'Sraushat,' and says, 'The divine Hotris are summoned for the proclamation of success, the human is called upon for the song of praise!' The Hotri intones the 'song of praise (sûktavâka).' The Adhvaryu, on the other hand, does not seize the prastara-bunch, but watches while the Hotri recites the song of praise.

¹ See I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

46. Thereupon the Āgnīdhra says, 'Throw it after!¹' He (the Adhvaryu) throws nothing after, but silently touches himself.

47. He (the Āgnīdhra) then says, 'Discourse together!' [The Adhvaryu asks], 'Has he gone (to the gods), Agnīdh?'—'He has gone!'—'Bid (the gods) hear!'—'May one (or, they) hear!'—'Good-speed to the divine Hotṛis! Success to the human!—Pronounce the All-hail and blessing!' Thus saying, he merely touches the enclosing-sticks, but does not (now) throw them (into the fire). The Barhis and enclosing-sticks he throws in afterwards².

48. And here some throw also the remaining sacrificial food into the fire; but let him not do so; for that (remaining havis) is the residue of an offering; and lest he should offer the residue of an offering, let them (the priests) rather throw it into the water or eat it.

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Verily, by means of the Great Oblation the gods slew *Vṛitra*; by it they gained that supreme authority which they now wield. Now whichever of them were hit by (the Asuras') arrows in that battle, those same darts they extracted, those they pulled out, by performing the *Tryambaka*-offerings.

2. And, accordingly, when he performs those offerings, he either does so hoping that thus no arrow

¹ See I, 8, 3, 19 seq.

² Viz. after the strewing of the Veda,—see I, 9, 2, 24, the formulas being pronounced by the Hotṛi on this occasion,—at the time when the *Samish/āyagus*, which is here omitted, would have to be performed in an ordinary *ishā*.

(misfortune) will hit any of his, or because the gods did so. And thereby he delivers from Rudra's power both the descendants that are born unto him and those that are unborn; and his offspring is brought forth without disease and blemish. This is why he performs these offerings.

3. They are (offered) to Rudra: Rudra's, indeed, is the dart; and hence (these offerings) belong to Rudra. They consist of (cakes) on one potsherd: 'To one deity they shall belong!' so (he thinks, and) therefore they consist of (cakes) on one potsherd.

4. There is one for each individual,—as many as he has descendants,—exceeded by one. (There being) one for each individual, he thereby delivers from Rudra's power the descendants that are born unto him; and there being an additional one, he thereby delivers from Rudra's power the descendants that are not yet born to him: this is why there are (as many cakes as there are descendants) exceeded by one.

5. He takes out (the rice for) those (cakes), while seated behind the Gârhapatya, sacrificially invested and facing the north. From thence he rises and threshes (the rice), while standing with his face towards the north. He places the two mill-stones on (the black antelope skin, so as to incline) towards the north; and puts the potsherds on the north side of the Gârhapatya hearth. As to why they keep the northern quarter,—that indeed is the quarter of that god (Rudra), and hence they keep the northern quarter.

6. They (the cakes) may be anointed (with ghee),—for the havis is anointed¹;—but let them rather be

¹ This refers to the so-called *prâṇadâna*, or 'bestowal of life

unanointed ; for, indeed, Rudra would be hankering after the (sacrificer's) cattle, if he were to anoint (the cakes): let them therefore be unanointed.

7. Having removed all (the cakes from the potsherds) into one dish, and taken a fire-brand from the Dakshina-fire, he walks aside towards the north—for that is the region of that god—and offers. He offers on a road,—for on roads that god roves ; he offers on a cross-road,—for the cross-road, indeed, is known to be his (Rudra's) favourite haunt¹. This is why he offers on a cross-road.

8. He offers with the central leaflet of a palâsa-leaf. The palâsa-leaf, truly, is the Brahman (priesthood)²: with the Brahman, therefore, he offers. He takes a cutting from (the northern part of) all the cakes ; from the additional one alone he takes no cutting.

(or soul),’ that is, the anointing of the sacrificial dishes with ghee, previously to their being placed on the altar. The anointing takes place with the text (Vâg. S. ed. p. 35), ‘That life (or soul, *prâna*) of thine which has entered into the cattle, and becomes diffused through the various forms of the gods,—endowed with (that) life (*âtman-vân*)—for thou art laden with ghee—go to Agni, O Soma ! and obtain bliss (*svar*) for the Sacrificer !’ Kâty. II, 8, 14. At the new and full-moon sacrifice, this ceremony is not even alluded to in our Brâhmaṇa, either in this or the Kâṇva recension. See I, 3, 4, 16. The Kâṇva text reads, ‘They may be anointed,’ so they say, &c.

¹ ‘He offers on a cross-road, for such is the halting-place (*paḍ-bîsa*) of the Agnis,’ Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 3.

² ‘The central leaflet of the palâsa-leaf is the Brahman,’ Kâṇva text. The leaf of the palâsa (*Butea Frondosa*) consists of three leaflets,—leathery, above shining and pretty smooth, and below slightly hoary ; the central (or terminal) one being obovate and considerably larger than the lateral ones (which, according to Roxburgh, *Flora Ind.*, III, p. 244, are from 4 to 6 inches long, and from 3 to 4½ broad). ‘Palâsasâkhâyâm yâni trîṇi parṇâni tatra madhyamam parṇam prasastayâ srugrûpam,’ Sây. on Taitt. S. I, 8, 6.

9. He offers¹, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 57 a), 'This is thy share, O Rudra! graciously accept it together with thy sister Ambikâ! Svâhâ!' Ambikâ², indeed, is the name of his (Rudra's) sister; and this share belongs to him conjointly with her; and because that share belongs to him conjointly with a woman (strī), therefore (these oblations) are called Tryambakâḥ. Thereby, then, he delivers from Rudra's power the descendants that have been born unto him.

10. Now as to that additional (cake),—he buries it in a mole-hill³, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 57 b), 'This is thy share, O Rudra! the mole is thy animal (victim).' He thus assigns to him the mole as the only animal⁴, and he (Rudra) does not therefore injure any other animal. Then as to why he buries (the cake): concealed, indeed, are embryos, and concealed also is what is buried,—that is why he buries it. By this (offering) he delivers from the power of Rudra those descendants of his, that are not yet born.

¹ He consecrates, by the usual fivefold lustration, some spot on a cross-way, to the north of the sacrificial ground, and after laying down the fire-brand taken from the Dakshinâgni, he offers thereon, using the central leaflet of a palâra-leaf as the offering-spoon.

² In Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 4, this sister of Rudra is identified with the autumn, wherewith the god is wont to kill (viz. by means of catarrh, fever, &c., Sây.). See also Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 183; Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 321.

³ 'Ākhût-kara;,' 'ākhukarisha,' Kāṇva text. Possibly a mouse-hole, or the earth thrown up by a mouse, is meant. See p. 278, note 3. Cf. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 2: 'N. N. is thy victim,' thus saying, let him indicate the one he (the Sacrificer) hates; thereby he delivers over to him (Rudra) the one he hates. If he hate no one, let him say, 'the mole (mouse) is thy victim.'

⁴ 'Thus he makes over to him only the mole as victim, and puts it into his mouth,' Kāṇva text.

11. Thereupon they return (to the fire) and mutter (Vâg. S. III, 58, 59), 'We have satisfied the claims of Rudra, satisfied the divine Tryambaka, that he may make us richer, that he may make us more prosperous, that he may render us steady in our purpose. —Thou (O Rudra) art a remedy for the cow, a remedy for the horse, a remedy for man; a blessing for the ram and the ewe.' This is the prayer for blessing at this performance.

12. They then walk thrice round the altar not sun-wise, beating their left thighs (with the right hand), with the text (Vâg. S. III, 60 a), 'We worship Tryambaka, the fragrant increaser of prosperity. Even as a gourd (is severed) from its stem, so may I be severed from death, not from immortality!' This is the prayer for blessing at this performance: thereby they invoke a blessing (upon the Sacrificer), for verily blessed is he who shall be severed from death, not from immortality. That is why he says, 'May I be severed from death, not from immortality.'

13. Let the maidens then also walk round, thinking, 'May we enjoy prosperity!' That sister of Rudra, named Ambikâ, indeed is the dispenser of happiness: hence the maidens also should walk round, thinking, 'May we enjoy prosperity!'

14. The text (prescribed) for them is (Vâg. S. III, 60 b), 'We worship Tryambaka, the fragrant bestower of husbands. Even as a gourd (is severed) from its stem, so may I be severed from this (world), not from thence (yonder world)! By saying 'from this,' she means to say 'from my relatives;' and by saying 'not from thence,' she means to say 'not from husbands.' Husbands, doubtless, are the support of woman: hence she says 'not from thence.'

15. Then they (the Sacrificer and priests) again walk round thrice sunwise, beating their right thighs, with the same text. As to why they again walk round thrice sunwise,—they think, ‘Sunwise this sacred work of ours shall be accomplished,’ and therefore they again walk thrice round sunwise.

16. The Sacrificer now takes those (remains of the cakes) into his joined palms and throws them upwards higher than a cow can reach¹. Thereby they cut out his (Rudra’s) darts from their bodies. If they fail to catch them², they touch (those that have fallen to the ground). Thereby they make them medicine, and hence, if they fail to catch them, they touch them.

17. Having then packed them into two net-work baskets and tied them to the two ends of either a bamboo staff or the beam of a balance, he steps

¹ ‘Yathā gaur nodāpnuyāt.’ ‘Yāvad gaur nodāpnuyāt tāvat,’ Kāṇva text. Sāyana takes *go* to mean ‘earth,’ and interprets, ‘in such a way that the earth does not obtain it (i. e. that they do not fall to the ground).’ Kāty. prescribes, V, 10, 18, The Sacrificer, with his joined open hands, throws the Rudra-cakes upwards as high as not to be reachable by a cow (*agoḥprāpanam*); 19, He catches them; 20, If they cannot be (caught), then touching (of those that have fallen on the ground).

² I adopt (not without reluctance) Sāyana’s interpretation of *vilipsantaḥ* (= *labdhum asaktāḥ*), which seems to be that of Kātyāyana also. The St. Petersburg Dict. takes it in the sense of ‘(if they are) desirous of distributing them.’ Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 5 has merely ‘*utkiranti bhagasya lipsante*,’ ‘they throw (them) up, (whereby) they desire to obtain prosperity.’ Āpastamba, as quoted by Sāy. on Taitt. S. I, 8, 6, says,—Having thrown up the cakes and caught them again (*pratilabhya*), and having, with ‘We worship Tryambaka,’ put them into the Sacrificer’s joined palms; and having taken them up separately (*ṣapādāya*), with (or thinking) ‘We desire to obtain you of (ṣ)from Bhaga;’ let them put them together (*samāvapeyuh*) thrice in this way.

aside towards the north; and if he meets with a tree or a stake or a bamboo or an ant-hill, he fastens them thereon, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 61), 'These, O Rudra, are thy provisions; therewith depart beyond the Mûgavats!'—(supplied) with provisions people indeed set out on a journey: hence he thereby dismisses him supplied with provisions whithersoever he is bound. Now in this case his journey is beyond the Mûgavats: hence he says, 'Depart beyond the Mûgavats!'—'with thy bow unstrung and muffled up—,' whereby he means to say, 'Depart propitious, not injuring us¹;' 'Clad in a skin,'—whereby he lulls him to sleep²; for while sleeping he injures no one: hence he says, 'Clad in a skin.'

18. They then turn to the right about, and return (to the uttaravedi) without looking back. Having returned thither, they touch water; for they have been performing a ceremony relating to Rudra³, and water is (a means of) purification: with water, that (means of) purification, they accordingly purify themselves.

19. Thereupon he shaves his hair and beard, and takes up the fire (of the uttaravedi),—for only after changing his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground) he performs the (Full-moon) sacrifice on that fire, since it is not proper that he should perform the

¹ In the Vâg. Samhitâ this forms part of the text, but it is clearly a gloss taken from the Brâhmana. The Kâṇva recension of the Brâhmana has '—pinâkâvasa ity ahimsan naḥ sivaḥ sânto 'tîhity evaitad âha,' which has likewise found its way into the Samhitâ of that school. On the Mûgavats, see Muir, Orig. Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 352.

² According to Kâty. V, 10, 22, he mutters the word 'skin-clad' while steadying the two baskets.

³ See p. 2, note 2.

Agnihotra on the uttaravedi: for this reason he changes his place. Having gone to the house, and 'churned out' the fires¹, he performs the Full-moon offering. The Seasonal offerings, doubtless, are detached sacrifices; whereas the Full-moon offering is a regular, established sacrifice: hence he finally establishes himself by means of that regular sacrifice, and therefore changes his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground).

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, imperishable is the righteousness of him that offers the Seasonal sacrifices; for such a one gains the year, and hence there is no cessation for him. He gains it (the year) in three divisions, he conquers it in three divisions. The year means the whole, and the whole is imperishable (without end): hence his righteousness is indeed imperishable. Moreover, he thereby becomes a Season, and as such goes to the gods; but there is no perishableness in the gods, and hence there is imperishable righteousness for him. This, then, is why he offers the Seasonal sacrifices.

2. Then as to why he should perform the Sunâsîrya offering. The prosperity (sri) that accrued to the gods on performing the Sâkamedha offerings, and gaining the victory (over Vṛitra), is suna; and the essence (rasa) that belonged to the year gained by them is sîra². Now that same prosperity which

¹ See II, 5, 2, 48.

² The author identifies sîra (plough) with sâra, 'essence, sap'; and takes suna, ploughshare (?), as identical with sunam, 'successfully, prosperously.' See next page, note 3.

accrued to the gods on performing the Sâkamedha offerings, and that same essence which belonged to the year gained by them,—both these he takes possession of and makes his own: that is why he performs the Sunâsîrya.

3. The mode of its performance (is as follows): They prepare no uttaravedi; they do not use clotted butter; nor do they churn the fire¹. There are five fore-offerings, three after-offerings, and one Samish-tayagus.

4. Then, in the first place, there are those five (regular) oblations². By means of these oblations, indeed, Pragâpati produced creatures; with them he delivered the creatures both ways from Varuna's noose; with them the gods slew Vṛitra and gained that victory which was gained by them. And so does he, by means of them, obtain and make his own, both that prosperity which accrued to the gods from performing the Sâkamedha offerings, and that essence of the year which was gained by them. This is why those five oblations are (offered).

5. Then follows a Sunâsîrya³ cake on twelve

¹ But see XI, 5, 2, 8, 'At all four of these (Kâturmâsya offerings) they churn the fire.' On account of this contradiction, the commentators, on Kâty. V, 11, 3, consider the churning of the fire as optional. But, if the fires were produced by 'churning,' nine fore-offerings and after-offerings would have to be performed, as at the other Seasonal sacrifices, which is expressly forbidden in the above passage. According to Kâty. himself, the Sunâsîrya is to be treated like an ordinary ishî, except that the barhis is to be tied together in the way prescribed for the Seasonal offerings; see II, 5, 1, 18.

² See II, 5, 1, 8-11.

³ That is, according to Kâty. V, 11, 5, to Suna and Sîra,—probably the ploughshare and plough, considered as two tutelary deities of agricultural pursuits (Rig-veda IV, 57, 5-8); but by Yâska identified with Vâyu and Âditya;—or, according to Taitt. S. I, 8,

potsherds. The import of this Sunâsrya oblation is what we have stated before.

6. After that there is an (oblation of) milk¹ to Vâyu. Now it is to milk that living beings readily take, when they are born: 'May the creatures readily take to me—now that I have gained the victory (by means of the Sâkamedha offerings)—for my prosperity, glory, and support!' so he thinks, and hence that (oblation of) milk.

7. Then as to why it is (offered) to Vâyu. Now Vâyu, indeed, is yonder blowing (wind); it is he that makes swell whatever rain falls here. But it is by the rain that plants grow; and on the plants being eaten and the water drunk, milk is produced out of that water. Hence it is he (Vâyu) that produces it; and for this reason it is (offered) to Vâyu.

8. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Sûrya. Now Sûrya, indeed, is yonder scorching (sun); it is he that governs all this (world), now by means of a good, now by a bad (king)²; he assigns its place to everything here, now under a good, now under a bad (king): 'Now that I have obtained the victory, may he, in his pleasure, govern me through a good (king), may he assign to me a place under a good (king)!' thus he thinks; and for this reason there is a cake on one potsherd for Sûrya.

9. The priests' fee for this (oblation to Sûrya)

7, 1, Taïtt. Br. I, 7, 1, 1, to Indra Sunâsîra (i.e. Indra, accompanied by Suna and Sîra, Sây.).

¹ According to Kâty. V, 11, 6-10, the milk, in this case, is to be offered quite fresh (and warm) from the cow, without having been put on the fire. Rice-gruel may, however, be offered instead.

² Or, 'now by good, now by bad (means).'

is a white horse¹; whereby it is made of the characteristic form of yonder scorching (sun). If he be unable to procure a white horse, it may be a white bull; whereby it is likewise made of the characteristic form of yonder scorching (sun).

10. He may offer the *Sunâsîrya* at the same time when he performs the *Sâkamedha* offerings. By offering (Seasonal sacrifices) three times in the year, he indeed obtains the (whole) year: he may therefore offer (the *Sunâsîrya*) at any time².

11. Here now some wish to take possession of the nights; and should he wish to take possession of the nights, let him offer the *Sunâsîrya* (on the day) when, previously to the full-moon of *Phâlguna*, (the new moon) becomes visible in yonder sky.

12. Let him then get consecrated (for the Soma-sacrifice), lest the *Phâlguna* full-moon again pass by without his offering (Soma). For were the *Phâlguna* full-moon again to pass by without his having

¹ According to *Taitt. S. I, 8, 7*, *Taitt. Br. I, 7, 1, 2*, the *Dakshinâ* consists of a plough yoked with twelve oxen.

² That is to say, he may perform the *Sunâsîrya*, either immediately after the *Sâkamedhâ*, or at any time within four months after that sacrifice (*comm. on Kâty. V, 11, 3*). Our author, however, evidently favours the views set forth in the succeeding paragraphs. According to these, the householder who wishes to discontinue the Seasonal offerings after the first round, and to become a Soma-sacrificer, is to perform the *Sunâsîrya* on the first day of the waxing moon of *Phâlguna*, and then to undergo the *dîkshâ*, or rite of consecration for the Soma-sacrifice (see *III, 1, 2, 1 seq.*), either immediately or before the approaching full-moon, when he is to perform the *Agnishôma* (or an animal offering to Agni and Soma or an *Âgneyî ishî*, *Kâty. V, 11, 15*). If, on the other hand, he intends to continue the *Kâturmâsyas* for another year (or more), he is to perform the *Sunâsîrya* on the *upavasatha*, or day preceding the full-moon.

offered (Soma), he would certainly have to begin anew (to perform the Seasonal offerings): hence the Phâlguna full-moon should not again pass by without his offering Soma. Such (is the rule) for him who discontinues (the Seasonal offerings).

13. And in the case of one who recommences (the Seasonal offerings),—let him perform the Sunâstria on the day preceding the Phâlguna full-moon, and on the following day the Vaisvadeva, and after that the Full-moon offering. This, then, (is the rule) for him who recommences (the Seasonal offerings).

14. Then as to (the Sacrificer) shaving his head all round¹. Now yonder sun, indeed, faces every quarter; it drinks up whatever (moisture) it dries up here: hence this (Sacrificer) thereby faces every quarter and becomes a consumer of food.

15. This fire also faces every quarter, since it burns all they put into it from whatsoever quarter: hence this (Sacrificer) thereby faces every quarter and becomes a consumer of food.

16. This man, on the other hand, faces but one quarter; but by shaving his head all round he comes to face every quarter; and whosoever, knowing this, has his head shaved all round, becomes just such a consumer of food as those two: let him therefore have his head shaved all round.

17. And on this point Âsuri said, 'What in the world has it to do with his face, even if he were to shave off all the hair of his head! It is by offering

¹ 'Parivartayate' ('nivartayate,' Kâṇva), lit. 'he causes himself to be turned round,' is the technical expression for having one's head shaved all round (the *sikhâ*, or lock of hair on the crown of the head).

thrice in the year that he comes to face all the quarters and becomes a consumer of food : let him therefore not trouble himself about shaving his head.'

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now when it is said, that the gods, by means of the Sâkamedha offerings, slew *Vṛitra* and gained that supreme authority which they now wield,—it is rather by means of all the Seasonal sacrifices that the gods slew *Vṛitra*; it is by all of them that they gained that supreme authority which they now wield.

2. They spake, 'With what king, with what leader¹ shall we fight?' Agni spake, 'With me for your king, with me for your leader!' With Agni for their king, with Agni for their leader, they gained four months; and with the Brahman (sacerdotium) and the threefold science they encompassed them.

3. They spake, 'With what king, with what leader shall we fight?' Varuṇa spake, 'With me for your king, with me for your leader!' With Varuṇa for their king, with Varuṇa for their leader, they gained other four months; and with the Brahman and the threefold science they encompassed them.

4. They spake, 'With what king, with what leader shall we fight?' Indra spake, 'With me for your king, with me for your leader!' With Indra for their king, with Indra for their leader, they gained other four months; and with the Brahman and the threefold science they encompassed them.

¹ Anîka (? 'van-guard'). cf. V, 3, 1, 1 'senâyâḥ senânîr anîkam;' II, 5, 3, 2.

5. And, accordingly, when he performs the Vaisvadeva, he thereby gains four months, with Agni for his king, with Agni for his leader. Then (in shaving) are used a porcupine's quill spotted in three places, and a copper razor; that three-spotted porcupine's quill resembles the threefold science, and the copper razor resembles the Brahman; for the Brahman is fire, and fire is of reddish (lohita) colour: hence a copper (loha) razor is used. Therewith he has (his head) shaved all round¹; and thus he (the Adhvaryu) encompasses him with the Brahman and the threefold science.

6. And when he performs the Varunapraghâsa offerings, he thereby gains other four months, with Varuna for his king, with Varuna for his leader. Then a three-spotted quill of a porcupine and a copper razor are used, wherewith he has himself shaved all round; and thus he (the priest) encompasses him with the Brahman and the threefold science.

7. And when he performs the Sâkamedha offerings, he thereby gains other four months, with Indra for his king, with Indra for his leader. Then a three-spotted quill of a porcupine and a copper razor are used, wherewith he has himself shaved; and thus he (the priest) encompasses him with the Brahman and the threefold science.

8. And when he performs the Vaisvadeva, then he becomes Agni, and attains to union with Agni and to co-existence in his world. And when he performs the Varunapraghâsa offerings, then he becomes Varuna, and attains to union with Varuna

¹ See p. 448, note 1.

and to co-existence in his world. And when he performs the Sākamedha offerings, then he becomes Indra, and attains to union with Indra and to co-existence in his world¹.

9. And in whatever season he goes to yonder world, that season passes him on to the next season, and that season again passes him on to the next season,—he who performs the Seasonal sacrifices reaches the highest place, the supreme goal. Wherefore it is said, ‘They find not him that offereth the Seasonal offerings, for verily he goeth unto the highest place, to the supreme goal².’

¹ The Kāṇva text adds: And when he performs the Sunāsīriya, then he becomes Vāyu, and attains to union with Vāyu and to co-existence in his world.

² The Kāṇva text has: In whatever season the performer of Seasonal offerings goes to yonder world, that season passes him on to the next season, and that next one to the next one,—him the seasons, by transmission, make thus attain to the highest station, to the highest world. Wherefore is it said, ‘They find not him that offereth the Seasonal offerings, for he conquereth the highest world, the highest conquest (paramāṃ hy eva lokam paramāṃ gitim gayatīti).’

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 15, note 1. The pole of Indian carts is itself firmly bound with thongs.
- P. 27, paragraph 10. Read,—Vâg. S. I, 15 b; I, 15 c.
- P. 28, par. 12, and note 2. The Kâṇva text has the correct order of castes: 'tāny etāni kṛtvāri vāka chhiti brāhmaṇasyāgahy ādraveti rāganyasya ka vaisyasya kṛdhāveti sūdrasya.'
- P. 47, par. 1. The Taitt. S. (II, 6, 6) has a somewhat different version of this legend:—Agni had three elder brothers. While carrying the oblations to the gods, they perished. Agni was afraid, 'In like manner this one will meet with destruction (ārtim āriṣhyati).' He concealed himself. He entered the waters. The gods wished to find him. A fish betrayed him. He cursed it, 'May (people) kill thee by whatever means they can devise (dhiyā-dhiyā), who hast betrayed me!' Hence they kill the fish by whatever means they can devise, for he is accursed. They found him, and said to him, 'Come back to us and carry our oblation!' He said, 'I will ask a boon: whatever portion of the taken (ghee) shall fall outside the enclosing-sticks, before it is offered, that shall be my brothers' portion!' Hence whatever portion of the taken (ghee) falls outside the enclosing-sticks, that is their portion: with that he satisfies them.
- P. 47, par. 2. The Kāṇva text reads,—'They followed Indra even as now-a-days also a Brāhmaṇa follows a Kshatriya blessing him (āsamsamāno 'nukarati).'
- P. 85, par. 6. Read,—for this represents the fringe (of the Sacrificer's nether garment), and it is on the right side that the fringe (is tucked in) . . . for the fringe also is covered (by being tucked in). Cf. below to p. 368.
- P. 118, line 18. Read,—'Thine' instead of 'Your.'
- P. 164, par. 2. Professor Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen II, p. 118, translates, 'And from the mouth which had been drinking surā, the sparrow sprang: hence the latter sings so merrily, for indeed he sings so merrily as if it had drank surā.' Differently, however, *ibid.* III, p. 64.
- P. 175, par. 1. Compare also the corresponding legend in Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 4:—Indra, having slain Vṛitra, went to the farthest distance, thinking 'I have committed a sin (aparādham, ? I have missed him).' He said, 'Who will find this out?' The Maruts said, 'We will choose a boon, then we shall know: let the first offering be made to us!' They sported on him (Vṛitra), &c. (According to Sāyana, on Taitt. S. I, 8, 4, Indra flees from fear and says, within the Marut's hearing, 'Is Vṛitra dead or not? Who will go near him and find it out?' &c.)
- P. 183, par. 1. According to Sāyana, on Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 10, it was the Soma-plant (soma-vallī) that was carried off by Gāyatrī devatā, and one of its leaves (parṇa) was broken off, and on falling to the ground became a palāśa tree. See also Taitt. S. VI, 1, 6; Sat. Br. III, 2, 4, 1 seq.; Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 312 seq.
- P. 184, note 4. Add,—Compare Max Müller, Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 352.
- P. 206, par. 19. Correct,—'Bhāllaveya' (also II, 1, 4, 6).
- P. 288, note 2. On the etymology of nakṣatra, see also Max Müller, Rig-veda-Samhitā IV, p. lxxi note.
- P. 310, pars. 8–9. Correct,—'And whichever (of the Asuras) they (the gods) slew, he indeed remained the same (viz. alive). In consequence of this the gods were left inferior.'
- P. 313, par. 20. The paragraph should have been rendered thus:—To Aruṇa Aupavesi his kinsmen said, 'Thou art advanced in years: establish thou the fires!' He replied, 'Thereby ye tell me, "keep silence!" he who has established his fires must not speak an untruth, and only by not speaking at all one speaks no untruth: to that extent the service (of the consecrated fire) consists in truth.' Similarly the Kāṇva text,—*arunam haupavesim gṛhātaya ūkṣu sthaviro vā asy agnī ādhatsveti*.—*sa hovāka tan maitad brūtha vātam-asya evaidhī mā brūtheti na hy agnī ādhāya mṛishā vaden no vātā vadato mṛishodyam asti tasmād u satyam eva vivadishet*. See Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen III, p. 29.
- P. 368, par. 24. Read,—He (the Sacrificer) then pulls down the tuck of his (nether garment) and performs obeisance. Cf. p. 435, note 2.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.					Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.		
	I Class.			II Class.									III Class.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.														
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ख	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	. . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬑	𐬕𐬎	𐬕𐬎	𐬕𐬎	𐬕𐬎	𐬕𐬎	. . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬢	{ 𐬢 (ng) 𐬢 (N) 𐬢 (𐬑h)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ह	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	. . .	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	. . .	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)														
13 Tenuis . . . . .	. . .	k	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	kh	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	kh
15 Media . . . . .	. . .	g	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	. . .
16 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	gh	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	. . .
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	. . .	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬚	𐬚	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	s (ʃ)	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	z
36 " asperrimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	z
37 " asperrimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	𐬚	𐬚	...	...	...	z

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)	
38 Tenuis	t
39 " aspirata	th
40 Media	d
41 " aspirata	dh
42 Nasalis	n
43 Semivocalis	r
44 " fricata	f
45 " diacritica	ʀ
46 Spiritus asper	sh
47 " lenis	zh
Labiales.	
48 Tenuis	p
49 " aspirata	ph
50 Media	b
51 " aspirata	bh
52 Tenuissima . . . . .	..
53 Nasalis	m
54 Semivocalis	w
55 " aspirata	hw
56 Spiritus asper	f
57 " lenis	v
58 Anusvāra
59 Visarga	h

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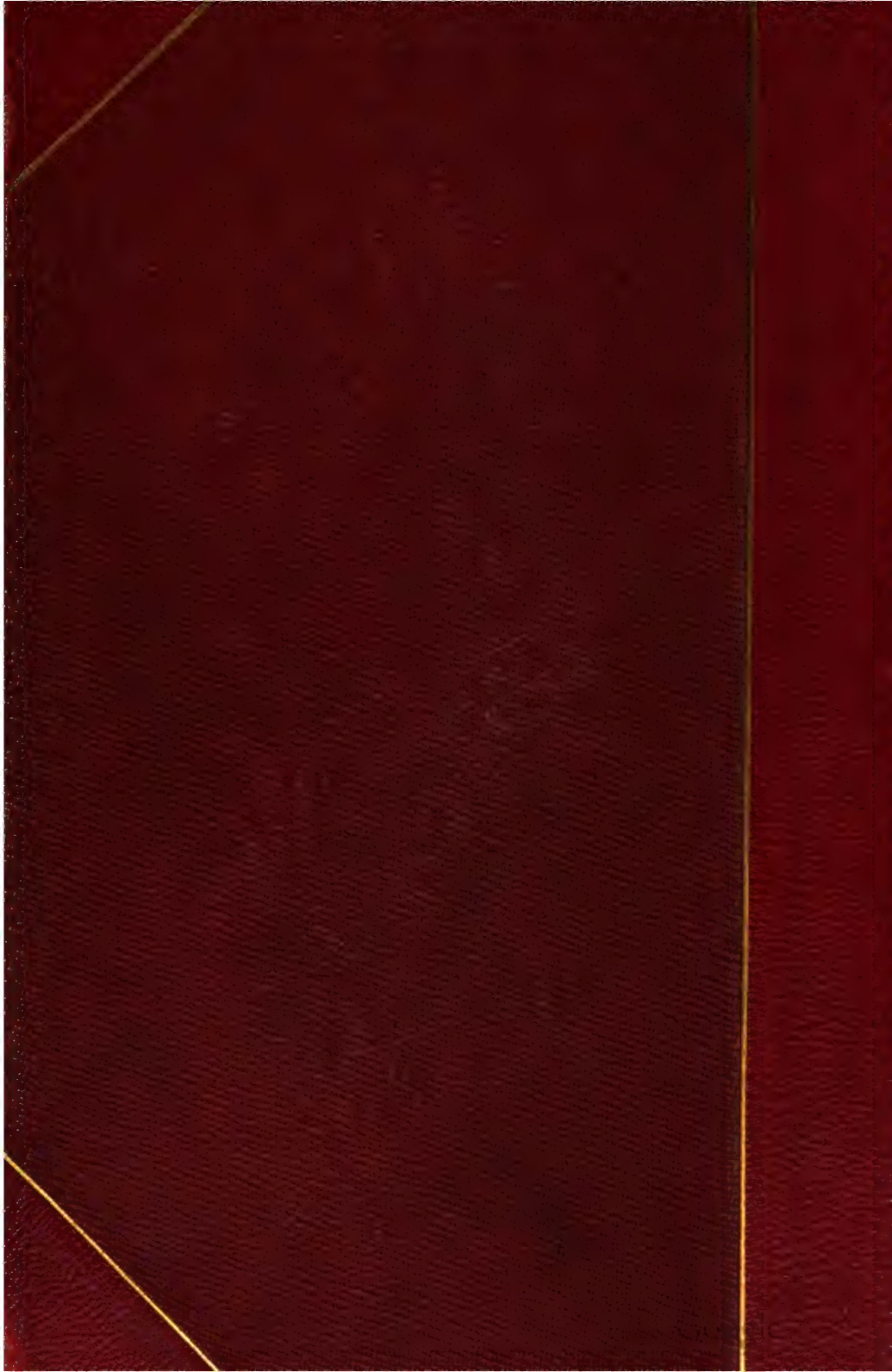
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THE
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TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XIII

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

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VINAYA TEXTS

TRANSLATED FROM THE PĀLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

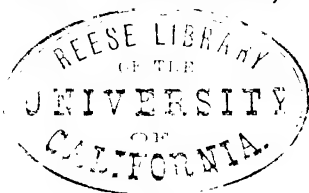
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HERMANN OLDENBERG

PART I

THE PĀTIMOKKHA

THE MAHĀVAGGA, I—IV



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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

VINAYA TEXTS FROM THE PÂLI.

IN the present MSS. the Vinaya Piṭaka is divided into the following books :

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. Pârâgika, | } called collectively the Sutta-vibhaṅga. |
| 2. Pâkittiya, | |
| 3. Mahâvagga, | } called collectively the Khandhakas. |
| 4. Kullavagga, | |
| 5. Parivâra-pâṭha. | |

These books constitute that part of the sacred literature of the Buddhists which contains the regulations for the outward life of the members of the Buddhist Saṃgha—nearly the oldest, and probably the most influential, of all Fraternities of monks.

It is impossible to frame any narrower definition of the Vinaya than this, since the gradual change of circumstances in the Fraternity resulted in a gradual change also in the Vinaya itself. To give any more detailed account of what the Vinaya is, it will be necessary to trace what can be at present ascertained of its history; to show—that is, so far as it is yet possible to do so—the causes which led to the establishment of the oldest Rules and Ceremonies of the Order, and to follow step by step the accretions of new literary work around this older nucleus.

For this purpose we propose to consider first the Rules of the work called the Pâtimokkha; for the later texts presuppose its existence. It is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of all Buddhist text-books; and it has been

inserted in its entirety into the first part of the Vinaya, the Vibhaṅga¹.

The Pātimokkha—the meaning of the name will be discussed later on—seems to have owed its existence to the ancient Indian custom of holding sacred two periods in each month, the times of the Full Moon and of the New Moon.

The Vedic ceremonies of the *Darsapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice, and of the feast or sacred day (*Upavasatha*) connected with it, are known to have been very old, and the custom of celebrating these days would naturally be handed on from the Brāhmins to the different *Samanas*, and be modified and simplified (though, as it seems, sometimes increased in number) by them, in accordance with their creeds and their views of religious duty. According to Buddhist tradition²—and we see no sufficient reason for doubting the correctness of the account—the monks of other, that is, of non-Buddhistic sects, used to meet together at the middle and at the close of every half-month, and were accustomed then to proclaim their new teaching in public. At such times the people would crowd together; and the different sects found an opportunity of increasing their numbers and their influence.

The Buddhists also adopted the custom of these periodical meetings, but confined themselves to meeting twice in each month³. And the peculiarity which gave to these meetings among the Buddhists their distinguishing character seems to have been borrowed by them neither from the Brāhmins nor from other dissenters, but to have been an original invention of the Buddhists themselves. The Brethren and Sisters made use of these half-monthly gatherings to confess to the assembled Order the sins and faults which each of them had committed; and to take upon himself, or herself, the penance which the transgressor had thereby incurred. It would be unnecessary to dwell here upon the details of these penitential meetings, as we can

¹ The opening sentence only is found in the *Mahāvagga*. See below, p. xv.

² *Mahāvagga* II, 1, 1.

³ *Ibid.* II, 4, 2.

refer the reader to the second book of the Mahāvagga, where he will find them fully set out.

It was for use at such penitential gatherings that the text, now known as the Pātimokkha, was composed. A list was drawn up—which of course it would be necessary from time to time to complete, and rectify—of those offences which ought to be confessed and atoned for; this list was read out in the half-monthly meetings of the Order; and the Brethren and Sisters who were present were asked if they were innocent of each one of the offences therein mentioned.

The use of such a list must have already begun in very early times. Tradition even ascribes the first laying down of each clause to the Buddha himself. This tradition is of course very far from being conclusive; but neither should we hold it impossible that the Pātimokkha, either in its present shape, or at least in its most essential parts, can reach back to the Buddha's own time, or to that of his personal disciples.

It is no doubt natural, through the influence of the history of early Christianity, or perhaps of the school of Socrates, to imagine that early Buddhism was far removed from all fixed and absolute forms, either of creed or of liturgy; and to represent the intercourse of Gotama and his disciples as purely and simply an interchange of spiritual edification, where the spirit was all in all, and the letter was nothing. But it should be remembered that Gotama continued to live for many years, almost for two generations, after he had formulated the essential points of his system, and after he had founded the brotherhood of his Order. And at that time the stream of scholastic and legal ideas which emanated from the earlier Brāhmanism was flowing in full force through the religious circles of India. A rich phraseology of sacred and ecclesiastical expressions, an armoury of technical terms in philosophy and in theology (still preserved in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads), had been developed and made ready for the use of the Buddhists, and Gainas, and other reforming schools. And earlier speculation had raised a whole series of pro-

blems, and long-continued custom had elaborated a multifarious system of ecclesiastical observances, which the newly risen sects, orthodox or heretical, could grapple with, or could adopt. It seems to us that Gotama's disciples, from the very beginning, were much more than a free and informal union of men held together merely through their common reverence for their Master, and through a common spiritual aim. They formed rather, and from the first, an organised Brotherhood.

But if we look upon the Sakyaputtiya Samanas—for that is the name which the people in the earliest times gave to the community—as from the first an organised body, it is highly probable that the earliest formularies, both of their creeds and of their liturgies, arose in a time, if not during the life of Gotama, yet at most not long after his decease. Now among the oldest expressions of belief we may with certainty rank the four sentences known as the Four Noble Truths and the summary of the so-called Noble Eightfold Path: and the oldest liturgical formularies preserved to us are, without any doubt, the Pâtimokkha and the various Kammavâkas. It is true that these liturgical formularies, being so much more extensive, may possibly have been modified or added to before they reached the form in which we now possess them; but there is not the slightest trace of any other liturgies having ever been in use in the Buddhist fraternity.

It is of course impossible to attempt to draw a line between the part which Gotama himself may have had in the settlement of the list of offences contained in the Pâtimokkha, and the part that may have been taken by his disciples. Nor indeed, considering the limited character of our knowledge, is that a point of much importance. But it should perhaps be noticed in this connection that Buddhist tradition does ascribe to one among Gotama's disciples—to Upâli—an especial connection with the Vinaya. This tradition reaches back at least as far as the time when the existing recension of the Pâli Piṭakas was made, for we find it both in the Sutta- and in the Vinaya-Piṭakas.

Thus in the *Kullavagga* (VI, 13, 1) we find the passage—
 ‘At that time the Blessed One proclaimed the Vinaya in many a way to the Bhikkhus, exalted the Vinaya, exalted the learning of the Vinaya, exalted again and again the venerable Upâli. Then thought the Bhikkhus, “The Blessed One hath proclaimed the Vinaya in many a way, hath exalted the Vinaya, hath exalted the learning of the Vinaya, hath exalted again and again the venerable Upâli. Come now let us learn the Vinaya from the venerable Upâli.” And so many Bhikkhus, old and middle-aged and young, learnt the Vinaya from the venerable Upâli.’

And again in a Sutta of the *Aṅguttara Nikâya*¹, where those Bhikkhus are enumerated who, in any particular respect, are the first and foremost in the Brotherhood, Upâli is mentioned as the first among the custodians of the Vinaya (the Vinaya-dharâ). And further, as is well known, it is Upâli who, according to the tradition, plays, at the First Council, the same part of propounder with regard to the Vinaya Texts which Ānanda does with regard to the Dhamma Texts². There may well be some truth in this very ancient tradition that Upâli was specially conversant with the Rules of the Order; but it would be hazardous on that account to ascribe to Upâli a share, not only in the handing down of existing Rules, but in the composition of the *Pâtimokkha* itself³.

As regards the order in which the various offences are arranged in the *Pâtimokkha*, the principal division corresponds to the division of the Order into Brethren and Sisters: there is a Bhikkhu-pâtimokkha and a Bhikkhunî-pâtimokkha. In each of these two chief divisions the offences are divided into various classes, beginning with the heaviest—with those, that is, that result in the exclu-

¹ Phayre MS., vol. i. fol. kau.

² *Kullavagga* XII.

³ In the Ceylon Chroniclers (*Dīpavamsa*, *Bhānavāras* 4 and 5) Upâli even becomes the first in a series of *Vinayapâmoṃkhâ*, or ‘Chiefs of the Vinaya;’ but no such office is known to the older tradition; and had it existed it would certainly have been mentioned in connection with the dispute about the so-called Ten Points of the Vinaya at the Council of Vesâlî.

sion of the offender from the Order. Inside each class the sequence of the clauses follows no invariable rule. Sometimes offences of a related character are placed together in groups¹, but sometimes those which would naturally come together are found scattered in quite different parts of the same class². It is perhaps worthy of notice that there sometimes seems, as in the two cases first mentioned in the last note, to be an effort to arrange the offences in groups (*vagga*) of ten: and in three cases we find regulations formulated with the utmost brevity (the offences being merely expressed by a locative case dependent upon *pāṭittiyaṃ*) at the commencement of such a *vagga*. It seems to us, at least in the present state of our knowledge, quite impossible to draw any conclusions from such peculiarities as to the comparative age of any different parts of the *Pātimokkha*. The irregularities in arrangement may very well be due to want of literary clearness in the compilers of the present Form of Confession, and it would be hazardous to attempt to trace in it any historical argument.

The various points in regard to the *Pātimokkha* dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs do not of themselves show that it was at all older than the rest of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*; and indeed the work, as a separate work, is not considered among Buddhists to belong to the *Piṭakas* at all, and is therefore not included in the list of works of which the *Piṭakas* consist. But every single Rule or Clause in the *Pātimokkha* is in fact found word for word in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, the quotations being so complete that the *Pātimokkha* might be entirely put together again by piecing together extracts from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. And it is not possible that the *Pātimokkha* originated merely by such a process of dovetailing; for the quotations in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, though not actually called quotations, bear the unmistakable stamp of being taken from some pre-existing work. The cause which led to the *Pātimokkha*, and the

¹ For instance, regulations as to the conduct of Brethren towards Sisters come together in *Pāṭittiya* 21-30; those about meal-times in *Pāṭittiya* 31-40; about conduct in relation to armies in *Pāṭittiya* 48-50.

² For instance, *Pāṭittiya* 5, 6, and 43-45; and again, *Pāṭittiya* 20 and 62, &c.

Upasampadâ-kammavâṭa, being separately preserved at all, is the same as the cause which led to their exclusion from the lists of the Piṭaka texts—the fact, that is, of their being liturgical compositions.

We turn now to the consideration of the question how a series of further literary productions were gradually developed out of, or added to the Pâtimokkha¹.

Whoever reads through the Mahâvagga will at once be struck by one section of it which differs completely both in contents and in form from the rest of the work. This is the section in the Second Book, Chapter III, paragraphs 4–8.

This passage is preceded by the opening words of the Pâtimokkha; and in the passage itself those words are separately paraphrased or explained. But the explanation does not appear to be put into the mouth of the Buddha; it bears rather, without any historical or conversational form, the impersonal shape of a simple commentary: and it only differs from the later commentaries by peculiar solemn diffuseness and rhetorical tautology.

If we were to consider the Mahâvagga only, the sudden and unexplained appearance in this connection, and in this connection only, of an isolated passage of this kind, would have to remain an insoluble puzzle. But when we look further into the other parts of the Vinaya Piṭaka, an answer immediately suggests itself. In the portion of that Piṭaka which is better called the Sutta-vibhaṅga, but is divided in the MSS. into two divisions, under the somewhat misleading titles of Pârâṅgika and Pâḷittiya, we find, at regularly recurring intervals, passages of an exactly similar character, and without any doubt of the same origin, as the isolated passage in the Mahâvagga.

The Sutta-vibhaṅga is occupied with laying down and explaining all the Rules which are contained in the Pâtimokkha. Now, immediately after the text of each of these Rules, there is found a word for word commentary upon

¹ With the following paragraphs should be compared H. Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the Pâli text of the Vinaya, vol. i, pp. xvi and following.

them—precisely as a word for word commentary follows, in the passage above cited in the Mahāvagga, upon the quoted words of the Introductory Formular of the Pātimokkha service. Here then lies the explanation. This Introductory Formular is the only passage contained in the Pātimokkha which is not found also in the Sutta-vibhaṅga. And with the explanation of the curiously isolated passage in the Mahāvagga we have also a new fact of very great importance. Not only does the Vinaya Piṭaka contain, word for word, the whole of the Pātimokkha, but it contains also, and again word for word, the whole of an ancient Commentary on the Pātimokkha.

This commentary no longer exists as a separate work, and it would indeed be strange if it did. It was not required in the simple liturgical services of Ordination and Confession in use in the Order: and if any one wished to refer to it, in order to refresh his memory as to the explanation of any passage in the Pātimokkha, he had only to repeat, or to get repeated over to him, the corresponding passage from the Sutta-vibhaṅga. There he would find the Old Commentary (as we shall hereafter call it) word for word, together with the additional commentary by which it had been supplemented in later times.

A question may then possibly occur to the reader whether we can be really sure that the Old Commentary has been preserved complete, or whether what we have is a fragment only. We think there can be but little doubt as to the right answer. The Pātimokkha, which the Old Commentary deals with word by word, has been separately preserved to us, and we know that no one phrase of it remains uncommented upon. And further it is clear from several passages that the words of the old commentator were considered so sacred or authoritative that they have been kept intact even in cases where they are in contradiction to the later parts of the Vinaya Piṭaka¹. It should however be noted that this Old Commentary is philological

¹ See, for instance, the comparison made by Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the text, vol. i. p. xviii. The Old Commentary follows of course the passage there referred to in the Pātimokkha.

and exegetical throughout, containing nothing of a legendary or quasi-historical nature. It is just possible to suggest that it may have originally contained not only such an explanation of the meaning of each Rule, but an account also of the occasion on which the Rule was laid down. But it is difficult to see why greater sacredness should have been attached to one part of the work than to another; or to explain how it was that, if any part was changed, the contradictory passages above referred to were not also altered. Every probability therefore points to the conclusion that we have the complete work still before us, and not fragments of it only.

It seems to us to have been precisely the absence of any such historical account in the older Commentary which probably led to the formation of what was practically the new edition of the Pātimokkha which now lies before us in the first part of the Vinaya Piṭaka.

In the earliest books of the Sutta Piṭaka, which contains the statement of Buddhist belief, we find—just as in the Gospels and in the Socratic dialogues—that that belief is not stated directly. The books profess to give, not simply the belief itself, but the belief as the Buddha uttered it, with an account of the time when, and the place at which, he uttered it. The Buddha's new method of salvation, his new doctrine of what salvation was, did not present itself to the consciousness of the early Buddhist community as an idea, a doctrine, standing alone, and merely on its own merits. In their minds it was indissolubly bound up with the memory of the revered and striking personality of him who had proclaimed it. So in the Sutta Piṭaka the actor and speaker is almost throughout the Buddha himself: (occasionally, but very seldom, one of his disciples.) Introductions—often indeed short and tending in later times to disappear—give a full account of where, and when, he spoke; what was the occasion which led to his uttering that particular speech; and to whom he uttered it. But, throughout, the principal thing is what the Buddha said.

It is only natural that this distinguishing mark of the

literature of the Buddhist Dhamma—much of which was no doubt in existence at a very early date—should have reacted upon the literature of the Buddhist Vinaya. The members of the Order were no longer contented to learn, and to understand the meaning of, the various Rules of the Pātimokkha. A desire sprang up to have, for each one of them also, a kind of historical basis; to know the story of how the Buddha himself came to lay down the Rule to his disciples. And it was only the Brother who was properly acquainted with all this who was accounted a real ‘Doctor of the Law.’

So it is said in the *Kullavagga* (IX, 5, 1):—‘If a Brother, Upāli, has not received gladly both the Pātimokkhas in their full extent, has not well divided them, well established them, well investigated them, both sutta by sutta, and in every detail; if when asked, “Where was this spoken by the Blessed One?” he fail to solve the question: then there will be some who will say to him, “But then, let the venerable one still devote himself to learning the Vinaya!” thus will they say¹.’

It is evident from this passage that, at the time when it was written, such a tradition regarding each Rule was in existence; and that the knowledge of these traditions was held in high esteem. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture that steps were taken to amalgamate these traditions with the Text and the Old Commentary in a complete work, which should also contain what we may call Notes on the Rules—that is, decisions on points of Law involved, though not expressed in so many words, in the Rules; discussions on what cases were really included and what were not, in particular regulations; enumeration of exceptions to the Rules; and so on.

Whether this conjecture be right or not, it is precisely such a work that we have now before us in that part of the Vinaya Piṭaka called the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, and divided

¹ No ke Upāli bhikkhuno ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni vitthārena svāgatāni honti suvibhattāni suppvattāni suviniṭṭhitāni suddato anuvyañṅanaso, idam pan’āvuso kattha vuttam Bhagavatā ‘ti iti puttiko na sampāyati, tassa bhavanti vattāro: Iṅgha tāva āyasmā Vinayam pariyāpunassū ‘ti: iti ‘ssa bhavanti vattāro.

in the present MSS., as above pointed out, into two books called respectively—after the class of Rules with which they begin—Pârâgika and Pâṭittiya. And it is possible throughout, without the possibility of mistake, to distinguish between the three portions of which the present work is built up. The historical basis comes first, leading up to the extract from the Pâtimokkha, which is always placed in the Buddha's own mouth; then comes the Old Commentary, with its verbal explanations; and then, finally, the Notes giving the exceptions to, and the extensions of, the Rule in the Pâtimokkha.

The foregoing paragraphs show the way in which the Sutta-vibhaṅga grew up on the basis of the Pâtimokkha. The following books—the Khandhakas—give a detailed and connected account of the admission into the Saṅgha; of the ceremony of the Uposatha; of the annually recurring observances connected with the beginning and the end of the rainy season; of the principal disciplinary proceedings; and of miscellaneous details regarding the medicine, food, dwelling-places, and daily life of the members of the Order (Bhikkhus). As in the Sutta-vibhaṅga, so here also, the outward form is arranged in such a way that in the case of every regulation a history was given of the occasion upon which the Buddha was supposed to have made it. These histories again lead up, in most cases, to a liturgical formula by which the regulation was to be carried out.

While, however, in the case of the Sutta-vibhaṅga the liturgy on which it has been founded has been preserved in a separate shape, the formularies in the Khandhakas have not as yet, except in some instances, been found in existence apart from the Khandhakas. The principal exception is the Upasampadâ-kammavâḱa (The Words of the Act of Ordination), which recurs in its entirety in the First Khandhaka of the Mahāvagga (I, 76, 3 to I, 78, 5). It is impossible therefore as yet to trace the history of the gradual formation of the Khandhakas as we think it already possible to do in the case of the Sutta-vibhaṅga.

In the Khandhakas too, no doubt, the introductory

histories are the latest part. But while some of the formularies and regulations to which they lead up may well be very old, others are probably additions to, or modifications of, those older ones; and it is difficult to attempt to show, even with regard to the exceptions above mentioned, which are the older and which are the later. The misfortune that these forms are not all now separately extant¹ is probably simply due to the fact that the formularies separately preserved (including the Pâtimokkha) are the only ones which continued to be used in actual services among the members of the Order.

Such being the nature and contents, and such—so far as it can be traced—being the origin of the Sutta-vibhaṅga and of the Khandhakas respectively, it follows that in all probability they were composed, or put into their present shape, at about the same period in the development of early Buddhism—it is even possible that both works arose in immediate connection.

The kind of narrative setting with which, in both cases, the older material has been surrounded is alike in both. Here and there in both works are included real fragments of ancient legend or tradition—as, for instance, the account of the events from the attainment of Buddhahood down to the conversion of Sâriputta and Moggallâna (*Mahāvagga* I, 1–24), the story of Devadatta (*Kullavagga* VII), the story of the conversion and the sin of Sudinna (*Vibhaṅga*, First Pârâgika). But the greater number of these narratives are of the most meagre description, and have altogether the appearance of being mere inventions.

There is little doubt that this is what they, in fact, were. Actual remembrance of the Buddha, and of his time, could have sufficed only in the rarest instances to give a correct historical basis for the Rules or Ceremonies, which had to be explained. We find a precisely similar

¹ Mr. Dickson has given us an excellent text of the *Upasampadâ-kammavâḥā*; and it were much to be wished that the rest of them should also be published. Mr. Clough has given a translation of six others in 'Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental Languages,' London, 1834; and the Liverpool Free Library has MSS. of others.

state of things leading, in the Introductions to the *Gâtaka Stories*, to what were unquestionably inventions: and it must be acknowledged that the compilers have not taken the slightest trouble to conceal the evidently unsubstantial character of most of these summary introductions. But it does not follow that they were invented at the time when the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* were compiled. They may possibly have formed part of the traditional explanatory teaching of the schools.

As to the time when the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* were compiled, we have important evidence in their silence regarding the well-known Ten Points.

The long-continued struggle on that question—as important for the history of Buddhism as the Arian controversy for that of Christianity—agitated the whole Buddhist world to its very centre; and the attempted settlement of it, at the Council of *Vesālī*, led to a most serious schism in the Buddhist Church. Now the ten expressions in which the question was summarised or catalogued¹ are (as was pointed out in the Introduction to the Pāli Text of the *Mahāvagga*) conspicuous by their absence from the *Vibhaṅga*, and from all, except the last, of the *Khandhakas*². The first mention of most of them, and the first use of any one of them as a distinctive war-cry, is found in those last books, which are evidently an appendix to the rest of the *Khandhakas*, and of an entirely different nature from the earlier ones; for they contain a regular historical account of the two Councils, that of *Rāgagaha*, and that of *Vesālī*³.

¹ *Siṅgilona*, *dvaṅgula*, &c. (*Kullavagga* XII, 1, 10).

² That is, as war-cries; *gātarūparagata* occurs in the sense of the precious metals.

³ In the present division of the *Khandhakas* into two parts, called the Larger and Smaller Divisions (*Mahā-* and *Kulla-vagga*), there are ten *Khandhakas* in the first Division, and ten, apart from this appendix, in the second Division. Without the appended two last *Khandhakas* the so-called smaller Division is really considerably smaller than the larger Division; and there is therefore a good reason for the name which was given to it. With the two last *Khandhakas* the difference in length of the two Divisions as a whole is not sufficiently striking to account satisfactorily for the choice of their names; and the smaller

But the Ten Points in dispute were all matters of ecclesiastical law, they all related to observances of the brotherhood, they were in fact questions as to whether or not the ancient Rules should be relaxed or not in these ten respects. Is it possible that in a collection of works like the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*, which seek to set forth, down to the minutest detail, and even with hair-splitting diffuseness, all that has any relation to the daily life of the Brethren, and the regulations of the Buddhist Order—is it possible that in such a collection, if, when it was compiled, the struggle on the Ten Points had already burst into flame, there should be no reference at all, even in interpolations, to any one of these ten disputes? That the difference of opinion on the Ten Points remains altogether unnoticed in those parts of the collection where, in the natural order of things, it would be obviously referred to, and that it is only mentioned in an appendix where the Council held on its account is described, shows clearly, in our opinion, that the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* (save the two last) are older than the Council of Vesālī—and, of course, a fortiori that the *Pātimokkha* and the *Kammavâṅkās* are so too.

The Council of Vesālī is said in the XIIth *Khandhaka* of the *Kullavagga* to have taken place a hundred years after the Buddha's death. This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question. If it be placed, according to the Ceylon chronicles, at exactly 218 years before Asoka's coronation, it will fall in or about 483 B.C.

But the expression '218 years' can in no case be regarded as an absolutely reliable statement of actual fact, and the date of 483 B.C. must therefore be taken subject to a marginal allowance of some decades. And it appears to one of us, for various reasons which he has elsewhere stated at length, that the balance of probability leads to the conclusion that the date of the Buddha's Parinibbāna must be

Division actually contains two more *Khandhakas* than the larger. We lay no stress upon these facts, but it confirms the general argument to find little points of this kind tending in the same direction,

brought down to the period from 420–400 B. C.¹ We do not enter upon that question here, as the details are intricate, and the result uncertain ; and it is sufficient for our present purpose to be able to fix the Council of Vesâlî, even after making allowance for all possibilities, at within thirty years of 350 B. C.

We would only point out that there is really no ground for discontent with a result which can be fixed, after all, within a few decades. For what difference does that make in this case? If we had to deal with Grecian history, such a result might well be deemed unsatisfactory. There are differences, both personal and political, between Greece in 480, in 440, and in 400—differences well known to us. But whether we fix the date of an event in India in 480, or in 440, what does it, at present, matter? Who would be bold enough to say that the mention of India in 480 B. C. calls up to his mind a condition of things different from that suggested by the mention of India in 440 B. C., or even in 400 B. C.? We need not therefore take too much to heart the uncertainty of this chronological result ; though we may regret that our comfort is drawn from no better source than our want of knowledge.

The Vibhaṅga and the Twenty Khandhakas were at that time (circa 350 B. C.) already held in such high repute that no one ventured to alter them ; a sanctity of this kind is not acquired without the lapse of a considerable time : and we think it is not going too far to say, Firstly, that these books must have been in existence, as we now have them, within thirty years, earlier or later, of, at least, 360 or 370 B. C. ; Secondly, that the Old Commentary they have preserved must be considerably, perhaps fifty years, older ; and Thirdly, that the Kammavâkās and the Pâtimokkha must be older still.

The reader will notice that in the foregoing discussion no mention has been made of the Fifth Book in the present

¹ See the dissertation on this subject in Rhys Davids's 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon ;' and, more shortly, the close of the Introduction to his 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli.'

division of the Vinaya Piṭaka—the Parivāra-pāṭha. The reason is that this work, an abstract of the other parts of the Vinaya, is in fact a very much later compilation, and probably the work of a Ceylonese Thera. In some stanzas, which are found at the end of the Parivāra-pāṭha, it is stated to have been composed by 'the highly wise, learned, and skilful Dīpa, after he had inquired here and there into the methods (literally, the way) followed by former teachers¹'

We have every hope that the foregoing argument will commend itself to our fellow workers as being, in the main, well founded. We now propose to test it by applying it in explanation of several difficult terms and phrases found in the Vinaya Piṭaka, which seem to have been hitherto incorrectly interpreted.

It has been pointed out that, in the Pātimokkha, the offences are arranged in certain classes, called, with reference to the heinousness of the act committed, Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa, Pākittiya, Pāṭidesaniya, and Sekhiya. In other parts of the Vinaya, other offences are called Thullakkaya and Dukkata. On this nomenclature the Rev. S. Coles has founded a trenchant attack upon Buddhist morality. He says :

'Beside the Pārājikas there are lesser faults, the nature of which is determined by various causes, as will subsequently appear. These are Saṅghādisesa, Thullaccaya, and Dukkata faults, and can all be easily remedied, the two latter especially; as, after a fault of this kind has been committed, the culprit has only to confess to his Upajjhāya (ordaining priest) without much delay, and is then exempted from all evil consequences; but the Saṅghādisesa being more serious (about half a Pārājikā), a course of penance has to be submitted to, and confession without delay made to twenty-five superior Bhikkhus. The nature

¹ Pubbāṭariyamaggañ ka pukkhitvā ka tahim tahim
Dīpo nāma mahāpaṇṇo sutadharo viakkhano
Imam vitthārasamkhepam sagghāmaggena magghime
Kintayitvā likhāpesi sissakānam sukhāvaham.

and extent of these penances are not defined in the first book of the Vinaya Pitaka, but in others, to which reference will be made when these books are brought under consideration. Suffice it to say, that they can possibly have no deterring effect on crime, but rather form loop-holes through which most enormous and disgusting misdeeds may be committed, and yet the perpetrator may remain not only as a Buddhist, but as a Bhikkhu¹.

Mr. Coles then applies this argument to show that many offences against morality, being only called *Dukkaṭa* and not *Pârâgika*, must have been looked upon very leniently, not only by the Buddhists, but by Gotama himself; and that therefore his system of morality was not of the lofty kind it has usually been supposed to be, but was, in fact, a mere cloak and encouragement to wickedness and crime!

If Mr. Coles had looked at the *Pitaka* he was discussing from a historical, instead of from a controversial, point of view, he would scarcely have advanced this argument. The use of the term *Dukkaṭa* does not arise from, nor is it evidence of, a weakness in moral feeling; but merely of a difference in point of time. It occurs only in what we have ventured above to call the Notes: that is to say, in the latest portion of the *Pitaka*. When the author or authors of the final recension of the Vinaya had to speak of an offence not actually mentioned, though implied, in the text before them, they did not presume to call it by any of the names applied in the *Pâtimokkha* itself to the classification of offences. They no more dared to add to the number of *Pârâgikâs*, for instance, than a clergyman would now venture seriously to propose an addition to the Ten Commandments. They made use of two technical terms (both entirely new ones), namely, *Thullakkaya* and *Dukkaṭa* (literally, Serious Transgression and Bad-deed), using the former more sparingly, and for graver misdemeanours. No argument based on passages where the word *Dukkaṭa* occurs can therefore have any force as to the teaching of Gotama himself; and the Bhikkhus, who did use the

¹ Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1867-1870, p. 155.

word, were restrained from using the older term *Pārāṅika* by a feeling of reverence towards their sacred books—a feeling surely deserving, not of censure, but of sympathy.

Again, there are certain terms applied to various parts of the Vinaya itself on which the above historical analysis may throw some light. When Asoka, in the Edict of Bhabra, addressed to the Buddhist Order, exhorted them to take as their authority, among other works, the Vinaya-Samukase, or Abstract of the Vinaya, he may fairly be supposed to have referred to the *Pātimokkha*, which that epithet would very appropriately describe. If it be asked why he did not then call it the *Pātimokkha*, the explanation may be either that that word is more especially a term for the act to be performed, than for the liturgy which shows the way to perform it (though it was also undoubtedly used as a name of the liturgy), or else that the work was known under both designations.

We would just add, in passing, that, in the passage in question, the reading *samukase* (*samutkarsha*), instead of the formerly accepted *samākase*, is quite clear in General Cunningham's lithograph¹; and the generally accepted view that the Edict was addressed to a council, and is therefore an authoritative confirmation of the Ceylon traditions regarding the Council of Patna, ought to be reconsidered. The Edict merely says: 'King Devānampiya of Māgadha salutes the *Samgha*' (that is, the Order, or the Community, of *Bhikkhus*)². Without desiring to throw any doubt upon the reality of the Council of Patna, we are driven to the conclusion that such an expression as 'the *Samgha*' could not have been meant to describe a formal

¹ 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,' pl. xv.

² Burnouf translated 'à l'assemblée du Magadha,' and Wilson, 'to the venerable assembly of Māgadha' (see 'Corpus,' &c., p. 131); but the reading is clearly Māgadhe in the 'Corpus,' while the older facsimile in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (ix. 618) had the impossible form *Māgdhem*. Even if we could read *Māgadham samgham* (an expression for which we know no parallel), the above remarks would still hold good. Compare further Professor Kern in the 'Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten,' pp. 30-35.

council. Surely, if the Edict had been addressed to such a council, the fact would have been plainly intimated.

It is just possible that Vinaya-Samukase may refer to the Old Commentary as well as to the Pâtimokkha; but this is not probable, for there is no reason to believe that in Asoka's time the Old Commentary any longer existed apart from its setting in the Vibhaṅga. And Vinaya-Samukase cannot for the reasons above stated mean, as has been supposed, the Parivâra-pâṭha.

As regards the meaning of the word Pâtimokkha we have the explanation of the Old Commentator in that single passage of his work found, as above pointed out, in the Khandhakas¹. He there describes it as 'the origin, the front (mukha), the chief of the good Dhammas;' where the word Dhammâ means 'qualities,' and where the evident inference is that the commentator² derived Pâtimokkha from mukha. But, on the other hand, the tradition of the Northern Buddhists, in whose Sanskrit works the word is replaced by Prâtimoksha, points to a derivation from the root muḥ.

It seems scarcely open to doubt that we must, in accordance with this last interpretation, connect the word with muḥ, and not with mukha. 'Pratimukha' means in Sanskrit 'over against, standing close in front.' How is it possible to derive from that any meaning appropriate as a title for the liturgy of confession called Pâtimokkha? On the other hand, the derivation from muḥ is straightforward and simple. Prati-muḥ (âtmanep.) means 'to free oneself, to get rid of;' and it is precisely through the recitation of this formular, and the answering of the questions contained in it, that the conscience of the member of the Brotherhood

¹ Pâtimokkhan ti âdim etam mukham etam pamukham etam kusalanam dhammanam, tena vuṭṭati pâtimokkhan ti. Mahāvagga II, 3, 4.

² We use the phrase 'Old Commentator' for convenience only. The commentary was, no doubt, handed down by tradition in the Buddhist schools; and there is no reason to believe that it was the work of any one mind.

was set free from the sense of the offence he had incurred¹. Pātimokkha or Prātimoksha means therefore 'Dis-burdening, Getting free.' The lengthening of the first vowel in the Pāli word is not without analogies which have been already adduced by Childers. It is certain that the word is older than the present shape of the Formulary now so called; for it is used several times in the Formulary itself, as well as in many of the oldest Suttas.

The Old Commentator makes the Pātimokkha 'the head of the good Dhammas.' There is a curious passage in the Pātimokkha where the Dhammas are said to be included in the Suttas:

'If a Bhikkhu at the half-monthly recitation of the Pātimokkha should say, "Now for the first time do I notice that this Dhamma, as one handed down in the Suttas, embraced in the Suttas, gets recited every half-month!" then' &c.²

It is plain here that neither Dhamma nor Sutta is used in the sense to which we are accustomed from the later books. The Dhammas recited half-monthly are those contained in the scheme of offences given in the Pātimokkha, and the Suttas must therefore mean the separate clauses of that Formulary.

The fact is that the use of the word Sutta is by no means confined in the oldest Pāli to the texts of what was afterwards the Sutta Piṭaka, nor is it exclusively used either in earlier or later times³ in opposition to Vinaya. Thus we find it used again, as we think, of the Rules of the Pātimokkha; and in contrast, as in the rule above quoted, to Dhamma, in Kullavagga IV, 14, 22, 23:

'This Bhikkhu, of such and such a name, is a preacher

¹ Compare Mahāvagga II, 3, 3.

² Yo pana bhikkhu anvaddhamāsam Pātimokkhe uddissamāne evam vadeyya; idān' eva kho aham gāṇāmi, ayam pi kira dhammo suttāgato suttapariyāpanno anvaddhamāsam uddeṣam āgakkhatīti, taṁ ke . . . (the 73rd Pākittiya, quoted in Kullavagga III, 34, 2).

³ Though more especially concerned here with the earlier use of the word Sutta, it may be well to remind our readers of the name Suttadharā applied in the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī to secular lawyers (see Alwis, 'Introd.' &c., p. 100).

of the Dhamma; but the Suttas have not been handed down to him, nor the Sutta-Vibhaṅga.'

'This Bhikkhu, of such and such a name, is a preacher of the Dhamma, and the Suttas have been handed down to him, but not the Sutta-Vibhaṅga¹.'

So again in the constantly repeated phrase above referred to—

'If the two Pātimokkhas are (or are not, as the connection requires) thoroughly known to a Bhikkhu in their entirety with all their divisions and explanations, if he have (or have not) thoroughly mastered them Sutta by Sutta, and Detail by Detail; then' &c.²

—the word Sutta evidently refers to the clauses of the two Pātimokkhas; and we find also in the immediate context the mention of Dhamma or of Vinaya, or of both.

It is no doubt true that in one passage of the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta (IV, 8–11 = pp. 39, 40), Sutta is opposed to Vinaya in much the same way as Sutta Piṭaka was afterwards opposed to Vinaya Piṭaka; yet the contrast between these two ideas is usually expressed by the apposition of Dhamma to Vinaya³, and the passage in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta stands, so far as we yet know, quite alone. Indeed in the oldest tradition the discourses or conversations now called Suttas seem not to have been called by that name, but are referred to as Suttanta.

So in the Mahāvagga III, 5, 9, 12 mention is made of devout men, or of devout women, who may have been accustomed to recite some well-known Suttanta⁴; and in the next Khandhaka (IV, 15, 4) we find Suttanta, Dhamma, and Vinaya all occurring in one context:

'It may happen, Brethren, that in some district on the day of Pavāraṇā the night may have become far spent

¹ Suttam tassa āgatam na Suttavibhaṅgam. On the latter term see below.

² Ubhayāni nu kho Pātimokkhāni vitthārena svāgatāni suvibhattāni suppa-vattāni suvinikkhitāni suttato anuvyaṅganaso (Mahāvagga I, 36, 14; I, 37, 14; Kullavagga IV, 14, 19; IX, 5, 1). Anuvyaṅgana may perhaps refer here to the Old Commentary.

³ Compare H. Oldenberg's Introduction to his edition of the Mahāvagga, pp. 7 and following.

⁴ Abhiññātam vā Suttantaṃ bhaṇati.

while the Brethren are in confusion—some reciting the Dhamma, those versed in the Suttantas intoning some Suttanta together, the custodians of the Vinaya discussing the Vinaya, and the preachers of the Dhamma discoursing about the Dhamma.'

The whole of these expressions recur in *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4; and are found again, with others of a similar character, in *Kullavagga* VI, 6, 2. This last passage is in the Introduction to a fable which of course recurs, as a *Gâtaka*, in the *Gâtaka* collection, and with an introduction in almost the same words. We should therefore expect to find there also the epithet *suttantika* ('versed in the Suttantas'), if that expression had remained in use as late as the fifth century A.D.; but it is omitted, the *Suttantikas* having been then long since replaced by those entrusted, not with the whole, but with special portions only, of the Dhamma literature. The word *Suttanta* was however still in common use at the time when the presumably later books now contained in the *Pitakas* were composed; for it occurs in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*¹, and in a constantly recurring verse in the *Buddhavamsa* in which it is opposed to *Vinaya*², and the word is still used in the MSS. as the title of the more important *Suttas*.

In the passage quoted above from the *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 22, 23 there is a term *Sutta-vibhaṅga* used as the name of some part of the Vinaya literature apparently distinct

¹ The *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, *Paṇṇāsa Nipāta* (Phayre MS. vol. ii. fol. gâh):
Ye te Suttantā Tathāgatassa bhāvitā gambhīrā gambhīratthā lokuttarā suñ-
ñātapāṭisamyuttā tesu bhaṇṇamānesu na sūssissanti no sotam odahissanti na
aṇṇāṭittam upatthāpessanti na ka te dhamme uggaheṭṭabbam pariyāpunitabbam
maṇṇissanti; ye pana te suttantā kathitā kāveyyā kittakkharā kittabyaṅgaṇā
bahirakā sāvakabhāsītā tesu bhaṇṇamānesu sūssissanti sotam odahissanti; &c.

Ibid. fol. ṇaḥ: Ye te bhikkhū bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā
mātikādhārā te na sakkakkaṃ suttantaṃ param vāḷenti, tesam akkayena khin-
namūlako suttanto hoti apaṭisaraṇo.

On the form compare the Sanskrit *drishṭānta*, *vrittānta*, and *siddhānta*.

² Suttantaṃ Vinayaṇ kâpi navaṅgam Satthasāsanaṃ
Sabbam pariyāpunitvāna sobhayi Gīnasāsanaṃ.

The phrase is used of various Buddhas in verses 317, 348, 594, 627, and 786 of the *Buddhavamsa*. This reference we owe to Dr. Morris.

from the Suttas of the Pâtimokkha. 'The Suttas have been handed down to him, but not the Suttavibhaṅga.'

The word recurs only in one other passage¹, and that is in the appended Khandhakas of the *Kullavagga*, in the account of the Council of Vesālî². Seven passages are there quoted from the Pâtimokkha in condemnation of seven out of the Ten Points raised by the heretics; and in answer to the question, 'Where was it condemned?' and before the passages are quoted, the place where the passage was uttered is mentioned, and condemnation is stated to be 'in the Suttavibhaṅga.' Thus

Revata says, 'Is it right, Lord, to drink *galogi*?'

Sabbakâmî replies, 'What, Friend, is this *galogi*?'

Revata: 'Is it right, Lord, to drink strong drink which not being fermented, is not yet intoxicating?'

Sabbakâmî: 'No, my friend, it is not right.'

Revata: 'Where has it been condemned?'

Sabbakâmî: 'At Kosambî in the Suttavibhaṅga.'

Revata: 'What does he (who drinks *galogi*) commit?'

Sabbakâmî: 'He commits the Pākittiya offence of drinking strong drink and of drinking intoxicating liquors.'

This is a quotation of the Pākittiya Rule, No. 51; but the words quoted do not in fact condemn the drinking of toddy, and neither the Pâtimokkha nor the Old Commentary contains any reference to the place, Kosambî, where the words are here said to have been uttered.

It is only in the introduction afterwards appended (in what is now called the Vibhaṅga) to the two older works, that Kosambî is mentioned; and in the appendix following the Rule 51 in the Vibhaṅga there are no exceptions which would include *galogi*. But Kosambî is mentioned in the Introductory History. It is therefore most probable that the term Sutta-vibhaṅga refers to what is now called the Vibhaṅga; or, if not, at least to that body of traditional teaching (including the Pâtimokkha and the Old Commentary) out of which the present Vibhaṅga was composed.

¹ That is, of the Vinaya Piṭaka. We are not certain that it may not be found in the Sutta Piṭaka.

² *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 8.

It may be convenient to make some reference here to the question whether the literature above discussed was handed down by memory only, or by writing. We are justified in expecting to find, in texts dealing in such minute detail with the daily life of the members of the Buddhist Order, some distinct evidence—and it will be equally distinct whether it consists in actual statement, or in silence—as to writing, and the use of written books. And this expectation is not disappointed.

In the first place, there are several passages which confirm in an indisputable manner the existence of the art of writing at the time when the Vinaya texts were put into their present shape.

‘A certain man, who had committed a theft, ran away, and got ordained among the Bhikkhus. Now he was written up in the king’s palace with an injunction that he should be slain wheresoever he should be found¹.’—

‘But there occurred to the parents of Upāli this consideration: “If Upāli should learn writing², Upāli might thus after our decease live at ease, and not be troubled.”’

And in the Vibhaṅga we find an interesting explanation of the Third Pārāgika Rule, which lays down that whosoever wilfully kills a man, or brings about his death, must be expelled from the Order.

In the Notes on this Rule the Sutta-vibhaṅga discusses the case of some one causing the death of another by persuading him that suicide is glorious, or that it results in salvation. And in this connection the possibility is considered of these representations being made to the proposed victim, not by word of mouth, and not by a messenger, but by writing.

‘He engraves a writing to this effect: “Who so dies, he acquires wealth, or acquires fame, or goes to heaven.” By that writing he is guilty of a Dukkata offence. The other sees the writing, and, determining to die, is filled

¹ *Aññatāro puriso korikam katvā palāyitvā bhikkhūsu pabbagito hoti. So ka rañño antepure likhito hoti yattha passitabbo tatha hantabbo ’ti (Mahāvagga I, 43).*

² *Saṭe kho Upāli lekham sikkheyya (Mahāvagga I, 49, 1).*

with painful feelings. (The writer is) guilty of a Thullakkaya offence. He does die. (The writer is) guilty of a Pârâgika offence¹.

And again, with respect to the injunction addressed to the Sisters of the Order not to devote themselves to worldly wisdom (*tirakkhâna-viggâ*), the Vibhaṅga makes an exception in favour of learning to write².

It is evident therefore that writing was in vogue in the time when the Notes on the Rules were put into their present form, that it was made use of for the publication of official announcements, and for the drawing up of written communications in private life; and that while the knowledge of the art was a possible source of livelihood, it was not confined to 'clerks,' but was acquired by ordinary persons, and even by women.

But it is a long step from the use of writing for such public or private notifications to the adoption of it for the purpose of recording an extensive and sacred literature: and our texts show—and show, as it seems to us, in an equally indisputable manner—that for this latter purpose writing, however well known, had not yet come into use.

Had the sacred texts been written down and read, books, manuscripts, and the whole activity therewith connected, must have necessarily played a very important part in the daily life of the members of the Buddhist Order. Now the texts of the Vinaya place clearly enough before our eyes the whole of the 'personal property,' so to speak, of the Buddhist Ârâmas and Vihâras. Every movable thing, down to the smallest and least important domestic utensils, is in some way or other referred to, and its use pointed out; while the use of other articles, not usually found in the Vihâras, is mentioned, and condemned. But nowhere do we find the least trace of any reference to manuscripts;

¹ *Lekham kkhindati yo evam marati so dhanam vâ labhati yasam vâ labhati saggam vâ gakkhatîti. Akkharakkharâya âpatti dukkaṭassa. Lekham passivâ marissâmiti dukkham vedanam uppâdeti. Âpatti thullakkayassa. Marati. Âpatti pâragikassa.*

² *Anâpatti lekham pariyâpunâti (Bhikkhunî-Pâtimokkha, Pâṭittiya 49).*

much less of inks, or pens, or styles, or leaves, or other writing materials.

And we do find, on the contrary, passages which show the difficulties which arose every time that the memorial tradition by word of mouth of any of the sacred texts was interrupted, or threatened to be interrupted.

So, for instance, we find the case discussed of no one Bhikkhu, among all the Brethren dwelling in some particular place, knowing the Pâtimokkha. There was no other way out of the difficulty, save that of one of the Bhikkhus being sent out to some neighbouring fraternity, with the commission there to learn the Pâtimokkha by heart, either in its full extent (that is, as we take it, all the rules being learnt in full) or at least in abstract¹.

And again, in a passage already quoted, we hear of the case of an Upâsaka, who knows some important Suttanta, and is afraid that the knowledge of it will fade away. So he sends to a fraternity of Bhikkhus, and invites the Brethren to come over to him; and in that case an exception is made to the Rule forbidding the Brethren to travel in the rainy season, provided only that they do not stay away from home longer than seven days².

We may quote in this connection a passage of the same tendency from the Aṅguttara Nikâya, in which, among the circumstances hurtful to the security and the propagation of the Buddhist faith, the possibility is mentioned of the well-instructed Bhikkhus neglecting to take pains to hand on to others the Suttantas which they know. Then, when they have passed away, 'the root of that Suttanta is cut off, and it finds no place of refuge³.'

It is very plain from these last passages that the Buddhist community in its earliest days did not think of the

¹ Mahāvagga II, 17, 5. 6. On this meaning of vitthârena and samkhitena see also Mahāvagga II, 15, 1. 2.

² Mahāvagga III, 5, 9.

³ Katukka-Nipāta (Phayre MS. vol. i. fol. nā); and repeated in the Paṇḍita-Nipāta (ibid. vol. ii. fol. nā): Ye te bhikkhū bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikāddharā te na sakkakkaṃ suttantaṃ param vārenti tesam akkayena khinnamūlako suttanto hoti apatisarano.

possibility of using writing as a means of guarding against such painful accidents. Can this have arisen from any belief that writing the books would have been an irreverent treatment of them? We cannot think that among such a community as that of the Buddhists—who were so advanced in their views that they deliberately adopted the language of the people, and even took no thought, within the ranks of their community, of caste—any such consideration would have prevailed. It seems much more probable that, at the date referred to, the art of writing had not been taken advantage of for the purposes of any kind of literature; but that its use was wholly confined to recording short messages or notes, or private letters, or advertisements of a public character—a result which may well have been due to the want of any practical material on which to engrave the letters that were nevertheless evidently known¹.

On the texts above quoted, and the inferences which may fairly be drawn from them, we would base two remarks. Firstly, that there can be no reasonable ground for doubting the correctness of the ancient tradition preserved in the well-known verse of the Ceylon Chroniclers, when, speaking of the time of *Vatta Gâmani*, who began to reign 88 B. C., they say,

‘The text of the Three Piṭakas, and the Commentary too thereon,

The wise Bhikkhus of former time had handed down by word of mouth:

The then Bhikkhus, perceiving how all beings do decay,
Meeting together, wrote them in books, that the Dhamma might last long².’

But, secondly, though we must therefore believe that the

¹ Compare Burnell, ‘Elements of South Indian Palaeography,’ p. 10.

² *Dīpavamsa* XX, 20, 21; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 207. As the stanza is common to both works it is taken in all probability, word for word, from the Old Commentary in Sinhalese, the *Sīhalaṭṭakathā*, preserved in the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. See H. Oldenberg’s Introduction to his edition of the *Dīpavamsa*.

Vinaya, before it was reduced to writing, was handed down for about three hundred years solely by memory, and that it lived only in the minds of the Vinayadharâ, the Bhikkhus 'who were versed in the Vinaya,' we do not think it is at all necessary, or even possible, to impugn the substantial accuracy of the texts handed down in a manner that seems, to moderns, so unsafe. The Text, as it lies before us, stands so well against all proofs, whether we compare its different parts one with another, or with the little that is yet known of its northern counterparts¹, that we are justified in regarding these Pâli books as in fact the authentic mirror of the old Mâgadhî text as fixed in the central schools of the most ancient Buddhist Church. That text, in the dialect of Magadha, may have been lost to us, once for all; and we can scarcely hope, unless some isolated sentences may hereafter be found preserved here and there in Inscriptions, that this loss will ever be, even partially, made good. But we may well be thankful that the faithful zeal and industry of these old monks has preserved for us a translation, in a dialect so nearly allied to the original, and in so perfect and trustworthy a state as the Pâli version of the Vinaya still undoubtedly presents.

We trust that the choice we have made from the literature of the Vinaya Piṭaka for insertion in this Collection of Translations from the Sacred Books of the East will be considered to need little justification. As the oldest and in many respects most important material of the Vinaya literature we have included a version of the Pâtimokkha; though confining ourselves to the Bhikkhu-Pâtimokkha,

¹ How little this is, is apparent from the fact that Burnouf, who had studied all those that were then accessible, did not even find the words *pârâgika* and *saṃghâdisesa* (Introduction, &c., p. 301). To the Tibetan texts Csoma Kôrösi has devoted a few pages ('Analysis of the Dulva' in Asiatic Researches, vol. xx. pp. 45 and foll.) Of the Chinese we have only the brief notices of M. Rémusat (Foe Koue Ki, pp. 104 and foll.) and of Mr. Beal (in H. Oldenberg's Introduction to the Vinaya, vol. i. pp. xlv, xlv). The last scholar also mentions several Vinaya works, of the contents of which however nothing further is known, in his Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Works now in the India Office Library (pp. 67-71).

as our predecessors, Mr. Dickson and Professor Minayeff, have done before us. We could not consider, even after their labours, that a new translation of this difficult text would be superfluous. And of the younger literature we have confined ourselves to the Khandhakas, both because these books, in their variety, and in the fulness of their contents, are better calculated to afford a correct view of the conditions, and the life, of that oldest and most influential of the many monkish orders, the Buddhist *Samgha*; and also because the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* is little more than an expansion of the *Pātimokkha*, which we have already, for the reasons just stated, determined to include¹.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.
H. OLDENBERG.

November, 1880.

¹ For the *Upasampadā-kammavāḍa* see the passages recurring in the Khandhakas as pointed out above, p. xix.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON MAHĀVAGGA III, 2, 2 (*vassupanāyikā*).

As entering upon Vassa is called *vassam upagakkhati* or *vassam upeti*, we believe that *upanāyikā*, the final member of the compound *vassupanāyikā* (entrance upon Vassa), must not be derived from *upa-ni*, but from *upa-i* (*upan-i*). Comp. *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* II, 3, 2, 2: *ahar-ahar vai Nado Naishidho Yamam rāgānam dakshināta upanayati* (*Sāyana*: *upagakkhati*). The preposition *upan* contained in *upan-ayati* will be treated of by Professor JOH. SCHMIDT in the 26th volume of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*.

РÂTIMOKKHA.

THE PÂTIMOKKHA.

THE WORDS OF DISBURDENMENT.

REVERENCE TO THE BLESSED ONE, THE HOLY ONE,
THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE.

NIDÂNA¹.

INTRODUCTION.



May the Chapter ², reverend Sirs, hear mē!

To-day is the sacred day (of the full, or 'new, moon), the fifteenth day of the half-month ³. If it be convenient to the Chapter, let the Chapter hold Upo-satha, let it repeat the Pâtimokkha. How is it with respect to the necessary preliminaries to a meeting of the Order? Let the reverend brethren announce their purity ⁴, and I will rehearse the Pâtimokkha!

We all gladly give ear and do attend ⁵!

¹ The whole of this Introduction, with the ancient commentary upon it (referred to above, in the Introduction), recurs in the Mahâ-vagga II, 3, where further notes will be found. The previous chapter in Dickson entitled the *Pukkâhâvissaggana* is not part of the ancient text of the Pâtimokkha.

² *Samgho*: of course not the whole Order, but those members then present, spoken of collectively.

³ *Upasatha pannaraso*. See below, Mahâvagga, Book II, and especially chap. 14.

⁴ That is, their freedom from any of those disabilities which are declared below, Book II, to incapacitate a member of the Order from assembling at a formal meeting on the Uposatha day.

⁵ On *sabbe 'va santâ* compare *ubho 'va santâ* in the ninth Nissaggiya, and the Old Commentary loc. cit.

Whosoever have incurred a fault, let him declare it! If no fault have been incurred it is meet to keep silence!

Now, venerable Sirs, it is by your silence, that I shall know whether you are pure. As to each one question put there must be an answer, so, in such a meeting as this, each question is put¹ as many as three times. Then if any Bhikkhu, when it has been three times put, knowingly omit to declare a fault incurred, he is guilty of uttering a conscious lie. Venerable Sirs, the uttering of a deliberate lie has been declared by the Blessed One to be a condition hurtful (to spiritual progress)². Therefore a fault, if there be one, should be declared by that Bhikkhu who remembers it, and desires to be cleansed therefrom. For a fault, when declared, shall be light to him.

Venerable Sirs, the Introduction is now recited.

Thus do I question you, venerable Sirs, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time do I question you, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time do I question you, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Introduction.

¹ The spelling of the Pâli word in the text should be anus-sâvitam, and so below, anussâviyamâne. By 'the text' we refer throughout to Mr. Dickson's very careful edition, all the necessary corrections in which—they are mostly only misprints—will be noticed in the following notes.

² See Mahāvagga II, 3, 7.

PÂRÂGIKÂ DHAMMÂ.

THE PÂRÂGIKA RULES¹.

Here these four Rules, concerning those acts which bring about Defeat², come into recitation.

1. Whatsoever Bhikkhu who has taken upon

¹ The whole of the following portion of the Pâtimokkha, together with the ancient commentary upon it, is contained in the first book of the Vibhaṅga, also called the Pârâgikam.

Dickson translates throughout Dhammâ by 'offences.' He is no doubt right in taking the word, not in its ordinary sense of condition or quality, but in a more strictly technical, legal, sense. 'Offences' is however not the right direction in which to limit the general sense. Dhammâ must here be 'Rules,' in accordance with the passages quoted in our Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxx.

² Childers (sub voce) follows Burnouf (Introduction, &c., p. 301) in deriving the word Pârâgika from AG with parâ prefixed, taking that compound in the sense of 'to expel.' Dickson's translation 'deadly sin' rests upon the same basis. The Buddhist commentators refer the word to the passive of GI with parâ prefixed, in the sense of 'to suffer defeat.' So the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ: Pârâgiko hotîti parâgito parâgayam âpanno. Now the root AG belongs to the Vedic dialect only, and is not met with in any Buddhist expressions, and even in the Vedas it does not occur with parâ prefixed. The Buddhist forms of speech have quite different and settled terms with which to convey the idea of expulsion. On the other hand, there was a considerable group of words in use in the Buddhist community with which pârâgika stands in close connection: parâgi, 'to suffer defeat;' parâgita, 'defeated;' parâgaya, 'defeat.' We cannot therefore but think that the native commentators are right in associating pârâgika also with this group, and that the word really means 'involving defeat.' This may mean specifically defeat in the struggle with Mâra the Evil One; but more probably defeat in the struggle against evil generally, defeat in the effort to accomplish the object for which the Bhikkhu entered the Order, in the effort to reach the 'supreme goal' of Arahatsip.

himself the Bhikkhus' system of self-training and rule of life, and has not thereafter withdrawn from the training, or declared his weakness, shall have carnal knowledge of any one, down even to an animal, he has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion¹.

✓ 2. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take, from village or from wood, anything not given—what men call 'theft'²—in such manner of taking as kings would seize the thief for, and slay, or bind, or banish him, saying, 'Thou art a thief, thou art stupid, thou art a fool, thou art dishonest,'—the Bhikkhu who in that manner takes the thing not given, he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.

✓ 3. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall knowingly deprive of life a human being, or shall seek out an assassin against a human being, or shall utter the praises of death, or incite another to self-destruction, saying, 'Ho! my friend! what good do you get from this sinful, wretched life? death is better to thee than life!'—if, so thinking, and with such an aim, he, by various argument, utter the praises of death or incite another to self-destruction—he, too, is fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion³.

¹ 'Declared his weakness' refers to the permission (on the ground that it was better to leave the Order than to burn) for a Bhikkhu to acknowledge himself unfit for the discipline, and throw off the robe. 'Withdrawn from the training' is the formal expression for thus throwing off the Robes. See below, Mahāvagga II, 22, 3.

On *sikkhâsâgâṭṭvāṃ*, which is by no means only 'Rules of the Order,' see the Vibhaṅga (Pâr. I, 8, 1).

² The Vibhaṅga (Pâr. II, 3) takes *theyya-saṃkhâtāṃ* as meaning 'with dishonest intent.'

³ The deviations here from Mr. Dickson's version will, we hope, justify themselves. There is no commentary on *hâraka*, though

- ✓ 4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, without being clearly conscious of extraordinary qualities, shall give out regarding himself that insight into the knowledge of the noble ones has been accomplished, saying, 'Thus do I know,' 'Thus do I perceive:' and at some subsequent time whether on being pressed, or without being pressed, he, feeling guilty, shall be desirous of being cleansed from his fault, and shall say, 'Brethren! when I knew not, I said that I knew; when I saw not, I said that I saw—telling a fruitless falsehood;' then, unless he so spake through undue confidence he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion¹.

Venerable Sirs, the four Conditions of Defeat have been recited, of which when a Bhikkhu has fallen into one or other, he is no longer allowed to be in co-residence with the Bhikkhus. As before, so afterwards, he is defeated, he is not in communion².

the Vibhaṅga (Pâr. III, 3, 1) explains the different kinds of Satta. Pâpaka must be 'sinful,' not merely 'poor;' the suggestion is 'by destroying your life you will escape from the possibility of sinning.'

¹ The extraordinary qualities (literally, 'superhuman qualities') are defined to be the Vimokkhas, Samâdhis, the Samâpattis, the *Ñâna-dassana*, the having experienced the Noble Path, and having realised the Fruit thereof; that is to say, Arahatship and the highest forms of spiritual emotion and intelligence which can accompany Arahatship. They are in fact, therefore, superhuman only in the sense of extraordinary; as it is precisely human beings, and only human beings, who were supposed to be able to acquire these qualities.

Uddhaṭṭha, 'Self-righteousness,' is also the last but one of the ten *Samyoganas*, or 'Fetters,' which the Arahats has to break.

² The sentences which follow in the text, but are not here translated, and in which it is declared that all the following portions of the Pâtimokkha have already been heard, do not occur in the Vibhaṅga. They are not part of the Pâtimokkha; but only the

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones,
'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Pârâgikas.

form to be used, when the Pâtimokkha cannot be recited in full, and all the remaining Rules are to be omitted. According to Mahāvagga II, 15, 1, 4 this abridged recital may be used in certain cases of danger.

On Yathâ pure tatha paṭṭhâ there is no explanation in the Old Commentary. The phrase probably means that the Bhikkhu is irrevocably defeated. He must remain for ever in the condition (of permanent exclusion from the Order) into which he has brought himself.

SAMGHÂDISESÂ DHAMMÂ.

RULES WHICH REQUIRE, AS WELL IN THEIR EARLIER AS IN THEIR LATER STAGES, FORMAL MEETINGS OF THE ORDER ¹.

Here, venerable Sirs, the thirteen matters, which, as well in their earlier as in their later stages, require formal meetings of the Order, come into recitation.

1. The emission of semen by design, except by a person sleeping, is a *Samghâdisesa*.
- ✓ 2. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being degraded ², shall, with perverted ³ mind, come into bodily contact with a woman, by taking hold of her hand, or by taking hold of her hair, or by touching any part of her body—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.
- ✓ 3. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being degraded, shall, with perverted mind, address a woman with wicked words, exciting to passion as those of a young man to a maid—that is a *Samghâdisesa* ⁴.

¹ The expression is curious, but the authorities given by Childers (sub voce) are decisive as to its meaning. Whereas the *Pârâgika* offences were dealt with in one meeting of the Order, these thirteen offences gave rise to the various *Samghakammâs* (formal resolutions or proceedings at meetings of the Order), which are explained in detail in the third *Khandhaka* of the *Kullavagga*.

The text of, and the ancient commentary on this portion of the *Pâtimokkha* will be found in the *Vibhaṅga* in the Book on the *Samghâdisesas*.

² *Otinno*, literally, 'having gone down,' which the old commentator in the *Vibhaṅga* explains as 'lustfully, or with a mind bound by desire.' Our word 'degraded' has often a very similar connotation.

³ *Viparizātana*, literally, 'changed;,' here 'changed for the worse.' Compare *Mahâ-sudassana Sutta* II, 39, and the Old Comment at Minayeff, p. 64.

⁴ Compare the second *Aniyata*.

4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being degraded, shall, with perverted mind, magnify, in the hearing of a woman, ministration to himself¹ (by saying), 'This, Sister, would be the noblest of ministrations, that to so righteous and exalted a religious person as myself you should ministerate by that act,' (meaning) sexual intercourse—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

5. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall act as a go-between for a woman to a man, or for a man to a woman, or for a wife, or for a paramour, or even for a harlot—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

6. A Bhikkhu who, begging (the materials) together, is having a hut put up for his own use, to belong to no one (else), must have it made of due measurement. And herein this is the measurement—in length twelve spans according to the accepted span², in breadth seven spans (measured) inside.

¹ *Attakâmapârikariyâ*, perhaps 'to his lusts;' but we follow the old commentator.

² *Sugata-vidatthiyâ*. Dickson translates 'of the span of Buddha,' *Sugata* being one of the many epithets applied to the Buddha in poetry, or poetical prose. Mr. James D'Alwis in the Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal for 1874 has a long article to show that this cannot be the correct meaning of the word '*Sugata*' in this connection; and we think he is right, though his discussion as to what it does mean (evidently more than a simple span) seems to lead to no certain conclusion. The older Ceylon commentators take the expression as being equal to one and a half carpenter's cubits, a 'carpenter's cubit' (*Simhalese Wadu-riyana*) being two ordinary cubits, so that 'the Buddha's span' (as they translate it) would be four feet and a half! But the Bhikkhus of the present day in Ceylon take it to be equal to the length of the supposed foot-print of the Buddha on Adam's Peak; that is, four ordinary cubits, or six feet. See Dickson's note; and compare *Nissaggiya* 15, and *Pâṭṭiya* 87-92.

There is no comment on the phrase in the Old Commentary,

The Bhikkhus must be brought to the place to approve the site; and those Bhikkhus shall approve a site free from danger¹, and with an open space around it². If a Bhikkhu shall, at his own request, have a hut put up on a dangerous site, without the open space around it, or shall not bring the Bhikkhus to approve the site, or shall exceed the (due) measure—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

7. A Bhikkhu who is having a large³ residence made for his own use, and to belong (also) to others, shall bring the Bhikkhus to the place to approve the site; and those Bhikkhus shall approve a site free from danger, and with an open space around it. If a Bhikkhu shall have a large residence made on a dangerous site, without the open space around it, or shall not bring the Bhikkhus to the place to approve the site—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

8. Whatsoever Bhikkhu⁴, in harshness, malice, or anger, shall harass (another) Bhikkhu by a groundless (charge of having committed) a *Pârâgika* offence, thinking to himself, 'Perchance I may (thus) get him to fall from this religious life⁵'—and then at some later time, either when he is pressed, or without his being pressed, the case turns out to be groundless,

which is especially curious if the word *Sugata* meant 'the Buddha's,' that is to say, the Buddha's span, when that work was composed.

¹ That is, either to living creatures (birds, ants, and so on) by clearing the site; or to the future resident after it is built. See the old commentator's note on *Sârambha* at Minayeff, p. 71.

² 'Sufficient for a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen to pass round it,' according to the old commentator.

³ *Mahallaka*. Compare *Kullavagga* VI, 11, 1.

⁴ In the text read, of course, Bhikkhu, not Bhikkhû.

⁵ I. e. to throw off the robes, to leave the Order.

and the Bhikkhu confesses his malice¹—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

9. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, in harshness, malice, or anger, shall harass another Bhikkhu by a groundless charge of having committed a *Pârâgika* offence, supporting himself by some point or other of no importance in a case that really rests on something of a different kind; thinking to himself, 'Perchance I may thus get him to fall from this religious life'—and then at some later time, either when he is pressed, or without his being pressed, the case turns out to rest on something of a different kind, and that Bhikkhu confesses his malice—that is a *Samghâdisesa*².

10. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall go about to cause division in a community³ that is at union, or shall persist in calling attention to some matter calculated to cause division, that Bhikkhu should thus be addressed by the Bhikkhus: 'Sir, go not about to cause division in a community that is at union;' or, 'Persist not in calling attention to a matter calculated to cause division;' 'Be, Sir, at one with the community, for the community, being at unity, in harmony, without dispute, dwells pleasantly under

¹ *Dosam* was probably meant here to refer to the *doso* at the beginning of the rule.

² For instance, the Bhikkhu has seen that A, who is a *Khattiya*, has committed some offence. He says either that he has seen a *Khattiya* commit that offence, and thus harasses an innocent person; or he says that A has committed a *Pârâgika* offence, whereas the offence is of a lesser nature.

For *kâveyyan* in the text read *kâveyyan*.

³ *Samgha*; that is, the company of the Brethren dwelling in one place, or in one district.

one authority¹. If that Bhikkhu, when he has thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, then let that Bhikkhu be (formally) admonished about it by the Bhikkhus as a body², even to the third time, to the intent that he abandon that course. If, while being so admonished up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well: if he abandon it not—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

11. Now if other Bhikkhus, one, or two, or three, become adherents of that Bhikkhu, and raise their voices on his side; if they should say thus: 'Say not, Sirs, anything against that Bhikkhu! That Bhikkhu both speaks according to the Dhamma, and he speaks according to the Vinaya; it is our wish, too, and desire, that he adopts, and gives expression to; and he speaks, knowing that what he says appears to us also to be right:'—then let those Bhikkhus be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: 'Say not so, Sirs! That Bhikkhu speaks not according to the Dhamma, neither does he speak according to the Vinaya. Let not, Sirs, the causing of division in the community be pleasing to you! Be, Sirs, at one with the community! for the community, being at unity, in harmony, without dispute, dwells pleasantly under one discipline.' If those Bhikkhus, when they have thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, those Bhikkhus should be

¹ Ekuddeso; that is, the authority of the rules recited in the *Pâtimokkha*.

² *Samanubhâsitabbo*. We think 'admonish' is not too strong a rendering of this term; and not inconsistent with the equality of the fraternity, as the admonition comes from the united body. The preposition *sam* need not imply a *Samghakamma*, which appears to have been necessary only after the *Samghâdisesa* offence had been completed. We occasionally render the word by 'adjure.'

(formally) adjured by the Bhikkhus, as a body, even to the third time, to the end that they abandon that course. If, while being so adjured, up to the third time, they abandon that course, it is well: if they abandon it not—that is a *Samghâ-disesa*.

✓ 12. Should a Bhikkhu refuse to listen to what is said to him¹; and when spoken to by the Bhikkhus, in accordance with the Dhamma², touching the precepts handed down in the body of recited law³, will allow nothing to be said to him (objecting), ‘Say nothing to me, Sirs, either good or bad: and I will say nothing, either good or bad, to you. Be good enough, Sirs, to refrain from speaking to me!’—then let that Bhikkhu be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: ‘Do not, Sir, make yourself a person who cannot be spoken to: make yourself rather, Sir, a person to whom we can speak. Speak to the Bhikkhus, Sir, in accordance with the Dhamma; and the Bhikkhus, Sir, will speak in accordance with the Dhamma to you. For thus has the church⁴ of the Blessed One grown large; that is to say, by mutual converse, and by mutual help⁵.’ If that Bhikkhu, when he has thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, then let that Bhikkhu be

¹ *Dubbaḷo* is not ‘unruly,’ as Dickson has, following Childers, who gives ‘abusive, unruly, violent.’ It means rather ‘difficult to reason with, averse to instruction.’ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 151, 152.

² *Sahadhammikaṃ*, which is here adverbial; and where the Dhamma refers to the Rules, as is pointed out in the Introduction.

³ *Uddesa-pariyâpannesu*; *uddesa* being here practically the same as *Pâtimokkha*.

⁴ *Parisâ*, ‘the retinue, the followers, the adherents,’ referring here to the *Samgha* only.

⁵ In the text read *vuḥḥâpanena*.

(formally) adjured by the Bhikkhus as a body, even to the third time, to the end that he abandon that course. If, while being so adjured, up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well : if he abandon it not—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

✓ 13. Should a Bhikkhu dwell near a certain village or town, leading a life hurtful to the laity, and devoted to evil, (so that) his evil deeds are seen and heard, and the families led astray by him are seen and heard, let that Bhikkhu be spoken to by the Bhikkhus thus: 'Your life, Sir, is hurtful to the laity, and evil; your evil deeds, Sir, are seen and heard; and families are seen and heard to be led astray by you. Be so good, Sir, as to depart from this residence; you have dwelt here, Sir, long enough.' If, when that Bhikkhu is thus addressed by the Bhikkhus he should answer the Bhikkhus thus: 'The Bhikkhus are walking in longing, the Bhikkhus are walking in malice, the Bhikkhus are walking in delusion, the Bhikkhus are walking in fear; and, for a fault of a like nature, they send some away, and some they send not away¹:'—then that Bhikkhu should be spoken to by the Bhikkhus thus: 'Say not so, Sir! The Bhikkhus walk not in longing, the Bhikkhus walk not in malice, the Bhikkhus walk not in delusion, the Bhikkhus walk not in fear; and they send not some away, for a fault of a like nature, while they send others not away. Your life, Sir, is hurtful to the laity, and evil; your evil deeds, Sir, are seen and heard, and families are seen and heard, Sir, to be led astray by you. Be so good, Sir, as to depart from this residence; you have dwelt

¹ On the use of *Pabbâgeti* in this sense comp. the 2nd *Pâr*.

here, Sir, long enough.' If that Bhikkhu, when thus spoken to by the Bhikkhus should persist as before, that Bhikkhu should be (formally) adjured by the Bhikkhus as a body, even to the third time, to the end that he abandon that course. If, while being so adjured, up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well: if he abandon it not—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

Venerable Sirs, the thirteen matters which require, as well in their earlier as in their later stages, formal meetings of the Order, have been recited; nine which become offences at once, and four which are not completed until the third admonition.

If a Bhikkhu have committed either one or other of these¹, for as many days as he knowingly conceals his sin, for so many days must that Bhikkhu, even against his will, remain in probation². When the probation is over, that Bhikkhu must, for six further days, undergo the *Mānatta* discipline³ (Penance). When the Penance has been removed, that Bhikkhu must be reinstated in some place where the community of the Bhikkhus forms a body of twenty. If a community of Bhikkhus forming a body of less than twenty, even by one, should reinstate that Bhikkhu, he is not reinstated, and that community is blameworthy. This is the proper course in that case.

¹ Literally, 'of which.' In the text there should be no full stop after *yāvattatīyakā*.

² On the regulations respecting *Parivāsa* (Probation), see *Kullavagga* II, 1-3.

³ On the regulations respecting *Mānatta* (Penance), see *Kullavagga* II, 6-8.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones,
'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are
you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are
you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore
do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Samghâdisesas.

ANİYATÂ DHAMMÂ¹.

RULES REGARDING UNDETERMINED MATTERS.

Here, venerable Sirs, the two Rules regarding undetermined matters come into recitation.

- ✓ 1. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat with a woman, one man with one woman, in secret, on a secluded seat, suitable² (for sexual intercourse); and if a believing woman, trustworthy of speech, who has seen (them so), shall lay it to his charge under one or other of three Rules, either under the Pârâgika³, or under the Samghâdisesa⁴, or under the Pâkittiya⁵ Rules:—let then that Bhikkhu, if he acknowledge that he has so sat, be dealt with (according to the circumstances reported) for a Pârâgika, or for a Samghâdisesa, or for a Pâkittiya; or let that Bhikkhu be dealt with under that one of those three Rules under which the believing woman, trustworthy in speech, shall lay it to his charge.

This rule relates to a matter undetermined.

2. And furthermore, even if the seat be not secluded, and not convenient (for sexual intercourse), but be convenient for addressing a woman with wicked words⁶, then whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take

¹ The whole of the following portion of the Pâtimokkha, together with the Old Commentary on it, recurs in the Vibhaṅga, Book III.

² *Alamkammaniye*, an expression found only in this passage. The Vibhaṅga interprets it as above (Aniyata I, 2, 1).

³ The 1st Pârâgika.

⁴ The 2nd Samghâdisesa.

⁵ Pâkittiya 44, 45; and compare also 7, 27.

⁶ Compare the 3rd Samghâdisesa, and probably the 4th is also referred to.

a seat with a woman, one man with one woman, in secret, on such a seat, and a believing woman, trustworthy in speech, who has seen (them so), shall lay it to his charge under one or other of two Rules, either under the *Samghâdisesa*, or under the *Pâkittiya* Rule—let then that Bhikkhu, if he acknowledge that he has so sat, be dealt with (according to the circumstances reported) for a *Samghâdisesa*, or for a *Pâkittiya*; or let that Bhikkhu be dealt with under that one of those two Rules under which the believing woman, trustworthy in speech, shall lay it to his charge.

This rule relates to a matter undetermined.

Venerable Sirs, the two Rules regarding uncertain matters have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Aniyatas.

NISSAGGIYÂ PÂKITTIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

PÂKITTIYA RULES INVOLVING FORFEITURE.

Here, venerable Sirs, the thirty Pâkittiya Rules involving forfeiture come into recitation.

1. When the robes have been settled, when the *Kaṭhina* has been taken up by the Bhikkhu, an extra robe may be kept up to the end of a period of ten days. To him who goes beyond that there is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture¹.

¹ The following Rules, most of which have long ago fallen into abeyance, depend in great measure upon communistic customs of the ancient Fraternity, which are now somewhat difficult to understand. The following explanation of this rule, and more especially of the first few words of it, is therefore submitted with diffidence. At the end of the Vassa period (see below, Mahāvagga, Books III and VII) the *Samgha*, or community of brethren in any place, was accustomed to give over to some one of the Bhikkhus such store of robes (*Kaṭhina-dussa*) as it possessed; and it should here be observed that no Bhikkhu had a separate personal ownership over his robes, though nominally given to him for his own use, and really his own subject to the rules, they were, technically speaking, the property of the whole *Samgha* (that is, here, of the Order as a whole, not of the community residing together at that place). The Bhikkhu above referred to then spread the store of robes out to dry (*suriye attharati*); and afterwards satisfied out of it the wants of any brother whose robes, through the dampness of the season or other causes, had become spoiled. Meanwhile, each of the Bhikkhus had, of course, to wear something—it being one of the points most frequently insisted upon that a Bhikkhu should be decently clad, in direct contradiction to certain then popular views as to the sanctity of nakedness—but, during the interval, some of the rules about the robes were temporarily relaxed.

Now the Mahāvagga (VII, 1, 7) gives eight reasons by which the *Kaṭhina* license would be extinguished for any one particular Bhikkhu alone—as it would be for the community at that place

2. When the robes have been settled, after the taking up of the *Kaṭhina* by the Bhikkhu, if a Bhikkhu be without his three robes, even for a single night, unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture¹.

by the formal 'taking up of the store of robes' (*Kaṭhinuddhâra* or *Kaṭhinassa ubbhâra*);—and with it that Bhikkhu's claim to a share in the common store. These eight reasons are merely eight ways in which that particular Bhikkhu's wants are already amply supplied; and the necessity, in his case, for a relaxation of the rules no longer exists.

One of these reasons is that his set of robes is settled or done for (*ĳivaram niṭṭhitam*); which, according to the old commentator on our rule here, means that his set has been made, or spoiled, or destroyed, or burnt, or that his hope of receiving one from the laity has been disappointed (*niṭṭhitaĳivarasmin ti ĳivaram katam vâ hoti natṭham vâ vinaṭṭham vâ daddham vâ ĳivarâsâ vâ upaĳĳhinnâ*, according to which the Scholion in Dickson's note must be corrected). In each of these cases his wants are already supplied by the set of robes he has retained for wear during the process of drying: only the case of those Bhikkhus remains to be settled who have not had new robes made, and whose old ones were still good enough to wear during that process.

After the *Kaṭhinuddhâra*, either particular or general, no Bhikkhu can retain for his own use an *atireka-ĳivara*, a spare robe. He must give it up to any brother who has need of it.

As to the 'ten days,' the Sutta Vibhaṅga has the following story. Ânanda, after the *Kaṭhinuddhâra*, has a spare robe. He wants to give it to Sâriputta; but the latter is in Sâketa, and is not expected back till the ninth or tenth day. So the Buddha, to meet such cases, establishes the rule that the spare robe may be kept up to the tenth day.

The words 'a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture,' repeated at the end of each of the Nissaggiyas, are intended to mean that that offence involves, firstly, all that a Pâkittiya involves; and secondly, forfeiture.

¹ To this Rule there is the following story in the Sutta Vibhaṅga. Certain Bhikkhus left their robes in charge of the other Bhikkhus,

3. When the robes have been settled, when the *Katthina* has been taken up by the Bhikkhu, if a set of robes should be offered to a Bhikkhu out of season, it may be accepted by that Bhikkhu, should he so wish. But when he has accepted it, it must be made up at once; and if it be not sufficient for him, it may be kept up to the end of a month by that Bhikkhu should he have any hope that the deficiency may be supplied. If he keep it beyond that time, even if there be hope of (the deficiency) being supplied—that is a Pāṭittiya offence requiring forfeiture.

4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have his soiled robe¹ washed, or dyed, or beaten by a Bhikkhunī (sister)² who is not related to him—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture³.

5. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall receive a robe from the hands of a Bhikkhunī not related to him, except in exchange—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

6. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall ask a householder, or a householder's wife⁴, not being related to him,

and went on a journey. The robes, being laid by for a long time, became spoilt. The Buddha thereupon forbade a Bhikkhu, under the circumstances stated in this Rule, to separate himself from his robes (*ti-kīvara*).

As regards the permission we have the story that a sick Bhikkhu was invited home that his friends might nurse him. He answers, 'The Blessed One has forbidden us to separate ourselves from our robes. I am sick, and unable to travel in my robes.' Then the Blessed One allows a sick brother to obtain leave to dispense with the Rule.

¹ Literally, 'an old robe,' which the Vibhaṅga (*Nissaggiya* IV, 2, 1) explains as one that has been once worn.

² And so, frequently, below.

³ Compare the 17th *Nissaggiya*.

⁴ Householder is here *gahapati*; that is, *pater familias*. See Rh. D.'s note on *Mahā-sudassana Sutta* I, 41.

for a robe, except at the right season—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

Here the right season means when the Bhikkhu has been robbed of his robe, or when his robe has been destroyed. This is the right season in this connection.

7. If the householder, or the householder's wife, should offer him a choice¹ from (the materials for) many robes, that Bhikkhu may have robes made out of it up to the (due portion of) inner and outer robes. If he has robes made beyond this limit—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

8. In case the value in barter of a set of robes has been laid by, for a particular Bhikkhu, by a householder who is not a relative of his, or a householder's lady, with the intention 'I will get a set of robes in exchange for this robe-fund, and so provide a dress for such and such a Bhikkhu :—in that case,

¹ One MS. of the Vibhaṅga reads *abhihaṭṭum*; but another reads *abhihaṭṭhum*, as does Minayeff; while the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ makes it equal to *abhiharitum*. The right reading is probably *abhihaṭṭhum*. In any case, the unusual form and grammatical construction throw some doubt on the exact meaning of the phrase. The Samanta-Pâsâdikâ, which explains it philologically as just mentioned, goes on in the next words to explain it syntactically as *abhiharitvâ*, which it refers to the subject of *pavâreyya*, and states could be done either actually, or by words. Dickson's rendering, 'arrange to supply him,' does not accurately convey the force of *pavâreyya*; but the right rendering may be 'should offer to bring forth for him (whatever he chose) from (amongst the material for) many robes.' The only possible alternative is 'should make him an offer to take whatever he chose from amongst the material for many robes.' Compare the 34th Pâkittiya.

Santar-uttara-paramam is meant, according to the Vibhaṅga, to imply 'to the extent of one inner, and one outer robe;' but we preserve the ambiguity of the text.

if that Bhikkhu, before the offer has been made to him, go and give directions as to the make of the robe, saying, 'It would be well, Sir, to get in exchange such and such a sort of robe with that robe-fund to clothe me with;' desiring something fine—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture¹.

9. In case two persons, householders or householders' ladies, have each laid by for a particular Bhikkhu the value in barter of a set of robes, with the intention, 'We will each get a set of robes in exchange for this robe-fund, and so provide a dress for such and such a Bhikkhu:—in that case, if that Bhikkhu, before the offer has been made to him, go and give directions as to the make of the robe, saying, 'It would be well, Sirs, to get in exchange, with the value in barter you have each laid by, such and such a sort of robe to clothe me with, the two becoming one:—desiring something fine—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

10. In case a Râga, or a Khattiya, or a Brâhman, or a Gahapati should send by messenger, for a particular Bhikkhu, the value in barter of a set of robes, saying, 'Get a set of robes in exchange for this robe-fund, and provide a dress for such and such a Bhikkhu!' if then that messenger should go to that Bhikkhu and say, 'I have brought, Sir, this robe-fund for your reverence. May your reverence

¹ Both Dickson and Childers have gone too far in rendering *ketâpetvâ* by 'purchase.' The Samanta-Pâsâdikâ (Minayeff, 78) explains it by *parivattetvâ*. So Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 6.

In the text read *Ketâpanam* (compare *Kakkâyana*, p. 322 of Senart's edition); and it should not be rendered 'money;' see Rh. D., loc. cit. The 'Robe-fund' consisted of things for barter.

In the text the *vâ* after *aññâtakassa* should be omitted.

accept the robe-fund! let then that monk answer that messenger thus: 'We do not, my friend, accept the value in barter for a set of robes; but we may accept a set of robes, at the right time, and of the suitable kind.' If then that messenger shall answer that Bhikkhu thus: 'Has then your reverence a person who attends (to such matters for you)?' then, Bhikkhus¹, let the Bhikkhu, to whom the robes are to belong, point out, as his agent, the man who keeps the ârâma in order², or some believer, saying, 'This man, my friend, is the Bhikkhus' agent.' If then that messenger, when he has made an appointment with that agent, shall come to that Bhikkhu, and say, 'I have made an appointment, Sir, with that agent whom your reverence pointed out. Let your reverence come, and he will clothe you with the set of robes betimes!' then, Bhikkhus¹, let that Bhikkhu, to whom the set of robes is to belong, go to the agent and warn him and remind him two or three times, saying, 'Sir, I have need of a set of robes!' If, while so warning and reminding³ two or three times, he should succeed in obtaining

¹ This word of address is most noteworthy as standing quite isolated in the Pâtimokkha. It must be meant as an address by the Buddha himself to the Brethren; for, if it were the address of the Bhikkhu reciting the Pâtimokkha, the expression used would necessarily be âyasmanto, as in the closing words of each chapter, or other words to that effect. That it should have been left in is a striking proof of the faithfulness with which the Pâtimokkha has been preserved. Is it a survival of some form of words older even than the Pâtimokkha? or is it merely an ancient blunder?

² The ârâma is, literally, the grove or pleasure-ground in which the monks' residence stood; but it had probably before this already come to include the residence, or vihâra, itself.

³ In the text read *kodayamâno*, *sârayamâno*; the medial participle with active sense, as often.

the robes, it is well. Should he not succeed in obtaining them, let him up to the fourth, fifth, or sixth time go and stand silently on that matter¹. If, while so standing silently on that matter up to the fourth, fifth, or sixth time, he should succeed in obtaining the set of robes, it is well. Should he not succeed in obtaining them (so), and then, exerting himself beyond that point succeed in obtaining them—that is a Pâṭittiya offence involving forfeiture. (But) if he should not succeed in obtaining them, let him either go himself, or send a messenger (to the place) whence the robe-fund was brought to him, and say, ‘The robe-fund which your reverences sent for a Bhikkhu, that has in no wise advantaged that Bhikkhu. Take heed, your reverences, of your own, that your own go not to ruin!’ This is the proper course in that case².

Here ends the first section,
the ‘Robe-section.’

11. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a rug or mat made with silk in it—that is a Pâṭittiya offence involving forfeiture³.

¹ In the text read *khakkhattuparamam*. This silent standing is the only mode of asking for food permitted to a Bhikkhu.

² Both here, and in the Conclusion of the *Samghâdisesa*, and further below in the 22nd Nissaggiya, where the same phrase occurs, Mr. Dickson takes it to mean, ‘This is the way to Nirvâna.’ We are unable to see any foundation for such a rendering.

³ The following rules were for use in a tropical climate, and refer not to bed coverings, but to materials spread over a hard seat or couch. The word translated ‘rug or mat’ is a more general term, meaning ‘a thing spread;’ but there is no corres-

12. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a rug or mat made of pure black wool of goats' hair¹—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

13. In case a Bhikkhu is having a new rug made, two parts should be taken of pure black wool of goats' hair, the third part of white wool, and the fourth of the colour of oxen (reddish brown). If a Bhikkhu should have a new rug made without taking two parts of pure black wool, the third of white, and the fourth of tawny—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture².

14. When a Bhikkhu has had a new rug made, he should use it for six years. If he should have another new rug made within the six years, whether he has got rid, or has not got rid of the former one, unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus³—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

15. When a Bhikkhu is having a new rug made to sit upon, a piece of the breadth of the accepted span⁴ must be taken from all round the old one in

ponding word in English, as 'coverlet' or 'counterpane' would imply a different state of things.

¹ The Sutta Vibhaṅga says that *kâ/aka* is of two kinds, either *gâtiyâ kâ/aka* or *ragana-kâ/aka*; that is, that the wool is either naturally black, or dyed of that colour. *Elaka* is a goat, not a sheep.

² This is deliberately chosen as an ugly mixture, which would lessen the commercial value of the rug, by making it unfashionable.

³ Regarding this permission the Vibhaṅga gives the following story. A sick monk was asked by his relatives to come home, that they might nurse him. He answered that he was too ill to carry his rug, could not get on without one, and could not have a new one made within six years. Then the Blessed One established this exception to the general Rule.

⁴ See the note on the 6th *Samghâdisesa*.

order to disfigure it. If a Bhikkhu should have a new seat-rug made without taking a span's width from all round the old one—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

16. In case a Bhikkhu should get some goats' wool whilst he is on a journey¹, let him accept it, if he likes; and when he has accepted it, he may carry it in his own hand, if there are no porters, for the distance of three leagues². Should he carry it further than that, even if there are no porters—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

17. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall get goats' wool washed, or dyed, or combed out by a Bhikkhunī who is not related to him—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture³.

18. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be kept in deposit for him⁴—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

¹ Addhāna-magga-paṭipanno; which the Kaṅkhā Vitaranī (Minayeff, p. 80) explains as being on a long road, called addhāna (high-road). But one may be on a high-road without going a long journey.

² Yoganas; a yogana being a trifle under eight miles. See Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures' &c., pp. 16, 17.

³ Compare the 4th Nissaggiya.

⁴ Upanikkhittam vā sādīyeyya; which cannot possibly mean 'if he thinks to appropriate money entrusted to him,' as Mr. Dickson translates. See Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins' &c., p. 7.

The method of procedure on a breach of this rule, or of the next, is thus described in the Vibhaṅga. The guilty Bhikkhu has to give up the gold or silver to the community (Saṃgha, not here, as elsewhere in sentences concerning forfeiture, 'or to a gāṇa or to a puggala'). Then when an ârāmika or an upāsaka comes, it is to be given to him, to buy ghee or oil with it for the Saṃgha; and whatever is bought is the common property of all the Saṃgha, save the guilty Bhikkhu. Should the layman object to undertake the

19. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall engage in any one of the various transactions in which silver is used—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

20. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall engage in any one of the various kinds of buying and selling—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

End of the second section,
the 'Silk-section.'

21. A spare bowl may be kept up to the limit of ten days. To him who exceeds that there is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

22. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall get another new bowl in exchange for an (old) one broken in less than five places—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

That bowl must be forfeited by that Bhikkhu to the company of Bhikkhus; and whichever in that company of Bhikkhus shall be the worst bowl, that shall be given to that Bhikkhu with the words, 'This, Bhikkhu, is thy bowl; it must be kept until it breaks.' This is the right course in that case.

23. Now those medicines which may be used by the sick Bhikkhus—to wit, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses—when they have received them, they may enjoy them, storing them up to the seventh day. To him who exceeds that there is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

spending of the gold or silver, he is to be asked to throw it away. Or, if this cannot be managed, then, as a last resource, some Bhikkhu is to be formally appointed 'Bullion-remover' (*Rûpiya-kkhadaka*), and he is to go and throw it away somewhere, 'animittam katvâ,' (without making any mark at the place!)

24. When he sees that a month of the hot days has yet to run, let a Bhikkhu provide himself with the materials for robes for the rainy season : when he sees that half a month of the hot days has yet to run, let him make them, and wear them. Should he provide himself with the materials for robes for the rainy season when more than a month of the hot days has yet to run ; or should he make them, and wear them, when more than half a month of the hot days has yet to run—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

25. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he has himself given a set of robes to another Bhikkhu, shall thereafter, being angry or displeased with him, take them away, or get them taken away—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

26. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall himself ask for yarn, and have it woven up by weavers into cloth for a set of robes—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

27. In case a householder, who is not related to him, or a householder's lady, shall have the cloth for a set of robes woven for a particular Bhikkhu by weavers ; in that case, if that Bhikkhu, before the offer has been made to him, shall go to the weavers, and give directions as to the make of the robe, saying, 'This robe-cloth, my friends, is being woven for me. Make it long and broad, and make it thick, and well woven, and evenly woven¹, and with even lines, and well carded. If you do so, ourselves will

¹ Suppavâyitam, literally, 'well woven forth.' We follow the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ in its explanation of this word, but with considerable hesitation. Compare the relation between Sanskrit ota and prota ; and between English 'web' and 'woof.'

make it up to you, friends, in some way or other!' If that Bhikkhu¹, having thus spoken, should make it up² to them in any way, even by the contents of a begging bowl—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

28. In case a robe should fall to the lot of a Bhikkhu, as a special gift³, ten days before the Kattika-temâsa³ full moon, that Bhikkhu may take it, considering it as a special gift: and when he has it, he may keep it up till the robe time³.

¹ In the text read *Evañ ka so bhikkhu*.

² Anupadaggeyya is a double potential. *Daggâma* would be equal to Sanskrit *dadyâma*; and to that a second potential termination has been added.

³ The expression in the Pâli is literally 'should a special robe come to a Bhikkhu,' &c.; where 'special robe' is *akkēka-kîvaram*, explained in the *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ* (Minayeff, 83) as equal to *akkâyika-kîvaram*. The *Vibhaṅga* says, 'If a man wants to join the army or to emigrate, or if a man has fallen sick, or a woman is with child, or an unbeliever has come to believe, or a believer is edified (*pasâdo uppanno hoti*); then, if such a one send a messenger to the Bhikkhus, saying, "Let their reverences come hither, I will give a gift for the rainy season" (*vassâvâsikam*; perhaps, "such a gift as the laity are wont to give to the Bhikkhus who have spent the vassa among them")—that is an *akkēka-kîvaram*' (Minayeff, 82, 83). *Akkaya* is an immediate, threatening, danger: compare the expression 'donatio mortis causâ.' 'Special robe' is, no doubt, an inadequate rendering; but we have chosen it in reference to the special circumstances under which the donation is made, and in default of a better translation. Compare the 85th Pâkittiya.

The Kattika-temâsi-punnamâ is, according to the *Vibhaṅga* (Minayeff, p. 82), the close of the Pavâranâ, the ceremony at the end of Vassa (see below, Book IV).

The robe time is the time when the robes were settled. The *Vibhaṅga* says, 'Robe time is, if the robes have not been laid out to dry (see the note to the first rule in this division of the Pâtimokkha), the last month of the rains; if they have, it is five months.'

Should he keep it beyond that—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

29. When vassa is completed up to the full moon in Kattika¹ in case a Bhikkhu, who is dwelling in a place belonging to the class of those forest dwellings which are held to be insecure and dangerous, should desire to do so, he may leave one or other of his three robes in a hut inside a village, and if there is any ground for that Bhikkhu being separated from that robe, he may be separated from it up to the sixth night. Should he separate himself from it more than that, except by permission from the Bhikkhus—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

30. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall cause to be diverted to himself any benefit already dedicated to the Samgha—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

Here ends the third section,
the 'Bowl-section.'

Venerable Sirs, the thirty Pâkittiya Rules involving forfeiture have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

¹ This is a different date from that mentioned in the last rule, and one month later. The Vibhaṅga explains the date here as Kattika-kâtumâsinî, whereas the date in Rule 28 is temâsinî, and is called by the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ (Minayeff, p. 82) paṭhamakattika-puṇṇamâ.

The same distinction is evident, from Mahāvagga IV, 14, 7-11, between Pavāraṇā and the Kâtumâsinî. But how both these full moons came to be called Kattika is not clear.

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here ends the recitation of the Nissaggiyas.

PÂKITTİYÂ DHAMMÂ.

THE PÂKITTĪYA¹ RULES.

Now here, venerable Sirs, the ninety-two Pâkittiya Rules (Rules regarding matters requiring expiation) come into recitation.

1. There is Pâkittiya in a deliberate lie.
2. There is Pâkittiya in abusive language.
3. There is Pâkittiya in slander of a Bhikkhu.
4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall cause one not received into the higher grade (of the Order²) to recite the Dhamma clause by clause³—that is a Pâkittiya.
5. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, for more than two or three nights, lie down (to sleep) in the same place with one not received into the higher grade (of the Order)—that is a Pâkittiya.
6. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall lie down (to sleep) in the same place with a woman—that is a Pâkittiya⁴.
7. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall preach the Dhamma, in more than five or six words, to a woman,

¹ That is, 'requiring repentance.' Compare the Sanskrit terms *Prâyasakittika* and *Prâyasakittîya*.

² Literally, 'one who has not received the upasampadâ.'

³ *Anupasampannam padaso dhammam vâḥeyya*. This rule is directed against a wrong method of teaching the Dhamma to a *Sâmaṇera*. See the extracts from the Old Commentary, and from the *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ*, given by Minayeff on p. 84. Read however in the second line *osâpentî* for *âsâpentî*; and then go on *anvakkharam nâma, rūpam anikkān ti vukkamāno rupan ti opâpeti: anuvyaṅganam nâma, rūpam anikkān ti vukkamāno vedanā anikkā ti saddam nikkhâreti, &c.*

⁴ For the text read *mâtugâmena*.

without a man arrived at years of discretion¹ (being present)—that is a Pāṭittiya.

8. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall tell one not received into the higher grade (of the Order) that the (speaker or any other Bhikkhu) has extraordinary spiritual gifts, even when such is the case²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

9. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall tell one not received into the higher grade (of the Order) of a Bhikkhu having fallen into any grave offence—that is a Pāṭittiya.

10. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall dig the ground or have it dug³—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the first section,
the 'Falsehood-section.'

11. There is Pāṭittiya in destroying any vegetable.

12. There is Pāṭittiya in prevarication, or in worrying (the assembled Bhikkhus; for instance, by refusing to answer⁴).

13. There is Pāṭittiya in stirring up ill-will against, in speaking disrespectfully of (any Bhikkhu deputed to any official duty⁵).

¹ Viññu. The Vibhaṅga says, 'a man able to understand what is well said, and what is wrongly said; what is wicked, and what is not wicked.' Compare the use of viññutā at Gātaka I, 231.

² To do so when it was not the case, would be a Pārāgika. See the 4th Pārāgika, and our note there on the meaning of uttarimanussa-dhammam. The 'even' here means that the truth of the averment makes no excuse for it.

³ Because doing so might bring some living thing into danger.

⁴ Vihesake; which must be understood as being done in a formal meeting of the Saṅgha during an official enquiry.

⁵ The words in parentheses are supplied from the explanations in the Vibhaṅga.

14. Whatsoever Bhikkhu who has put out, or got another to put out to air, a bedstead, or a chair, or a mat, or a stool¹, the common property of the *Samgha*; and when going away shall not put it back, or have it put back, but shall depart without saying anything to anybody—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

15. Whatsoever Bhikkhu has put out, or got another to put out, a bedstead in a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*; and when going away shall not put it back, or have it put back, but shall depart without saying anything to anybody—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

16. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, in a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*, shall lie down where he knows that he is encroaching on (the space occupied by) a Bhikkhu who arrived before him, thinking, 'If he become inconvenienced he may go away'—if he does it for that object, and for no other²—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

17. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being angry or displeased with another Bhikkhu, shall drive him out, or get him driven out of a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

18. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall hurriedly sit down, or lie down, in the upper story of a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*³, on a bedstead or chair with removable legs—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

¹ *Kokkham*, the meaning of which is not quite clear. The *Vibhaṅga* says there are four kinds, made of bark, of usūra roots, of *muṅga* grass, and of bulrushes. It is apparently therefore of wickerwork.

² That is, according to the *Vibhaṅga*, the rule does not apply to an invalid, or to one suffering from the heat, or the cold; and so on.

³ Because if he does so, he might unwittingly upset the furniture,

19. In case a Bhikkhu is having a large dwelling-place put up, he may have the work rectified, in a place where straw is scarce, round the doors, and where the bolts are put in, and the openings for light are set, and till the roof has been twice or thrice covered in¹. Should he go beyond that, even in such a place—that is a Pāṭittiya.

20. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall sprinkle water with living creatures in it, or shall cause such to be sprinkled on grass or on clay—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the second section,
the 'Bhūtagāma-section.'

Imp 21. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, not thereto deputed, shall exhort the Bhikkhuni's²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

or fall himself, to the injury of some one who was rightfully on the ground floor.

¹ In the text read *dvittiṭṭhādanassa*: *ṭhite pi*. This rule, directed against too great luxury in the matter of a perfectly finished dwelling, is somewhat obscure, owing to our want of information as to the mode in which such dwellings should be put up. It refers probably to a hut, albeit a large one, of wattle and daub (*kudda*: comp. Rh. D.'s note on the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 41). The Samanta-Pāsādikā divides *dvāra-kosa* into *dvāra-okāsa*, and quotes various estimates from the old Sinhalese commentaries as to the proper extent of this space (see Minayeff, p. 87).

² *Ovadeyya*; that is, shall preach to them the eight Garu-dhammā. On these see the passages mentioned in the Index appended to the text of the *Kullavagga*; and on the *ovāda* see *Kullavagga* X, 9, 2, and following. The mode of procedure is laid down in the *Vibhaṅga* as follows: 'The Bhikkhu asks the Bhikkhuni's, "Are you all present, sisters, and do none raise objections (that is, are you *samaggā*)?" If they say, "That is so, Sir!" he asks, "Are the eight Garu-dhammā being kept up?" If they say, "They are, Sir!" he is to say, "That, sisters, is the exhortation!" and so deliver it to them. If they say, "They are

22. If a Bhikkhu, even when thereto deputed, exhort the Bhikkhunî's after the sun has set—that is a Pâṭittiya.

23. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall go to the dwelling-place of Bhikkhunî's, and there exhort the Bhikkhunî's¹, except on the (right) occasion—that is a Pâṭittiya.

Herein this is the right occasion : (to wit), when a Bhikkhunî is ill. This is the right occasion in this passage.

24. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall speak thus : ' The Bhikkhus exhort the Bhikkhunî's for the sake of gain ²!'—that is a Pâṭittiya.

25. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall give a robe to a Bhikkhunî who is not related to him, except in exchange—that is a Pâṭittiya.

26. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall make up a robe, or have it made up, for a Bhikkhunî who is not related to him—that is a Pâṭittiya.

27. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, by appointment, shall travel along a high road in company with a Bhikkhunî, even to go as far as the village, except on the right occasion—that is a Pâṭittiya.

not, Sir!" he should go all through them, saying, "A sister who has been received into the higher grade even one hundred years, &c. (and so on to the end of the Garu-dhammâ)."

'If he preach any other Dhamma to those who say, "We, Sir, are all present, and none raise objections!" he is guilty of a Dukkata. If he preach the eight Garu-dhammâ to those who say, "No, Sir, that is not so!" (vagg' amh' ayyâ ti, where vagga is vyagra, the opposite of samagga), he is guilty of a Dukkata. If he preach another Dhamma, when the eight Garu-dhammâ have not committed to their charge, he is guilty of a Dukkata.'

¹ Compare Kullavagga X, 6, 1.

² Âmisa-hetu; that is, in order that the sisters may be induced to supply the preachers with food, medicine, &c.

Herein this is the right occasion : (to wit), when the road is so insecure and dangerous that travellers on it have to carry arms. This is the right occasion in this passage.

28. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, by appointment, shall go on board the same boat, whether going up stream or down stream, in company with a Bhikkhunī, except for the purpose of crossing over to the other side—that is a Pāṭittiya.

29. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, knowing it to be so, shall eat food procured by the intervention of a Bhikkhunī, unless the laity (who give the food) had already undertaken (to give it to him)¹—that is a Pāṭittiya.

30. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat, one man with one woman, in company with a Bhikkhunī, in a secret place²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the third section,
the 'Bhikkhunovāda-section.'

31. A Bhikkhu who is not sick may take one meal at a public rest-house³. Should he take more than that—that is a Pāṭittiya.

¹ The introductory story in the Vibhaṅga is of a Bhikkhu born in Rāgagaha, who went to a relative's house, and a meal was there being prepared for him by his relatives. A kulupikā bhikkhunī then arrives, and says, 'My friends, give the gentleman a meal !' Then the Bhikkhu was in doubt whether he ought not to refuse it as being Bhikkhunī-paripāṭitam.

² Compare the Aniyatā Dhammā.

³ Eko āvasatha-piṇḍo bhuṅgitabbo. An āvasatha is one of those 'chaultries,' or public resting-places, which good Buddhists were wont to put up in the villages or at cross roads. At some of

32. There is Pākittiya in going in a body to receive a meal¹, except on the right occasion.

Herein the right occasion is this: (to wit), when there is sickness, when robes are being given, when robes are being made, when on a journey (on foot), when on board a boat, when (the influx of Bhikkhus) is great², when a general invitation is given to Samanas³. This is right occasion in this passage.

33. There is Pākittiya in taking food in turn⁴, except on the right occasion.

Herein the right occasion is this: (to wit), when there is sickness, when robes are being given, when

these a constant supply of rice was provided for travellers. See the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta I, 10; II, 5 (pp. 10, 16); Gāṭaka, No. 31 ('Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 280-285); Mahā-sudassana Sutta I, 63; Dhammapada Commentary apud Fausböll, 185. The Samanta-Pāsādikā on this rule (Minayeff, p. 88) says that āvasatha-piṇḍo is a meal in such an āvasatha.

¹ On this rule compare Kullavagga VII, 3, 13. 'In a body' means four or more Bhikkhus going together to the same house.

² Mahā-samayo. The Vibhaṅga relates how, when vassa was over, the Bhikkhus repaired in great numbers to visit the Buddha. On such occasions it was difficult or impossible for them all, if they adhered to the strict rule, to obtain their meals.

³ Samana-bhatta-samayo. See the Vibhaṅga, and the Samanta-Pāsādikā, quoted by Minayeff, pp. 88, 89. 'Samanas,' of course, includes others besides Buddhists.

⁴ Parampara-bhogane; that is, in picking and choosing with regard to food, or in regard to different invitations. The Bhikkhus were to eat straight on whatever was given, and to accept invitations in the order in which they were received. But a sick Bhikkhu might choose one morsel rather than another; and Bhikkhus in health might accept an invitation to a house where robes are going to be given, or made, rather than to a house where only a meal was offered. The last exception was simply to guard against the stock of robes falling short (Bhikkhū . . . nādhivāsenti: kīvaram parittam uppagati, says the Vibhaṅga).

robes are being made. This is right occasion in this passage.

34. In case people should offer a Bhikkhu, who has gone to some house, to take as much as he chose of their sweetmeats and cakes, that Bhikkhu, should he so wish, may accept two or three bowls full¹. If he should accept more than that—that is a Pākittiya.

When he has accepted two or three bowls full¹, he must take them away, and divide them up among the Bhikkhus. That is the proper course in this case.

35. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he has once finished his meal, though still invited (to continue eating²), shall eat or partake of³ food that has not been left over⁴, whether hard or soft⁵—that is a Pākittiya.

¹ In the text read dvittipattapurā.

The word for sweetmeats, pūva, includes all those sweetmeats which it was then (as it is now) the custom to send as presents from one house to another at weddings, funerals, and such occasions.

‘Cakes’ (mantha) refers to those rice-cakes, &c., which were usually prepared as provision for a journey. Compare *Gātaka* I, 80.

‘Should offer to take as much as he chose’ is the phrase referred to above in our note on the 7th Nissaggiya. The Vibhaṅga says here, Abhihaṭṭam pavāreyyā ’ti yāvatakam ikkhasi tāvatakam ganhāhiti.

² Pavārito. The Vibhaṅga says, Pavārito nāma āsanam paññāyati bhoganam paññāyati hatthapāse ’hito abhiharati paññāyati, which means, we think, ‘A seat for him is there, food is there, (the host) standing near him still makes invitation, but there takes place a refusal (of the proffered food).’

³ Khādeyya vā bhuñgeyya vā.

⁴ The ‘not left over’ refers only to the case of a sick Bhikkhu. A Bhikkhu in health, when he has once finished his meal, ought not to eat what he has left.

⁵ Khādaniyam vā bhoganiyam vā. The former term is used of hard food, such as biscuits, cakes, meats, fruits, &c.; the latter

36. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall offer a Bhikkhu who has finished his meal, though still invited to continue eating, his choice of food, whether hard or soft, that has not been left over, saying, 'Come, now, Bhikkhu; take and eat!' deliberately desiring to stir up longing (in that Bhikkhu); then if that Bhikkhu eats¹—that is a Pāṭittiya.

37. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take or eat any food, whether hard or soft, at the wrong time²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

38. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall eat food, whether hard or soft, that has been put by—that is a Pāṭittiya.

39. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he is not sick, shall request, for his own use, and shall partake of delicacies—to wit, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses, fish, flesh, milk, curds³—that is a Pāṭittiya.

40. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall place, as food, within the door of his mouth, anything not given to him, save only water and a tooth-cleaner⁴—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the fourth section,
the 'Bhogana-section.'

41. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, with his own

term of soft foods, such as boiled rice, curries, &c. The two words for eating correspond to these two ideas.

¹ Bhuttasmiṃ pāṭittiya; that is, the offence is completed when the eating has taken place; but the offer alone is not a Pāṭittiya. So the Vibhaṅga.

² After sun-turn.

³ In the text read tāni; madhu phāṇitaṃ.

⁴ Dantapona; doubtless the same, perhaps an older expression for, the danta kaṭṭha referred to in Kullavagga V, 31. It is a piece of fragrant root (cinnamon, betel, &c.) about eight inches long.

hand, give food, whether hard or soft, to an *Aṭelaka* or to a *Paribbāgaka* or to a *Paribbāgikā*¹—that is a *Pāṭittiya*.

42. Whatsoever *Bhikkhu* shall address a *Bhikkhu* thus: 'Come, brother; let us go, for a meal, to the village, or the town!' and then, whether after he has got an alms for him, or without having got an alms for him, shall send him away, saying, 'Go away, brother! Talking with you, or sitting with you, is not pleasant to me. Talking, or sitting each one by himself, is more pleasant to me!'—if he does this for this cause, and for no other²—that is a *Pāṭittiya*.

43. Whatsoever *Bhikkhu* shall force his way into a house where a meal is going on³, and take a seat there—that is a *Pāṭittiya*.

¹ These are the various non-Buddhist religious teachers or devotees, most of whom rejected the Vedas. The *Paribbāgakas* were mostly, though not always, wandering logicians, willing to maintain theses against all the world. *Paribbāgikā* is merely the feminine of the last. *Aṭelaka*, which naturally has no feminine, were the naked ascetics.

The sect now called *Gains* are divided into two classes, *Svetambaras* and *Digambaras*, the latter of which eat naked. They are known to be the successors of the school called *Niganthas* in the Pāli *Piṭakas*; and it is not certain whether the *Niganthas* are included in the *Aṭelakas*. It is probable that the *Brāhman* ascetics, the *Vānaprasthas*, were not included under the term *Paribbāgakas*; but our information on the exact meaning of these terms is, as yet, very imperfect.

² That is merely to get rid of him, in order to gain any purpose of his own. The *Vibhaṅga* gives as examples that the *Bhikkhu* sees some valuable things, and wants to get them; or sees some woman, and wants to speak to her.

³ *Sabbhogane kule*; the meaning of which is not quite clear. The Old Commentary says, 'A *sabbhogana kula* is one where

44. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat, in secret, with a woman, in a concealed place¹—that is a Pâkittiya.

45. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat, in secret, with a woman, one man with one woman—that is a Pâkittiya.

46. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, who has been invited (to a house), and has been (thus already) provided with a meal, shall, without having previously spoken about it to a Bhikkhu, if there is one there, go on his (begging) rounds among the families, either before meal-time or after meal-time², except on the right occasion—that is a Pâkittiya.

there is a husband and a wife; and they both, husband and wife, are not gone forth from, are not devoid of lust' (Minayeff, p. 89, under P.; but for *anatikkantâ* read *anikkhantâ*). Then the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ, doubtless to justify this suggested implication, makes *sabhoganam* equal to *saha ubho hi ganehi* (!); or, in the alternative, to *sabhogam*, since 'the wife is the bhoga of a man still given to passion, and the husband the bhoga of a wife.' The use of *Bhogana* in any such sense is extremely forced, and was perhaps only suggested by the following rules; but it is just possible we should translate, 'a household still given to pleasure' (compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 1), or 'fond of good food' (compare *Milinda Pañha* 76).

On *anupakhagga* compare the 16th Pâkittiya.

¹ Compare the 30th Pâkittiya, and the two *Aniyatâ Dhammâ*.

² The *Vibhaṅga* has the following stories in regard to these two particulars. A family devoted to Upananda invited him and another Bhikkhu. Before meal-time he went to attend on other families (*purebhattam kulâni payirupâsati*). The people delayed giving his meal to the other Bhikkhu till Upananda should arrive. He came late; and the other Bhikkhu was thereby discomforted.

The family devoted to Upananda sent him food for his use; saying it was to be given to the *Samgha*, with special reference to him. He had gone for an alms to the village. The messengers delivered the food and the message, and asked where Upananda was.

Herein the right occasion is this: (to wit), a time of giving of robes, a time of making of robes. That is right occasion in this passage.

47. A Bhikkhu who is not sick may accept a (standing) invitation with regard to the requisites¹ for four months. If he accept it for a period longer than that—unless there be a second invitation, or a perpetual invitation—that is a Pākittiya.

48. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall go to see an army drawn up in battle-array, except for a cause thereto sufficient—that is a Pākittiya.

49. And if there be any reason for that Bhikkhu's going to the army, that Bhikkhu may remain there for two or three nights. If he remain longer than that—that is a Pākittiya.

50. And if while remaining there for two or three nights he should go to the battle-array, or to the numbering of the forces, or to the drawing up of the forces, or to a review²—that is a Pākittiya.

End of the fifth section,
the 'Aṭṭelaka-section.'

The Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One. He directed the present to be accepted, and laid by till Upananda should return. After Upananda returned, he nevertheless went out again to attend on other families, and the food so sent went bad.

The Bhikkhu is to tell a resident Bhikkhu before, on account of this rule, giving up his usual rounds, in order that he may still go if a sick Bhikkhu wants medicine.

The exceptions are, as above, to prevent the stock of robes falling short.

¹ These are usually four—clothing, food, residence, and medicine. This rule refers more especially to medicine, as appears from the explanation in the Vibhaṅga.

² On this rule compare the third section of the *Magghima-Sīla*,

51. There is Pāṭittiya in the drinking of fermented liquors, or strong drinks¹.

52. There is Pāṭittiya in poking (another person) with the finger.

53. There is Pāṭittiya in sporting in the water².

54. There is Pāṭittiya in disrespect³.

55. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall frighten a Bhikkhu⁴—that is a Pāṭittiya.

56. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, who is not sick, shall, desiring to warm himself⁵, kindle a fire, or have a fire kindled, without cause sufficient thereto—that is a Pāṭittiya.

57. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall bathe at intervals of less than half a month, except on the proper occasion—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Herein this is proper occasion: (to wit), the two and a half months during which there is hot weather, and during which there is fever; namely, the last month and a half of the heats, and the first month

and the third section of the Mahâ-Sila (translated in Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' pp. 192, 198). We follow the Vibhaṅga in the interpretation of the various terms.

¹ The Old Commentary (quoted by Minayeff, p. 90) distinguishes between surâ and meraya by the former being derived from flour, water, &c., and the latter from flowers, fruits, &c.

² Throwing water over one another, and chasing one another, were common amusements at the public and private bathing-places. Our MSS. read throughout hâsa-dhamme.

³ Anâdariye. That is, according to the Vibhaṅga, paying no heed, when one's attention is drawn by an upasampanna to the fact that this or that action is against the rule laid down (paññatam). But compare also Kullavagga VIII, 8, 1.

⁴ In the text read bhimsâpeyya.

⁵ H. O.'s MS. reads visibbanâpekho. At Mahâvagga I, 20, 15, visibbesum occurs in the sense of 'they warmed themselves.' Trenckner at p. 47 of the Milinda Pañha reads aggam galetvâ visivetvâ; and at p. 102, samsibbitavisibbitattâ sâkhânam.

of the rains¹: when sick; when there is work; when on a journey; when there has been wind and rain. This is right occasion in this connection.

58. A Bhikkhu who receives a new robe must choose one or other mode of disfigurement out of the three modes of disfigurement; either (making part of it) dark blue, or (marking part of it with) mud, or (making part of it) black. If a Bhikkhu should make use of a new robe without choosing one or other mode of disfigurement out of the three modes of disfigurement²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

59. Whatsoever Bhikkhu who has made over³ his robe to a Bhikkhu, or to a Bhikkhunī, or to a probationer, or to a Sāmaṇera, or to a Sāmaṇerī, shall continue to make use of it as a thing not (formally) given—that is a Pāṭittiya.

¹ The Vibhaṅga refers the first of these periods to the hot weather, and the second to the fever weather.

² In the text insert a full stop after *kā/asāmaṃ vā*. The object of this rule, according to the Vibhaṅga, is to enable a Bhikkhu to trace his robe should it get lost by being mixed up with others. Compare the 15th Nissaggiya.

³ The Vibhaṅga says, 'There are two ways of appointment (in making over, *vikappanā*), promising in the presence, and promising in the absence (of the person to whom the appointment is made). Promise in the presence is by the words, "I make over this robe to you, or to such and such a one (then present)!" Promising in the absence is by the words, "I give this robe to you for you to appoint (to some one else)." Then the person spoken to should say, "Who is your friend, or intimate acquaintance?" "Such a one, or such a one." Then the other should say, "I give this to them. This is their property. Wear it, or part with it, or do with it as you like!"'

These last are the formal words used on presenting a robe; and by their use the property in the robe is transferred. After that the original owner, in spite of the formal words, may not, according to our rule, continue to use the robe.

On *apaṭṭuddhāraṃ* see Childers, sub voce *paṭṭuddhāro*.

60. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall hide, or cause another to hide, a Bhikkhu's bowl, or his robe, or the mat on which he sits, or his needle-case¹, or his girdle, even though in fun—that is a Pâkittiya.

End of the sixth section,
the 'Surâpâna-section.'

61. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall deliberately deprive any living thing of life—that is a Pâkittiya.

62. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, knowingly, drink water with living things in it—that is a Pâkittiya.

63. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall stir up for decision again a matter which he knows to have been settled according to the Dhamma²—that is a Pâkittiya.

64. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, who knows of it, shall conceal a serious offence³ committed by a Bhikkhu—that is a Pâkittiya.

65. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall admit a person under twenty years of age to the higher grade in the Order, knowing him (or her) to be so—(while) the person is not admitted to the higher grade, and the other Bhikkhus (who assist) are blameworthy—this is in him⁴ a Pâkittiya.

66. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, by appointment, journey along the same route with a caravan of

¹ In the text read *sûkigharam*.

² Compare the 79th Pâkittiya, and *Kullavagga* IV, 14 *passim*.

³ That is, a Pârâgika, or a Samghâdisesa.

⁴ The *upagghâya* is guilty of a Pâkittiya; the *âkariya*, and the *gana*, of a *Dukkaṭa*, says the *Vibhaṅga*.

robbers, knowing it to be such, even as far as the next village¹—that is a Pākittiya.

67. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, by appointment, journey along the same route with a woman², even as far as the next village—that is a Pākittiya.

68. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall speak thus: ‘In this wise do I understand that the Dhamma has been proclaimed by the Blessed One: that to him who cultivates those Qualities which have been called “dangerous” by the Blessed One, there is not sufficient danger (to prevent his acquiring spiritual gifts)³;’ then that Bhikkhu should be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: ‘Say not so, brother! bear not false witness against the Blessed One! For neither is it seemly to bring a false accusation against the Blessed One, nor could the Blessed One speak so. By many a figure⁴, brother, have the Dangerous Qualities been declared by the Blessed One to be full of danger⁵, and also to be sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining spiritual gifts)³.’ If that Bhikkhu, when he has thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, then let that Bhikkhu be (formally) admonished about it by the Bhikkhus as a body, even to the third time, to the intent that he abandon that course.

¹ Compare the 27th Pākittiya. A caravan that sets out with intent to steal or rob on the way is meant.

² Compare the 27th and 28th Pākittiyas.

³ These are specified in detail in Mahāvagga II, 3, 7.

⁴ Pariyāya; fulness, extent, of illustration and explanation. Not merely manner, or method, of statement. Much of this pariyāya will be found in the various similes used in the *Kullavagga* loc. cit.

⁵ In the text here, and in the corresponding clause of No. 70, read *anekapariyāyena āvuso antarāyikā dhammā antarāyikā vuttā bhagavatā*, as in *Kullavagga* I, 32.

If, while being so admonished, up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well. If he abandon it not—that is a Pâḷittiya¹.

69. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, knowing him to be so, shall eat in company with, or dwell together with², or sleep in one place with a Bhikkhu who talks thus (as in 68), and has not been dealt with according to the law³, and has not laid aside his delusion—that is a Pâḷittiya.

70. If a Sâmaṇera⁴ even should say thus: 'In this wise do I understand that the Dhamma has been proclaimed by the Blessed One: that to him who cultivates those Qualities which have been called "dangerous" by the Blessed One there is not sufficient danger (to prevent his attaining to spiritual gifts);' then that Sâmaṇera should be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: 'Say not so, good Sâmaṇera! Bear not false witness against the Blessed One. For neither is it seemly to bring a false accusation against the Blessed One, nor could the Blessed One speak so. By many a figure, good Sâmaṇera, have the

¹ This rule is directed against the delusion that sin, to a very holy man, loses its danger and its sinfulness. Compare the 4th *Samghâdisesa*; and, on the method of procedure here laid down, the 10th to the 13th *Samghâdisesas*. At *Kullavagga* I, 32 lust is declared to be an *antarâyiko dhammo*; and falsehood another at *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 3. The *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ* (quoted by Mina-yeff, p. 92) gives five divisions of these 'dangerous qualities.'

² This the *Vibhaṅga* explains as holding *Upasatha*, or *Pavâ-ranâ*, or a *Samghakamma* with him.

³ *Ukkhitto anosârîto*, says the *Vibhaṅga*. Compare *Mahāvagga* IX, 4, 10, 11.

⁴ *Samanuddeso*; which is explained by the Old Commentary as equal to *Sâmaṇera*. Why, in the *Pâtimokkha*, now one and now the other expression should be used, is not clear. In the later texts *Sâmaṇera* is the usual form, but *samanuddeso* is found also in a few passages.

Dangerous Qualities been declared by the Blessed One to be full of danger, and also to be sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining to spiritual gifts).’ And if that Sāmaṇera, when so addressed by the Bhikkhus, shall persist in that course, that Sāmaṇera should be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: ‘From this day forth, good Sāmaṇera, neither can that Blessed One be referred to¹ by you as your Teacher, nor can the privilege, which the other Sāmaṇeras enjoy, of sleeping in the same place with the Bhikkhus for two or three nights², any longer be yours! Depart! away with you³!’

Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall encourage⁴, or support⁵, or eat with, or sleep in the same place with, a Sāmaṇera thus expelled—that is a Pākittiya.

End of the seventh section,
the ‘Sappāṇaka⁶-section.’

¹ Apadisitabbo. Compare the four Mahāpadesā in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta IV, 7-11.

² Compare the 5th Pākittiya.

³ In the text read *kara pi re*; that is, *kara api re*, instead of *kara pare*. On vinassa compare Mahāvagga I, 61, 1.

⁴ Upalāpeyya. Compare Mahāvagga I, 59, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta I, 5, and the passages quoted in Rh. D.’s version of the latter passage. The Old Commentary says, ‘Flatters him (talks him over, *tassa upalāpeti*) by saying, “I will give you a bowl, or a robe, or hear you repeat, or answer your questions.”’

⁵ Upaṭṭhāpeyya. The Old Commentary says, ‘by providing him with chunam, or clay, or a tooth-cleanser, or water to wash his face with.’ No doubt *upaṭṭhāpeti* is used in the sense of showing such personal attentions to another, as the *upaṭṭhāka* did to the Buddha; and such services would very rightly come under this rule. Yet here, as often, the comment is rather a scholastic exegesis of the sentence, than a philologically exact explanation of the word.

⁶ This title is taken from the second, not, as in all the other cases, from the first rule in the section.

71. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when admonished by the Bhikkhus in respect of some precept in accordance with the Dhamma, shall speak thus: 'I cannot submit myself to that precept, brother, until I shall have enquired touching it of another Bhikkhu, an experienced master of the Vinaya'—that is a Pāṭittiya.

A Bhikkhu desirous of training, Bhikkhus¹, should learn, and enquire, and settle in his own mind. This is the right rule in this connection.

72. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when the Pâtimokkha is being recited, shall speak thus: 'What comes of these minor² precepts being here recited, save only that they tend to misgiving, and worry, and perplexity!'—there is Pāṭittiya in thus throwing contempt on the precepts³.

73. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when at the half month the Pâtimokkhā is being recited, should say thus: 'Now for the first time do I notice that this rule, they say, is handed down in the Suttas, is embraced in the Suttas!'—then, if the other Bhikkhus shall know concerning that Bhikkhu thus: 'This Bhikkhu has taken his place at the recitation of the Pâtimokkha once, or twice, not to say oftener⁴'—that Bhikkhu is not only not made free on account of his ignorance⁵, but he is to be dealt with according to the Dhamma for the offence into which he has fallen, and furthermore he is to be charged with foolishness (in the words), 'This is loss to thee,

¹ On this strange allocution see the note to the 10th Nissaggiya.

² Khuddânukhuddakehi. Compare the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta VI, 3, and the passages quoted there in Rh. D.'s note.

³ In the text read vivānnake.

⁴ In the text read ko pana vâdo bhiyyo.

⁵ In the text read aññānakena.

brother, this is an evil to thee, in that when the Pātimokkha is being recited you fail to take it to your heart, and attend to it with care.' There is Pāḷittiya in such foolish conduct.

74. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being angry or displeased with another Bhikkhu, shall give a blow—that is a Pāḷittiya.

75. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being angry or displeased with another Bhikkhu, shall make use of any threatening gesture¹—that is a Pāḷittiya.

76. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall harass a Bhikkhu with a (charge of) *Samghâdisesa* without ground—that is a Pāḷittiya.

77. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall intentionally suggest difficulties of conscience to a Bhikkhu, with the idea of causing him uneasiness, even for a moment; if he does it to that end alone—that is a Pāḷittiya.

78. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall stand by overhearing when Bhikkhus are quarrelling, or making a disturbance, or engaged in a dispute, hoping to hear what they shall utter; if he does it to that end alone—that is a Pāḷittiya.

79. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he has declared his consent to formal proceedings conducted according to the Dhamma, shall thereafter grumble (about those proceedings)²—that is a Pāḷittiya.

¹ *Talasattikam uggireyya*. The Old Commentary says, *Kāyam vâ kāyapaṭibaddham vâ antamaso uppalapattam pi ukkâreti*. Compare *âvudhâni uggiritvâ* at *Gâtaka I, 150*.

² If he should raise any formal objections so as to re-open the question, that would fall under the 63rd Pāḷittiya. On 'declaring one's consent' in this and the following rule, see below, *Mahāvagga II, 23*. The whole rule, as well as on No. 63, is repeatedly referred to in *Kullavagga IV, 14*.

80. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when the *Samgha* is engaged in conducting a (formal) enquiry, shall rise from his seat, and go away, without having declared his consent—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

81. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when, in a regularly constituted *Samgha*¹, he has given away a robe, shall thereafter grumble about it, saying, 'The Bhikkhus appropriate the property of the *Samgha* according to friendship'—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

82. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall divert to the use of any individual property dedicated to the *Samgha*, knowing it to be so—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

Here ends the eighth section,
the 'Sahadhammika-section.'

83. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall cross the threshold of an anointed Khattiya king, when the king has not gone forth, and the queen has not withdrawn, without first having had himself announced²—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

¹ *Samaggena samghena*. See the note to the 21st *Pâkittiya*.

² *Indakhîla*, the word translated 'threshold,' is explained in the Old Commentary by *sayani-ghara*, 'sleeping chamber;' but this is rather a didactic gloss on the rule. Compare the note above on the 43rd *Pâkittiya*. The phrase 'when the queen has not gone in' is somewhat doubtful. H. O.'s MS. of the *Vibhaṅga* reads (as Minayeff does) *aniggata-ratanake*, instead of Dickson's *anîhata-ratanake*. The former is the better reading; *nîhata* is impossible, it must be either *nihata* or *nîhata*. But *ratanaka*, though the queen is one of the seven *Ratanas* of a king, is not found elsewhere used absolutely for a queen: the use of *râgake*, too, immediately after *rañño*, instead of *raññe* or *râgini*, is curious. A possible alternative rendering would be 'when the court has not departed, and the regalia not laid aside:' but we prefer on

84. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall pick up, or cause another to pick up, except in a grove or in a dwelling-place, a jewel, or anything deemed a jewel¹—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Should a Bhikkhu have picked up, either in a grove or in a dwelling-place, a jewel, or anything deemed a jewel, it is to be laid aside, that he to whom it may belong may take it away. This is the right course in such a case.

85. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, out of hours², enter a village, without having informed a Bhikkhu if one is present³, except on account of business of a special nature⁴ thereto sufficient—that is a Pāṭittiya.

86. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a needle-case made of bone, or ivory, or horn, it shall be broken up—and that is a Pāṭittiya.

87. When a Bhikkhu is having a new bedstead or chair made, it should be made with legs eight inches in height, according to the accepted inch⁵, exclusive of the lowermost piece of the bed frame⁶. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pāṭittiya,

the whole the Old Commentator's explanation of *rāgaka* and *ratanaka*.

¹ *Ratanasammatam*; that is, a thing made of one of those substances ranked with gems, such as jade, coral, &c.

² *Vikāle*; that is, says the Old Commentary, from sun-turn in one day till sun-rise in the next.

³ *Santam bhikkhum*. If one is not present, he may go without. The Old Commentary gives no such definition of being present, as Mr. Dickson has supplied.

⁴ *Akkāyika*. Compare the note on the 28th Nissaggiya.

⁵ *Sugataṅgulena*. See the note on the 6th *Samghādisesa*.

⁶ *A/ani*. There is no explanation of this term, either in the Old Commentary, or in the *Samanta-Pāsādikā*.

and (the legs of the piece of furniture) shall be cut down (to the proper size).

88. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a bedstead or a chair made, stuffed with cotton¹, the stuffing shall be torn out—and that is a Pâkittiya.

89. When a Bhikkhu is having a rug or mat to sit upon made, it must be made of the right measure. Herein this is the measure: in length two spans, according to the accepted span; in breadth one span; the border one span. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pâkittiya, and (the article) shall be cut down (to the proper size).

90. When a Bhikkhu is having an itch-cloth² made, it must be made of the right measure. Herein this is the measure: in length four spans, according to the accepted span; in width two spans. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pâkittiya, and (the cloth) shall be cut (down to the proper size).

91. When a Bhikkhu is having a garment made for the rainy season, it must be made of the right measure. Herein this is the right measure: in length six spans, according to the accepted span; in breadth two spans and a half. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pâkittiya, and (the garment) shall be cut (down to the proper size).

92. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a robe made of the dimensions of a Sugata's robe³, or larger—

¹ *Tûlam*; which the Old Commentary expands into three kinds—*tûlam* from a tree, *tûlam* from a creeper, and *tûlam* from a young fowl.

² When a Bhikkhu had a boil, or running sore, or any such disease, the use of an itch-cloth (so called from the first in the list of skin complaints there mentioned) is laid down in Mahāvagga VIII, 17.

³ On the doubtful meaning of Sugata, see the note above on

that is a Pākittiya, and (the robe) shall be cut down to the proper size.

Herein this is the measure of the Sugata robe of a Sugata: in length nine spans, according to the accepted span; in breadth six spans. This is the measure of the Sugata robe of a Sugata.

End of the ninth section,
the 'Ratana-section.'

Venerable Sirs, the ninety-two rules regarding matters requiring expiation have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Pākittiyas.

the 28th Nissaggiya. There is no reason whatever to believe that Gotama's robe was larger, in proportion, than those worn by the other members of his order. He exchanged robes with Mahā Kassapa. Of the two sets of robes brought by Pukkusa, one was given to Ānanda, and one was reserved for the Buddha himself; and no one can read the account in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta without feeling that both are supposed to be of the same size.

PÂTIDESANIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

RULES REGARDING MATTERS WHICH OUGHT TO BE
CONFESSED.

Here, venerable Sirs, the four rules regarding matters which ought to be confessed come into recitation.

1. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when a Bhikkhunî not related to him has entered within the houses¹, shall, with his own hand, accept at her hands food, either hard or soft, and eat or enjoy it—that is a matter which ought to be confessed by that Bhikkhu, saying, ‘I have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and I confess it!’

2. Now Bhikkhus, when they have been invited to laymen’s houses, eat. If the Bhikkhunî stay there giving directions, saying, ‘Here give curry, give rice here!’ the Bhikkhunî ought to be rebuked by those Bhikkhus, saying, ‘Stand aside, Sister, as long as the Bhikkhus are eating!’ If it should not occur to a single Bhikkhu to rebuke the Bhikkhunî, saying, ‘Stand aside, Sister, as long as the Bhikkhus are eating!’—that is a matter that ought to be confessed by those Bhikkhus, saying, ‘We have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and we confess it!’

3. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall accept, with his

¹ *Antaragharam pavittâ*; that is, during her alms-visit to the village. Compare the 3rd *Sekhiya*; *Mahāvagga* I, 23, 3; and *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 2.

own hand, food, either hard or soft, in such households as have been (by a formal *sammuti*) declared to be households, under discipline¹, without having been previously invited, and without being sick, and eat it or enjoy it—that is a matter that ought to be confessed by that Bhikkhu, saying, ‘I have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and I confess it!’

4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, while he is dwelling in a place belonging to the class of those forest dwellings which are held to be insecure and dangerous², shall accept, with his own hand, at his home, food, either hard or soft, without having previously given notice (of the danger incurred by people that enter that forest), unless he is sick, and shall eat it or enjoy it—that is a matter that ought to be confessed by that Bhikkhu, saying, ‘I have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and I confess it!’

Here end the Pâtidesaniyas.

Venerable Sirs, the four rules regarding matters which require confession have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, ‘Are you pure in this matter?’

¹ *Sekha-sammatâni kulâni*; which the *Vibhaṅga* explains as a household grown rich in faith, but poor in goods; where whatever they get is given away to the Order, though the family may be some days in want of it. Compare what is said of *Anâthapindika* in the Introduction to the 40th *Gâtaka* (*Gâtaka* I, 228); though his lot had not reached the very lowest limit.

² Compare the 29th *Nissaggiya*.

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Pâṭidesaniyas.

SEKHIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

RULES REGARDING MATTERS CONNECTED WITH
DISCIPLINE.

Here, venerable Sirs, the rules regarding matters connected with discipline come into recitation.

1. 'I will put on my under garment all around me¹.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

2. 'I will put on my robe all around me.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

3. 'Properly clad will I go amidst the houses².' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

4. 'Properly clad will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

5. '(With my body) under proper control³ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

6. '(With my body) under proper control will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

7. 'With downcast eye⁴ will I go amidst the

¹ *Parimandalam*: 'so as to cover the navel-mandala, and the knee-mandala,' says the Old Commentary. Compare Childers sub voce *Timandalam*; and *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 2.

² *Antaraghare*. The *antaragharam* is the space in a village between the huts; not exactly the same, and yet in the following rules practically the same, as the village (*gâma*).

³ Not, for instance, with dirty hands or feet, according to the *Vibhaṅga*.

⁴ The practical rule is for a Bhikkhu to look at a spot in the ground about a plough's length in front of him.

houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

8. 'With downcast eye will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

9. 'With robes not pulled up¹ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

10. 'With robes not pulled up will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the first section.

11. 'Not with loud laughter will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

12. 'Not with loud laughter will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

13. 'Making but a little sound will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

14. 'Making but a little sound will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

15. 'Without swaying my body about will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

16. 'Without swaying my body about will I take

¹ Or perhaps 'thrown off.' He is to be fully dressed as laid down in the 1st and 2nd Sekhiyas.

my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

17. 'Without swaying my arms about will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

18. 'Without swaying my arms about will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

19. 'Without swaying my head about will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

20. 'Without swaying my head about will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the second section.

21. 'With my arms not akimbo¹ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

22. 'With my arms not akimbo will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

23. 'With my head uncovered² will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

24. 'With my head uncovered will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

¹ Nakkhambhakato: 'putting the hands on the hips,' says the Old Commentary.

² Na ogun/hito: which the Old Commentary applies to the head.

25. 'Without walking on my heels or my toes¹ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

26. 'Without lolling² will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

27. 'With mind alert³ will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

28. 'Paying attention to my bowl will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

29. 'With equal curry⁴ will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

30. 'Equally full⁵ will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the third section.

31. 'With mind alert will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

32. 'Paying attention to my bowl will I eat the

¹ Na ukku/ikâya; an unusual sense of the word; but it is so explained here by the Old Commentary.

² Na pallatthikâya. 'Without making a rest with his hands, or with a cloth,' according to the Old Commentary. Compare the Tipallattha-miga Gâtaka, and No. 65 below.

³ Sakkakkam. Satim upa//hâpetvâ, says the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ. See also No. 31.

⁴ Samasûpakam. 'When the curry is in quantity one-fourth of the rice' explains the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ. See No. 34.

⁵ Samatittikam. 'Equally full, equally heaped up (samabhâritam)' explains the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ. Compare the several passages quoted in Rh. D.'s note on Tevigga Sutta I, 24.

alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

33. 'Begging straight on from house to house¹ will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

34. 'With equal curry will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

35. 'Without pressing down from the top² will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

36. 'Neither the curry nor the condiment will I cover up with the rice, desiring to make it nicer³.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

37. 'Neither curry nor rice will I ask for, for my own particular use, unless I am sick.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

38. 'Not with envious thoughts will I look at others' bowls.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

39. 'Not into too large balls will I make (up my food).' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

40. 'Into round mouthfuls will I make up my food.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the fourth section.

¹ *Sapadānam*. See Childers sub voce. The Vibhaṅga says, *Khabbaggiyā bhikkhū taṃ taṃ omadditvā pindapātaṃ bhuṅganti*. The Samanta-Pāsādikā says, *Sapadānan ti tattha tattha odhim akatvā anupāpāsiyā*.

² *Na thūpato omadditvā*; on which the Samanta-Pāsādikā has '*matthakato vemagghato ti*.' He is not to pick and choose what morsel he takes.

³ Compare the 8th Nissaggiya. In the text read *upādāya*.

41. 'Not till the ball is brought close will I open the door of my mouth.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

42. 'Not the whole hand, when eating, will I put into my mouth.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

43. 'When the food is in my mouth will I not talk.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

44. 'Without tossing the food into my mouth will I eat¹.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

45. 'Without nibbling at the balls of food will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

46. 'Without stuffing my cheeks out will I eat?.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

47. 'Without shaking my hands about³ will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

48. 'Without scattering the lumps of boiled rice will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

49. 'Without putting out my tongue will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

50. 'Without smacking my lips⁴ will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the fifth section.

¹ *Pind*ukkhepakan ti *pindam* ukkhipitvâ ukkhipitvâ, says the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ.

² Avagandakâra kan ti makkato viya gande katvâ, says the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ (Minayeff, p. 93).

³ That is, to disengage particles of the rice, to shake them off on to the ground.

⁴ Literally, without making the sound 'Kapu-kapu.'

51. 'Without making a hissing sound will I eat¹.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

52. 'Without licking my fingers will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

53. 'Without licking my bowl will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

54. 'Without licking my lips will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

55. 'Not with a hand soiled with food will I take hold of the water-jar.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

56. 'The rinsings of the bowl mixed with lumps of boiled rice will I not throw into the inner court².' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

57. 'Not to a person with a sunshade in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

58. 'Not to a person with a staff in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

59. 'Not to a person with a sword in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

60. 'Not to a person with a weapon in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the sixth section.

61. 'Not to a person wearing slippers, unless he

¹ Literally, without making the sound 'Suru-suru.'

² Antaraghare, which here means the space, or small open square in the middle of the house.

is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

62. 'Not to a person wearing sandals, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

63. 'Not to a person seated in a cart, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

64. 'Not to a person lying on a couch, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

65. 'Not to a person lolling, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

66. 'Not to a person with a turban on his head, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

67. 'Not to a person with his head covered, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

68. 'Not to a person seated on a seat, unless he is sick, will I, seated on the earth, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

69. 'Not to a person seated on a high seat, unless he is sick, will I, seated on a low seat, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

70. 'Not to a person sitting, unless he is sick, will I, standing, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the seventh section.

71. 'Not to a person walking in front of me, unless he is sick, will I, walking behind, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

72. 'Not to a person walking on a path, unless he is sick, will I, walking by the side of the path, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

73. 'Not standing will I ease myself, unless I am sick.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

74. 'Not on growing grass will I ease myself, or spit.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

75. 'Not into water will I ease myself, or spit.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

Venerable Sirs, the rules regarding matters of discipline have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Sekhiyas.

THE ADHIKARANA-SAMATHÂ DHAMMÂ.

THE RULES REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT OF CASES.

Here, venerable Sirs, the seven rules regarding the settlement of cases come into recitation.

For the decision and settlement of cases as they from time to time arise, the Proceeding in presence¹ must be performed, or the Proceeding for the consciously innocent², or the Proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind³, or the Proceeding on confession of guilt⁴, or the Proceeding by majority of the chapter⁵, or the Proceeding for the obstinate⁶, or the Proceeding by covering over as with grass⁷.

Venerable Sirs, the seven rules regarding the settlement of cases have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

¹ Sammukhâ-vinaya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 16, and following.

² Sati-vinaya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 27.

³ Amûlha-vinaya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 5, and following, and IV, 14, 28.

⁴ Paññâya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 7, 8.

⁵ Yebhuyyasikâ. See *Kullavagga* IV, 9, and IV, 14, 24.

⁶ Tassapâpiyyasikâ. See *Kullavagga* IV, 11.

⁷ Tinavatthâraka. See *Kullavagga* IV, 13.

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the
Adhikarana-samathas.

Venerable Sirs! Recited is the Introduction.
 Recited are the four Pârâgika Rules.
 Recited are the thirteen Samghâdisesa Rules.
 Recited are the two Aniyata Rules.
 Recited are the thirty Nissaggiya-Pâkittiya Rules.
 Recited are the ninety-two Pâkittiya Rules.
 Recited are the four Pâtidesaniya Rules.
 Recited are the Sekhiya Rules.
 Recited are the seven Adhikarana-samatha Rules.

So much (of the words) of the Blessed One, handed down in the Suttas, embraced in the Suttas, comes into recitation every half month. It behoveth all to train themselves according thereto in concord, in pleasantness, without dispute!

Here endeth the recitation of the Pâtimokkha
for the use of the Bhikkhus.

MAHÂVAGGA.

THE MAHĀVAGGA.

REVERENCE TO THE BLESSED ONE, THE HOLY ONE,
THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE.

FIRST KHANDHAKA.

(THE ADMISSION TO THE ORDER OF BHIKKHUS.)

1¹.

I. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at

¹ To this book is prefixed, as introduction, an account of the first events after Gotama's attaining Buddhahood, down to the conversion of his two chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna (chaps. 1-24). Among the elements of historical or legendary character with which, in the Vinaya Piṭaka, the discussion of the monastic discipline is interwoven, this account occupies by far the first place, both in extent and in importance. For it contains the oldest version accessible to us now and, most probably, for ever, of what the Buddhist fraternity deemed to be the history of their Master's life in its most important period.

The connection in which this legendary narration stands with the main subject of the first Khandhaka is not difficult to account for. The regulations regarding the admission to the fraternity, which are discussed in this Khandhaka, could not but present themselves to the redactors of the Piṭaka as being the very basis of their religious discipline and monastic life. It was possible to fancy the existence of the Saṃgha without the Pātimokkha rules, or without the regulations about the Pavāraṇā festival, but it was impossible to realise the idea of a Saṃgha without rules showing who was to be regarded as a duly admitted member of the fraternity, and who was not. It is quite natural, therefore, that the stories or legends concerning the ordination of Bhikkhus were put in connection with the record of the very first events of the history of the Saṃgha.

Nor is it difficult to account for the theory formulated by the

Uruvelâ, on the bank of the river Nerañgarâ¹, at the foot of the Bodhi tree (tree of wisdom), just after he had become Sambuddha. And the blessed Buddha sat cross-legged at the foot of the Bodhi tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation².

historians of the Buddhist ecclesiastical law, of different successive forms in which the ordination of Bhikkhus had been performed. In the beginning, of course, there was nobody but the Buddha himself who could ordain Bhikkhus; to him those who desired to be received, expressed their wish, and he conferred on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations by the formula: 'Ehi bhikkhu,' &c. (see I, 6, 32, 34, &c.) It was a very natural conception that afterwards, as the *Samgha* grew larger, the Buddha should have transferred the power of admitting new members to the Bhikkhus themselves, and should have instituted that form of ordination which the redactors of the *Piṭaka* found valid at their own time.

The transition, however, from the supposed oldest form of ordination (the so-called ehi-bhikkhu-upasampadâ) to that latter form is in the *Vinaya* legends not represented as immediate. There is described an intermediate stage between the two, the ordination by the three *sarāṇagamanas*, or by the candidate's three times repeated declaration of his taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha* (see *Mahāvagga* I, 12). The reason which has led the redactors of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* to this construction, was most probably the important part which in the upasampadâ service of the later time devolved upon the preceptor (*upagghāya*) of the candidate. As only learned Bhikkhus, who had completed the tenth year after their own upasampadâ, could perform the function of *upagghāya* at the upasampadâ ordination of other Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 31, 8), it was natural that the redactors of the *Vinaya* found it impossible to ascribe this form of upasampadâ service to the first times of Buddha's teaching. For these times, therefore, they recorded another form, the upasampadâ by the three *sarāṇagamanas*, the introduction of which they assigned, very naturally, to the time soon after the conversion of Yasa's friends, by which event the number of Bhikkhus had been augmented at once from seven to sixty-one.

¹ The Lilayan or Phalgu river in Behar; see General Cunningham's map, *Archaeological Reports*, vol. i. plate iii.

² After having reached the sambodhi and before preaching to

2. Then the Blessed One (at the end of these seven days) during the first watch of the night fixed his mind upon the Chain of Causation¹, in direct and in reverse order: 'From Ignorance² spring the sam-

the world the truth he has acquired, the Buddha remains, according to the tradition, during some weeks at Uruvelâ, 'enjoying the bliss of emancipation.' The Mahâvagga, which contains these legends in their oldest forms, assigns to this stay a period of four times seven days; the later tradition is unanimous in extending it to seven times seven days (Buddhaghosa in the commentary on the Mahâvagga; *Gâtaka Atthav.* vol. i. p. 77 seq.; *Dîpavamsa* I, 29, 30; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 488 seq.; Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 236 seq., &c.)

¹ The Chain of Causation, or the doctrine of the twelve nidânas (causes of existence), contains, as has often been observed, in a more developed form an answer to the same problem to which the second and third of the four Noble Truths (*ariyasakkâ*) also try to give a solution, viz. the problem of the origin and destruction of suffering. The Noble Truths simply reduce the origin of suffering to Thirst, or Desire (*Taṇhâ*), in its threefold form, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity (see I, 6, 20). In the system of the twelve nidânas Thirst also has found its place among the causes of suffering, but it is not considered as the immediate cause. A concatenation of other categories is inserted between *taṇhâ* and its ultimate effect; and on the other hand, the investigation of causes is carried on further beyond *taṇhâ*. The question is here asked, What does *taṇhâ* come from? and thus the series of causes and effects is led back to *aviggâ* (Ignorance), as its deepest root. We may add that the redactors of the *Piṭakas*, who of course could not but observe this parallelity between the second and third *ariyasakkâs* and the system of the twelve nidânas, go so far, in one instance (*Ânguttara-Nikâya*, *Tika-Nipâta*, fol. *ke* of the Phayre MS.), as to directly replace, in giving the text of the four *ariyasakkâs*, the second and third of them by the twelve nidânas, in direct and reverse order respectively. Professor Childers has furnished a valuable note on the nidânas; see Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (second edition), II, 453 seq.

² In the *Sammâdiṭṭhisuttanta* (*Magghima-Nikâya*, fol. *khû* of Turnour's MS.) we find the following explanation of what Ignorance is: 'Not to know Suffering, not to know the Cause of suffering,

khâras¹, from the *samkhâras* springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the six Provinces (of the

not to know the Cessation of suffering, not to know the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering, this is called Ignorance.' The same is repeated in the explanation of the *nidâna* formula, which is given in the *Vibhaṅga* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, *Paṭikkasamuppâdaviḥaṅga*, fol. 4i of the Phayre MS.), and we must accept it, therefore, as the authentic expression of Buddhistical belief. It is obvious, however, that this explanation leaves room for another question. Ignorance, we are told, is the source of all evil and of all suffering, and the subject ignored is stated to be the four Truths. But who is the subject that ignores them? All attributes (as the *viññâṇa*, &c.), that constitute sentient beings and enable them to know or to ignore, are said to be first produced by Ignorance, and we should conclude, therefore, that they cannot exist before Ignorance has begun to act. Or are we to understand that it is the Ignorance incurred by a sentient being in a preceding existence, that causes the *samkhâras* and Consciousness, the connecting links between the different existences; to act and to bring about the birth of a new being?

As is well known, this Ignorance (*Avidyâ*) plays a great part also in the Brahmanical philosophy of the *Upanishads*; and the Buddhist belief is, no doubt, founded to a considerable extent on older theories. But we cannot venture in a note to touch upon one of the most difficult and interesting questions which await the research of Indianists.

¹ It is very frequently stated that there are three *samkhâras* or productions: *kâyasamkhâra*, *vaġīsamkhâra*, and *ġittasamkhâra*, or, productions of body, of speech, and of thought (see, for instance, the *Sammâdhisuttanta*, *Magghima-Nikâya*, fol. khû of Turnour's MS.) The *kâyasamkhâra* consists, according to the *Samkhâra-Yamaka* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*), in inhalation and expiration (*assâsapassâsâ*); the *vaġīsamkhâra* in attention and investigation (*vitakkaviġârâ*); the *ġittasamkhâra* in ideas, sensations, and all attributes of mind except attention and investigation (*saññâ ka vedanâ ka itapetvâ vitakkaviġâre sabbe pi ġittasampayuttakâ dhammâ*). The *Vibhaṅga* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, *Paṭikkasamuppâdaviḥaṅga*, l.1.) gives, when discussing the *samkhâras*, six categories instead of the three: 'Now which are

six senses¹), from the six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or Desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair. Such is the origination of this whole mass of suffering. Again, by the destruction of Ignorance, which consists in the complete absence of lust, the *saṃkhâras* are destroyed, by the destruction of the *saṃkhâras* Consciousness is destroyed, by the destruction of Consciousness Name-and-Form are destroyed, by the destruction of Name-and-Form the six Provinces are destroyed, by the destruction of the six Provinces Contact is destroyed, by the destruction of Contact Sensation is destroyed, by the destruction of Sensation Thirst is destroyed, by the destruction of Thirst Attachment is destroyed, by the destruction of Attachment Existence is destroyed, by the destruction of Existence Birth is destroyed, by the destruction of Birth Old Age and Death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair are

the *saṃkhâras* that are produced by Ignorance? *Samkhâras* (or, productions) that lead to righteousness, *saṃkhâras* that lead to sinfulness, *saṃkhâras* that lead to immovability, productions of body, of speech, and of thought.' The Pāli words are: 'Tattha katame aviggāpakkayā saṃkhārā? puññābhisamkhāro apuññābhisamkhāro ānaṅgābhisamkhāro kāyasamkhāro vaṭṭisamkhāro kitta-samkhāro.' The list of fifty-five categories belonging to the *saṃkhāra-khandha*, which Sp. Hardy gives in his Manual (p. 404 seq.; comp. also Rh. D., 'Buddhism,' p. 91 seq., and 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 242), is not founded, as far as we know, on the authority of the *Piṭakas* themselves, but on later compendia and commentaries.

¹ I. e. eye, ear, nose, tongue, body (or the faculty of touch), and mind.

destroyed. Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering.'

3. Knowing this the Blessed One then on that occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'When the real nature of things becomes clear to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, then all his doubts fade away, since he realises what is that nature and what its cause.'

4. Then the Blessed One during the middle watch of the night fixed his mind upon the Chain of Causation, in direct and reverse order: 'From Ignorance spring the *saṃkhâras*, &c. Such is the origination of this whole mass of suffering, &c. Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering.'

5. Knowing this the Blessed One then on that occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'When the real nature of things becomes clear to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, then all his doubts fade away, since he has understood the cessation of causation.'

6. Then the Blessed One during the third watch of the night fixed his mind, &c.

7. Knowing this the Blessed One then on that occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'When the real nature of things becomes clear to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, he stands, dispelling the hosts of Māra, like the sun that illuminates the sky.'

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Bodhi tree.

2.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Bodhi tree to the Agapâla banyan tree (banyan tree of the goat-herds¹). And when he had reached it, he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Agapâla banyan tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

2. Now a certain Brâhmana, who was of a haughty disposition², went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he exchanged greeting with the Blessed One; having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, he stationed himself near him; then standing near him that Brâhmana thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'By what, Gotama, does one become a Brâhmana, and what are the characteristics that make a man a Brâhmana?'

3. And the Blessed One, having heard that, on this occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'That Brâhmana who has removed (from himself) all sinfulness, who is free from haughtiness, free from impurity, self-restrained, who is an accomplished master of knowledge (or, of the Veda), who has fulfilled the duties of holiness, such a Brâhmana may

¹ Buddhaghosa: 'The goat-herds used to go to the shadow of that banyan tree and to sit there; therefore it was called the banyan tree of the goat-herds.' The northern Buddhists say that this tree had been planted by a shepherd boy, during the Bodhi-satta's six years' penance, in order to shelter him; see Beal, *Rom. Legend*, pp. 192, 238, and the *Mahāvastu*.

² 'Huhun̄kagâtiko.' Buddhaghosa: 'Because he was *diṭṭha-maṅgalika*, he became filled with haughtiness and wrath, and went about uttering the sound "huhum."'' *Diṭṭhamāṅgalika* (having seen something auspicious?) is obscure to us.

justly call himself a Brāhmaṇa, whose behaviour is uneven to nothing in the world.'

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Agapāla tree.

3.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Agapāla banyan tree to the Muḥalinda tree. And when he had reached it, he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Muḥalinda tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

2. At that time a great cloud appeared out of season, rainy weather which lasted seven days, cold weather, storms, and darkness. And the Nāga (or Serpent) king Muḥalinda came out from his abode, and seven times encircled the body of the Blessed One with his windings, and kept extending his large hood over the Blessed One's head, thinking to himself: 'May no coldness (touch) the Blessed One! May no heat (touch) the Blessed One! May no vexation by gadflies and gnats, by storms and sunheat and reptiles (touch) the Blessed One!'

3. And at the end of those seven days, when the Nāga king Muḥalinda saw the open, cloudless sky, he loosened his windings from the body of the Blessed One, made his own appearance disappear, created the appearance of a youth, and stationed himself in front of the Blessed One, raising his clasped hands, and paying reverence to the Blessed One.

4. And the Blessed One, perceiving that, on this occasion, pronounced this solemn utterance: 'Happy is the solitude of him who is full of joy, who has learnt the Truth, who sees (the Truth). Happy is freedom from malice in this world, (self-)restraint towards all beings that have life. Happy is freedom from lust in this world, getting beyond all desires; the putting away of that pride which comes from the thought "I am!" This truly is the highest happiness!'

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Muḥalinda tree.

4.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Muḥalinda tree to the Râgâyatana (tree¹); when he had reached it, he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Râgâyatana tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

2. At that time Tapussa and Bhallika, two merchants, came travelling on the road from Ukkala (Orissa) to that place. Then a deity who had been (in a former life) a blood-relation of the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika, thus spoke to the merchants

¹ Buddhaghosa says that Râgâyatana (lit. a royal apartment) was the name of a tree. It is the same tree which in the *Lalita Vistara* (p. 493, ed. Calcutta) is called *Târâyana*, and in the *Dīpavamsa* (II, 50) *Khîrapâla*. The place where the two merchants met Buddha, is thus described in the *Mahāvastu*: *kshîrikâvanashande bahudevatake kētiye*.

Tapussa and Bhallika : 'Here, my noble friends, at the foot of the Râgâyatana tree, is staying the Blessed One, who has just become Sambuddha. Go and show your reverence to him, the Blessed One, by (offering him) rice-cakes and lumps of honey. Long will this be to you for a good and for a blessing.'

3. And the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika took rice-cakes and lumps of honey, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they stationed themselves near him; standing near him, the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika thus addressed the Blessed One : 'May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept from us these rice-cakes and lumps of honey, that that may long be to us for a good and for a blessing!'

4. Then the Blessed One thought : 'The Tathâgatas¹ do not accept (food) with their hands. Now

¹ The term Tathâgata is, in the Buddhistical literature, exclusively applied to Sammâsambuddhas, and it is more especially used in the Piṭakas when the Buddha is represented as speaking of himself in the third person as 'the Tathâgata.' The meaning 'sentient being,' which is given to the word in the Abhidhânâpadîpikâ, and in Childers's Dictionary, is not confirmed, as far as we know, by any passage of the Piṭakas. This translation of the word is very possibly based merely on a misunderstanding of the phrase often repeated in the Sutta Piṭaka : *hoti tathâgato param maraṇâ*, which means, of course, 'does a Buddha exist after death?' In the Gâinâ books we sometimes find the term *tatthagaya* (*tatragata*), 'he who has attained that world, i.e. emancipation,' applied to the Gînas as opposed to other beings who are called *ihagaya* (*idhagata*), 'living in this world.' See, for instance, the *Gînakaritra*, § 16. Considering the close relation in which most of the dogmatical terms of the Gâinâs stand to those of the Baudddhas, it is difficult to believe that *tathâgata* and *tatthagaya*

with what shall I accept the rice-cakes and lumps of honey?' Then the four Mahârâga gods¹, understanding by the power of their minds the reflection which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, offered to the Blessed One from the four quarters (of the horizon) four bowls made of stone (saying), 'May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept herewith the rice-cakes and the lumps of honey!' The Blessed One accepted those new stone bowls; and therein he received the rice-cakes and honey lumps, and those, when he had received, he ate.

5. And Tapussa and Bhallika, the merchants, when they saw that the Blessed One had cleansed² his bowl and his hands, bowed down in reverence

should not originally have conveyed very similar ideas. We think that on the long way from the original Mâgadhi to the Pâli and Sanskrit, the term *tatthagata* or *tatthâgata* (*tatra* + *âgata*), 'he who has arrived there, i.e. at emancipation,' may very easily have undergone the change into *tathâgata*, which would have made it unintelligible, were we not able to compare its unaltered form as preserved by the *Gainas*.

¹ The four guardian gods of the quarters of the world; see Hardy's Manual, p. 24. Their Pâli names, as given in the *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, vv. 31, 32, the *Dîpavamsa* XVI, 12, &c., were, *Dhatarattha*, *Virûhaka*, *Virûpakkha*, and *Vessavana* or *Kuvera*.

² *Onîtapattapâni*, which is said very frequently of a person who has finished his meal, is translated by Childers, 'whose hand is removed from the bowl' (comp. also Trenckner, *Pali Miscellany*, p. 66). We do not think this explanation right, though it agrees with, or probably is based on, a note of Buddhaghosa ('*pattato ka apanîtapânim*'). *Onîta*, i.e. *avanîta*, is not *apanîta*, and the end of the dinner was marked, not by the Bhikkhu's removing his hand from the bowl, but by his washing the bowl (see *Kullavagga* VIII, 4, 6), and, of course, his hands. In Sanskrit the meaning of *ava-nî* is, to pour (water) upon something; see the Petersburg Dictionary. We have translated, therefore, *onîtapattapâni* accordingly.

at the feet of the Blessed One and thus addressed the Blessed One: 'We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One and in the Dhamma; may the Blessed One receive us as disciples who, from this day forth while our life lasts, have taken their refuge (in him).' These were the first in the world to become lay-disciples (of the Buddha) by the formula which contained (only) the dyad¹.

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Râgâyatana tree.

5.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Râgâyatana tree to the Agapâla banyan tree. And when he had reached it, the Blessed One stayed there at the foot of the Agapâla banyan tree.

2. Then in the mind of the Blessed One, who was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following thought arose: 'I have penetrated this doctrine which is profound, difficult to perceive and to understand, which brings quietude of heart, which is exalted, which is unattainable by reasoning, abstruse, intelligible (only) to the wise. This people, on the other hand, is given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire. To this people, therefore, who

¹ Because there was no *Samgha* at that time, their declaration of taking refuge, by which they became upâsakas, could refer only to the dyad (the Buddha and the Dhamma), instead of to the triad of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*.

are given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire, the law of causality and the chain of causation will be a matter difficult to understand; most difficult for them to understand will be also the extinction of all *samkhâras*, the getting rid of all the substrata (of existence¹), the destruction of desire, the absence of passion, quietude of heart, Nirvâna! Now if I proclaim the doctrine, and other men are not able to understand my preaching, there would result but weariness and annoyance to me.'

3. And then the following . . . ² stanzas, unheard before, occurred to the Blessed One: 'With great pains have I acquired it. Enough! why should I now proclaim it? This doctrine will not be easy to understand to beings that are lost in lust and hatred.

'Given to lust, surrounded with thick darkness, they will not see what is repugnant (to their minds), abstruse, profound, difficult to perceive, and subtle.'

4. When the Blessed One pondered over this matter, his mind became inclined to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine. Then Brahmâ

¹ The upadhis (substrata of existence) are specified in the commentary on the Sutta-Nipâta, ap. Dhammapada, p. 433: 'sabbûpadhinam parikkhayâ 'ti sabbesam khandhakâmagunakilesâbhisamkhârabhedânâ upadhinam parikkhinattâ.' Probably abhisamkhâra is not co-ordinate with the other members of the compound, but is determined by them, comp. pabbagâbhisamkhâra, iddhâbhisamkhâra, gamikâbhisamkhâra. The upadhis, therefore, according to this passage, consist: firstly, in the actions of mind that are directed towards the khandhas (i. e. that have the effect of propagating and augmenting the dominion of the khandhas); secondly, in the actions tending to the fivefold pleasures of sense; and thirdly, in those connected with kilesa (evil passion).

² Buddhaghosa explains *anakkhâriya* by *anuaakkhâriya*, which is alike unintelligible to us. The Lalita Vistara (p. 515, ed. Calcutta) has *abhîkshnam* ('repeatedly').

Sahampati¹, understanding by the power of his mind the reflection which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, thought: 'Alas! the world perishes! Alas! the world is destroyed! if the mind of the Tathâgata, of the holy, of the absolute Sambuddha inclines itself to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.'

5. Then Brahmâ Sahampati disappeared from Brahma's world, and appeared before the Blessed One (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw back his out-stretched arm.

6. And Brahmâ Sahampati adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, and putting his right knee on the ground, raised his joined hands towards the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine! may the perfect One preach the doctrine! there are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by scarcely any dust; but if they do not hear the doctrine, they cannot attain salvation. These will understand the doctrine.'

7. Thus spoke Brahmâ Sahampati; and when he had thus spoken, he further said: 'The Dhamma hitherto manifested in the country of Magadha has been impure, thought out by contaminated men. But do thou now open the door of the Immortal²; let them hear the doctrine discovered by the spotless One!

'As a man standing on a rock, on mountain's

¹ It is difficult to believe that the Pâli name of Brahmâ Sahampati, the ruler of the Brahma worlds (see Spence Hardy's Manual, pp. 43, 56), is not connected with the Brahman svayambhû of the Brahmanical literature. Perhaps the Sanskrit equivalent of sahampati might be svayampati.

² Amata, an epithet of Arahatsip, which may perhaps mean simply ambrosia. See Rh. D., Buddhism, pp. 60, 111, 184.

top, might overlook the people all around, thus, O wise One, ascending to the highest palace of Truth, look down, all-seeing One, upon the people lost in suffering, overcome by birth and decay,—thou, who hast freed thyself from suffering!

‘Arise, O hero; O victorious One! Wander through the world, O leader of the pilgrim band, who thyself art free from debt. May the Blessed One preach the doctrine; there will be people who can understand it!’

8. When he had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to Brahmâ Sahampati: ‘The following thought, Brahmâ, has occurred to me: “I have penetrated this doctrine, . . . (&c., down to end of § 2).” And also, Brahmâ, the following . . . ¹ stanzas have presented themselves to my mind, which had not been heard (by me) before: “With great pains, . . . (&c., down to end of § 3).” When I pondered over this matter, Brahmâ, my mind became inclined to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.’

9. And a second time Brahmâ Sahampati said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, . . . (&c., as in §§ 6, 7).’ And for the second time the Blessed One said to Brahmâ Sahampati: ‘The following thought . . . (&c., as before).’

10. And a third time Brahmâ Sahampati said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, . . . (&c., as before).’

Then the Blessed One, when he had heard Brahmâ’s solicitation, looked, full of compassion towards sentient beings, over the world, with his (all-perceiving) eye of a Buddha. And the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha,

¹ See § 3 with our note for this omitted word.

saw beings whose mental eyes were darkened by scarcely any dust, and beings whose eyes were covered by much dust, beings sharp of sense and blunt of sense, of good disposition and of bad disposition, easy to instruct and difficult to instruct, some of them seeing the dangers of future life and of sin.

11. As, in a pond of blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, some blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, do not emerge over the water, but thrive hidden under the water; and other blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, reach to the surface of the water; and other blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, stand emerging out of the water, and the water does not touch them,—

12. Thus the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha, saw beings whose mental eyes were darkened, . . . (&c., the text repeats § 10); and when he had thus seen them, he addressed Brahmâ Sahampati in the following stanza: 'Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear; let them send forth faith to meet it. The Dhamma sweet and good I spake not, Brahmâ, despairing of the weary task, to men.'

13. Then Brahmâ Sahampati understood: 'The Blessed One grants my request that He should preach the doctrine.' And he bowed down before the Blessed One, and passed round him with his right side towards him; and then he straightway disappeared.

Here ends the story of Brahmâ's request.

6.

1. Now the Blessed One thought : 'To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?' And the Blessed One thought: 'There is *Â/âra Kâlâma*¹; he is clever, wise, and learned; long since have the eye of his mind been darkened by scarcely any dust. What if I were to preach the doctrine first to *Â/âra Kâlâma*? He will easily understand this doctrine.'

2. Then an invisible deity said to the Blessed One: '*Â/âra Kâlâma* has died, Lord, seven days ago.' And knowledge sprang up in the Blessed One's mind that *Â/âra Kâlâma* had died seven days ago. And the Blessed One thought: 'Highly noble was *Â/âra Kâlâma*. If he had heard my doctrine, he would easily have understood it.'

3. Then the Blessed One thought: 'To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?' And the Blessed One thought: 'There is *Uddaka Râmaputta*¹; he is clever, wise, and learned; long since have the eye of his mind been darkened by scarcely any dust. What if I were to preach the doctrine first to *Uddaka Râmaputta*? He will easily understand this doctrine.'

4. Then an invisible deity said to the Blessed One: '*Uddaka Râmaputta* has died, Lord, yesterday evening.' And knowledge arose in the Blessed One's mind that *Uddaka Râmaputta* had died the previous evening. And the Blessed One thought:

¹ *Â/âra Kâlâma* and *Uddaka Râmaputta* were the two teachers to whom Gotama had attached himself first after his pabbaggâ. See Fausbøll's *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 66; Rh. D., Buddhism, p. 34.

‘Highly noble was Uddaka Rāmaputta. If he had heard my doctrine, he would easily have understood it.’

5. Then the Blessed One thought: ‘To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?’ And the Blessed One thought: ‘The five Bhikkhus¹ have done many services to me²; they attended on me during the time of my exertions (to attain sanctification by undergoing austerities). What if I were to preach the doctrine first to the five Bhikkhus?’

6. Now the Blessed One thought: ‘Where do the five Bhikkhus dwell now?’ And the Blessed One saw by the power of his divine, clear vision, surpassing that of men, that the five Bhikkhus were living at Benares, in the deer park Isipatana³. And the Blessed One, after having remained at Uruvelā as long as he thought fit, went forth to Benares.

7. Now Upaka, a man belonging to the Āgīvaka sect (i. e. the sect of naked ascetics), saw the Blessed One travelling on the road, between Gayā and the Bodhi tree; and when he saw him, he said to the Blessed One: ‘Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose

¹ See about the five companions of Buddha’s self-mortification, in the time before the sambodhi, the *Gāṭaka*, vol. i. p. 67; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 165; Rh. D., *Buddhism*, p. 35. The names of the five Bhikkhus were, *Kondañña*, *Vappa*, *Bhaddiya*, *Mahānāma*, *Assagi*.

² Perhaps instead of *kho* ‘me’ (= *kho ime*) we should read *kho me*.

³ ‘The *Mrigadāwa*, or Deer Park, is represented by a fine wood, which still covers an area of about half a mile, and extends from the great tower of Dhamek on the north, to the Chaukundi mound on the south.’ Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, I, p. 107.

name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?’

8. When Upaka the *Āgātvaka* had spoken thus, the Blessed One addressed him in the following stanzas: ‘I have overcome all foes; I am all-wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything; and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Having myself gained knowledge, whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is equal to me; in the world of men and of gods no being is like me. I am the holy One in this world, I am the highest teacher, I alone am the absolute Sambuddha; I have gained coolness (by the extinction of all passion) and have obtained Nirvāṇa. To found the Kingdom of Truth I go to the city of the Kāśīs (Benares); I will beat the drum of the Immortal in the darkness of this world.’

9. (Upaka replied): ‘You profess then, friend, to be the holy, absolute *Gina*¹.’

(Buddha said): ‘Like me are all *Ginas* who have reached extinction of the *Āsavas*²; I have overcome (*gītā me*) all states of sinfulness; therefore, Upaka, am I the *Gina*.’

When he had spoken thus, Upaka the *Āgātvaka* replied: ‘It may be so, friend;’ shook his head, took another road, and went away.

10. And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Benares, to the deer park Isipatana, to the place where the five *Bhikkhus* were. And

¹ *Gina*, or the victorious One, is one of the many appellations common to the founders of the *Bauddha* and *Gaina* sects.

² Sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance (*Kāma*, *Bhava*, *Diṭṭhi*, and *Aviggā*).

the five Bhikkhus saw the Blessed One coming from afar; when they saw him, they concerted with each other, saying, 'Friends, there comes the samāna Gotama, who lives in abundance, who has given up his exertions, and who has turned to an abundant life. Let us not salute him; nor rise from our seats when he approaches; nor take his bowl and his robe from his hands. But let us put there a seat; if he likes, let him sit down.'

11. But when the Blessed One gradually approached near unto those five Bhikkhus, the five Bhikkhus kept not their agreement. They went forth to meet the Blessed One; one took his bowl and his robe, another prepared a seat, a third one brought water for the washing of the feet, a foot-stool, and a towel¹. Then the Blessed One sat down on the seat they had prepared; and when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. Now they addressed the Blessed One by his name, and with the appellation 'Friend.'

12. When they spoke to him thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: 'Do not address, O Bhikkhus, the Tathāgata by his name, and with the appellation "Friend." The Tathāgata, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddha. Give ear, O Bhikkhus! The immortal (Amata) has been won (by me); I will teach you; to you I preach the doctrine. If you walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face; and you

¹ Buddhaghosa, in a note on *Kullavagga* II, 1, 1, says that *pādapiṭṭha* is a stool to put the washed foot on, *pāḍakathalika* (or *pāḍakathalikā?*), a stool to put the unwashed foot on, or a cloth to rub the feet with (*pādaghamśana*).

will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state.'

13. When he had spoken thus, the five monks said to the Blessed One: 'By those observances, friend Gotama, by those practices, by those austerities, you have not been able to obtain power surpassing that of men, nor the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight. How will you now, living in abundance, having given up your exertions, having turned to an abundant life, be able to obtain power surpassing that of men, and the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight?'

14. When they had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: 'The Tathâgata, O Bhikkhus, does not live in abundance, he has not given up exertion, he has not turned to an abundant life. The Tathâgata, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddha. Give ear, O Bhikkhus; the immortal has been won (by me); I will teach you, to you I will preach the doctrine. If you walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face; and you will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state.'

15. And the five Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One a second time (as above). And the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus a second time (as above). And the five Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One a third time (as above).

16. When they had spoken thus, the Blessed One

said to the five Bhikkhus: 'Do you admit, O Bhikkhus, that I have never spoken to you in this way before this day?'

'You have never spoken so, Lord.'

'The Tathâgata, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddha. Give ear, O Bhikkhus, &c. (as above).'

And the Blessed One was able to convince the five Bhikkhus; and the five Bhikkhus again¹ listened willingly to the Blessed One; they gave ear, and fixed their mind on the knowledge (which the Buddha imparted to them).

17. And the Blessed One thus addressed the five Bhikkhus²: 'There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which he who has given up the world, ought to avoid. What are these two extremes? A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts: this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble, and profitless; and a life given to mortifications: this is painful, ignoble, and profitless. By avoiding these two extremes, O Bhikkhus, the Tathâgata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvâna.

18. 'Which, O Bhikkhus, is this Middle Path the knowledge of which the Tathâgata has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which con-

¹ As they had done before when they underwent austerities together with the Bodhisatta at Uruvelâ.

² Of the literature that exists referring to the discourse which follows now (the *Dhammakappavattana Sutta*), it will suffice to quote M. Feer's *Études Bouddhiques*, I, p. 189 seq., and Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' pp. 137-155, and in the *Fortnightly Review* for December 1879.

duces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvâna? It is the holy eightfold Path, namely, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation. This, O Bhikkhus, is the Middle Path the knowledge of which the Tathâgata has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvâna.

19. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of Suffering: Birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering; death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate, is suffering; Separation from objects we love, is suffering; not to obtain what we desire, is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence¹ is suffering.

20. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering: Thirst, that leads to re-birth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

21. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering: (it ceases with) the complete cessation of this thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion,—with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

22. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering:

¹ Clinging to the five elements of existence, rūpa, vedanâ, saññâ, saṃkhârâ, viññâna. See § 38 seq.

that holy eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation.

23. "This is the Noble Truth of Suffering;"—thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, which formerly had not been heard of, have I obtained insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, intuition. "This Noble Truth of Suffering must be understood," thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, . . . (&c., down to intuition). "This Noble Truth of Suffering I have understood," thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, . . . (&c., down to intuition).

24. "This is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.) "This Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering must be abandoned¹. . . . has been abandoned by me," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.)

25. "This is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.) "This Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering must be seen face to face has been seen by me face to face," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.)

26. "This is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.) "This Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering, must be realised has been realised by me," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.)

27. 'As long, O Bhikkhus, as I did not possess with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths, with its three modifi-

¹ I. e. the thirst (*taṇhā*), which is declared in this Noble Truth to be the cause of suffering, must be abandoned.

cations and its twelve constituent parts¹; so long, O Bhikkhus, I knew that I had not yet obtained the highest, absolute Sambodhi in the world of men and gods, in Māra's and Brahma's world, among all beings, Samanas and Brāhmanas, gods and men.

28. 'But since I possessed, O Bhikkhus, with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths, with its three modifications and its twelve constituent parts, then I knew, O Bhikkhus, that I had obtained the highest, universal Sambodhi in the world of men and gods, (&c., as in § 27).

29. 'And this knowledge and insight arose in my mind: "The emancipation of my mind cannot be lost; this is my last birth; hence I shall not be born again!"'

Thus the Blessed One spoke. The five Bhikkhus were delighted, and they rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One. And when this exposition was propounded, the venerable *Kondañña* obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is to say, the following knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination, is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

30. And as the Blessed One had founded the Kingdom of Truth (by propounding the four Noble Truths), the earth-inhabiting devas shouted: 'Truly the Blessed One has founded at Benares, in the deer park Isipatana, the highest kingdom of Truth, which may be opposed neither by a Samana nor by a Brāhmaṇa, neither by a deva, nor by Māra, nor by Brahma, nor by any being in the world.'

¹ The three modifications and twelve constituent parts are those specified in §§ 23-26.

Hearing the shout of the earth-inhabiting devas, the *kâtumahârâgika* devas (gods belonging to the world of the four divine mahârâgas) shouted, (&c., as above). Hearing the shout of the *kâtumahârâgika* devas, the *tâvatimsa* devas¹, the *yâma* devas, the *tusita* devas, the *nimmânarati* devas, the *paranimmita-vasavatti* devas, the *brahmakâyika* devas shouted: 'Truly the Blessed One,' (&c., as above).

31. Thus in that moment, in that instant, in that second the shout reached the Brahma world; and this whole system of ten thousand worlds quaked, was shaken, and trembled; and an infinite, mighty light was seen through the world, which surpassed the light that can be produced by the divine power of the devas.

And the Blessed One pronounced this solemn utterance: 'Truly *Kondañña* has perceived it ("a ñ-ñâsi"), truly *Kondañña* has perceived it!' Hence the venerable *Kondañña* received the name *Aññâ-takondañña* (*Kondañña* who has perceived the doctrine).

32. And the venerable *Aññâ-takondañña*, having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let

¹ The thirty-three devas of the Vedic mythology. This enumeration gives the gods who reside in the different worlds, beginning from the lowest (the *bhumma* devâ, who inhabit the earth), and gradually ascending to the higher *devalokas*. See Hardy, Manual, p. 25.

me receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhu,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.' Thus this venerable person received the upasampadâ ordination.

33. And the Blessed One administered to the other Bhikkhus exhortation and instruction by discourses relating to the Dhamma. And the venerable Vappa, and the venerable Bhaddiya, when they received from the Blessed One such exhortation and instruction by discourses relating to the Dhamma, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is to say, the following knowledge): 'Whatever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

34. And having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, . . . (&c., as in § 32), they thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhus,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.' Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

35. And the Blessed One, living on what the Bhikkhus brought him, administered to the other Bhikkhus exhortation and instruction by discourse relating to the Dhamma; in this way the six persons lived on what the three Bhikkhus¹ brought home from their alms pilgrimage.

¹ Those three Bhikkhus of the five, who had been converted,

36, 37. And the venerable Mahānāma and the venerable Assaḡi, when they received from the Blessed One, . . . (&c., as in §§ 33, 34, down to :). Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadā ordination.

38. And the Blessed One thus spoke to the five Bhikkhus : 'The body (Rūpa), O Bhikkhus, is not the self. If the body, O Bhikkhus, were the self, the body would not be subject to disease, and we should be able to say : "Let my body be such and such a one, let my body not be such and such a one." But since the body, O Bhikkhus, is not the self, therefore the body is subject to disease, and we are not able to say : "Let my body be such and such a one, let my body not be such and such a one."

39-41. 'Sensation (Vedanā), O Bhikkhus, is not the self, . . . (&c.¹) Perception (Saññā) is not the self, . . . The Saṃkhâras² are not the self, . . . Consciousness (Viññāna) is not the self, . . . (&c.¹)

42. 'Now what do you think, O Bhikkhus, is the body permanent or perishable?'

went about for alms; while the Buddha remained with their two companions, and instructed them.

¹ This is shown exactly in the same way and with the same words that are used in § 38 with regard to the body. Body, sensations, perceptions, saṃkhâras, and consciousness are the well-known five classes (khandha) of bodily and mental parts and powers; see Rh. D., 'Buddhism,' p. 90 seq. The self (attā), which, if it exists at all, must be permanent and imperishable, is not to be found in any one of these five classes, which are all subject to origin and decay. This discourse of the Buddha's, which is frequently called the Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta (Sutta of the not having the signs of self), shows the perishable nature of the five khandhas, and that the khandhas are not the self. But it does not deal with the question, whether the self exists or not, in any other way.

² See the note on chap. I. 2.

‘It is perishable, Lord.’

‘And that which is perishable, does that cause pain or joy?’

‘It causes pain, Lord.’

‘And that which is perishable, painful, subject to change, is it possible to regard that in this way: ‘This is mine, this am I, this is my self?’

‘That is impossible, Lord.’

43. ‘Is sensation permanent or perishable?’ (&c.¹)

44. ‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, whatever body has been, will be, and is now, belonging or not belonging to sentient beings, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, distant or near, all that body is not mine, is not me, is not my self: thus it should be considered by right knowledge according to the truth.

45. ‘Whatever sensation, (&c.²)

46. ‘Considering this, O Bhikkhus, a learned, noble hearer of the word becomes weary of body, weary of sensation, weary of perception, weary of the *Samkhâras*, weary of consciousness. Becoming weary of all that, he divests himself of passion; by absence of passion he is made free; when he is free, he becomes aware that he is free; and he realises that re-birth is exhausted; that holiness is completed; that duty is fulfilled; and that there is no further return to this world³.’

47. Thus the Blessed One spoke; the five Bhikkhus were delighted, and rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One. And when this exposition had been

¹ Here follow the same questions, answers, and rejoinders, with regard to sensation, perception, the *samkhâras*, and consciousness.

² The same with regard to the other four *khandhas*.

³ Compare Burnouf, ‘*Lotus de la bonne Loi*,’ p. 481.

propounded, the minds of the five Bhikkhus became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the *Āsavas*¹.

At that time there were six Arahats (persons who had reached absolute holiness) in the world.

End of the first Bhāṇavāra.

7².

1. At that time there was in Benares a noble youth, Yasa by name, the son of a *setthi* (or treasurer³) and delicately nurtured. He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, one for the rainy season. In the palace for the rainy season he lived during the four months (of that season), surrounded with female musicians among whom no

¹ See the note on § 9.

² A well-known scene in the life of the Bodhisatta has evidently been represented after the model of this story. See *Gātaka* I, p. 61; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 251; Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 55. Nowhere in the Pāli Piṭakas is the story told about the Bodhisatta himself.

³ This was a position of honour among the merchants. In the later literature we hear of an office of *setthi* (*setthi-ñhāna*) in a city, to which any one with the requisite wealth and talent was eligible (*Gātaka* I, 120-122); and, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, the king appointed to an office called *setthitā*, apparently at his court (*Mah.* p. 69). The *Gahapati*, or Treasurer, one of the seven jewels of a king, is explained by Buddhaghosa to be *setthi-gahapati* (see Rh. D.'s note on *Mahā-sudassana Sutta* I, 41). 'The *Setthi*,' standing alone, or 'the *Mahā-setthi*,' means *Anātha Pindika* (*Gātaka* I, 95, 227-230; *Dhammapada Commentary*, p. 395). Below, in chapter 9, § 1, it would seem that the rank of *setthi* was hereditary, and this is confirmed by the later literature; but this applies to the social rank only, and not to the office.

man was, and he did not descend from that palace (all that time). Now one day Yasa, the noble youth, who was endowed with, and possessed of the five pleasures of sense¹, while he was attended (by those female musicians), fell asleep sooner than usual; and after him his attendants also fell asleep. Now an oil lamp was burning through the whole night.

2. And Yasa, the noble youth, awoke sooner than usual; and he saw his attendants sleeping; one had her lute leaning against her arm-pit; one had her tabor leaning against her neck; one had her drum leaning against her arm-pit; one had dishevelled hair; one had saliva flowing from her mouth; and they were muttering in their sleep. One would think it was a cemetery one had fallen into². When he saw that, the evils (of the life he led) manifested themselves to him; his mind became weary (of worldly pleasures). And Yasa, the noble youth, gave utterance to this solemn exclamation: 'Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!'

3. And Yasa, the noble youth, put on his gilt slippers, and went to the gate of his house. Non-human beings opened the gate, in order that no being might prevent Yasa the noble youth's leaving the world, and going forth into the houseless state. And Yasa, the noble youth, went to the gate of the city. Non-human beings opened the gate, in order that no being might prevent Yasa the noble youth's leaving the world, and going forth into the houseless state. And Yasa, the noble youth, went to the deer park Isipatana.

¹ Pleasures of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and touch.

² *Hatthappattam susānam maññe*, literally, 'one would think a cemetery had (suddenly) come to one's hand.'

4. At that time the Blessed One, having arisen in the night, at dawn was walking up and down in the open air. And the Blessed One saw Yasa, the noble youth, coming from afar. And when he saw him, he left the place where he was walking, and sat down on a seat laid out (for him). And Yasa, the noble youth, gave utterance near the Blessed One to that solemn exclamation: 'Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!' And the Blessed One said to Yasa, the noble youth: 'Here is no distress, Yasa, here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the Truth (Dhamma).'

5. And Yasa, the noble youth, when he heard that there was no distress, and that there was no danger, became glad and joyful; and he put off his gilt slippers, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. When Yasa, the noble youth, was sitting near him, the Blessed One preached to him in due course: that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, about the duties of morality, about heaven, about the evils, the vanity, and the sinfulness of desires, and about the blessings of the abandonment of desire¹.

6. When the Blessed One saw that the mind of Yasa, the noble youth, was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles (to understanding the Truth), elated, and believing, then he preached what is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering,

¹ Nekkhamma is neither naishkramya nor naishkarmya, but naishkāmya. Itivuttaka, fol. khi (Phayre MS.): *kāmānam etam nissaranam yad idam nekkhammam, rūpānam etam nissaranam yad idam aruppaṃ*.

the Cause of suffering, the Cessation of suffering, the Path. Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus Yasa, the noble youth, even while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

7. Now the mother of Yasa, the noble youth, having gone up to his palace, did not see Yasa, the noble youth, and she went to the *setthi*, the householder (her husband), and having approached him, she said to the *setthi*, the householder: 'Your son Yasa, O householder, has disappeared.' Then the *setthi*, the householder, sent messengers on horseback to the four quarters of the horizon; and he went himself to the deer park Isipatana. Then the *setthi*, the householder, saw on the ground the marks of the gilt slippers; and when he saw them, he followed them up.

8. And the Blessed One saw the *setthi*, the householder, coming from afar. On seeing him, he thought: 'What if I were to effect such an exercise of miraculous power, that the *setthi*, the householder, sitting here, should not see Yasa, the noble youth, who is sitting here also.' And the Blessed One effected such an exercise of his miraculous power.

9. And the *setthi*, the householder, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'Pray, Lord, has the Blessed One seen Yasa, the noble youth?'

'Well, householder, sit down. Perhaps, sitting here, you may see Yasa, the noble youth, sitting here also.'

And the *setthi*, the householder, who thought : 'Indeed, sitting here I shall see Yasa, the noble youth, sitting here also !' became glad and joyful, and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

10. When the *setthi*, the householder, was sitting near him, the Blessed One preached to him in due course ; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, . . . (&c., as at end of § 5). And the *setthi*, the householder, having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, said to the Blessed One : 'Glorious, Lord ! glorious, Lord ! Just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see visible things, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. I take my refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus ; may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in Him.'

This was the first person in the world who became a lay-disciple by the formula of the holy triad.

11. And Yasa, the noble youth, while instruction was administered (by the Buddha) to his father, contemplated the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood ; and his mind became free from attachment to the world, and was

released from the *Âsavas*. Then the Blessed One thought: 'Yasa, the noble youth, while instruction was administered to his father, has contemplated the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood; and his mind has become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the *Âsavas*. It is impossible that Yasa, the noble youth, should return to the world and enjoy pleasures, as he did before, when he lived in his house. What if I were now to put an end to that exertion of my miraculous power.' And the Blessed One put an end to that exertion of his miraculous power.

12. Then the *settthi*, the householder, saw Yasa, the noble youth, sitting there. On seeing him he said to Yasa, the noble youth: 'My son Yasa, your mother is absorbed in lamentation and grief; restore your mother to life.'

13. Then Yasa, the noble youth, looked at the Blessed One. And the Blessed One said to the *settthi*, the householder: 'What do you think then, O householder? That Yasa has (first) won only an imperfect¹ degree of knowledge and insight into the Truth, as you have yourself? Or that rather he was contemplating the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood; and that his mind has thus become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the *Âsavas*? Now would it then be possible, O householder, that Yasa should return to the world and enjoy pleasures as he did before, when he lived in his house?'

'Not so, Lord.'

¹ The stage of a *sekha*, i. e. a person who has attained to any stage in the Noble Eightfold Path (such as *sotâpattiphala*, &c.) inferior to the highest (*Arahatship*).

‘Yasa, the noble youth, O householder, had (first) won, like yourself, an imperfect degree of knowledge and insight into the Truth. But when he was contemplating the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood, his mind has become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the Âsavas. It is impossible, O householder, that Yasa, the noble youth, should return to the world and enjoy pleasures as he did before, when he lived in his house.’

14. ‘It is all gain, Lord, to Yasa, the noble youth, it is high bliss, Lord, for Yasa, the noble youth, that the mind of Yasa, the noble youth, has become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the Âsavas. Might, Lord, the Blessed One consent to take his meal with me to-day together with Yasa, the noble youth, as his attendant?’

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then the *setthi*, the householder, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, departed thence.

15. And Yasa, the noble youth, soon after the *setthi*, the householder, was gone, said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, let me receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.’

‘Come, O Bhikkhu,’ said the Blessed One, ‘well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.’

Thus this venerable person received the upasampadâ ordination. At that time there were seven Arahats in the world.

End of the story of Yasa’s pabbaggâ.

8.

1. And in the forenoon the blessed One, having put on his under-rob¹, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *ktvara* on, went with the venerable Yasa as his attendant to the house of the *setthi*, the householder. When he had arrived there, he sat down on a seat laid out for him. Then the mother and the former wife of the venerable Yasa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him.

2. Then the Blessed One preached to them in due course; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, . . . (&c., as in chap. 7. 5, 6, down to:); thus they obtained, while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

3. And having seen the Truth, . . . (&c., as above, §§ 5, 6, down to:), dependent on nobody else for knowledge of the Teacher's doctrine, they thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious Lord! Just as if one should set up' (&c., as in chap. 7. 10, down to:). We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus; may the Blessed One receive us from this day forth, while our life lasts, as disciples who have taken their refuge in Him.'

These were the first females in the world who became lay-disciples by the formula of the holy triad.

¹ The rules about the dress of a Bhikkhu who is going to the village are given in the *Kullavagga* VIII, 4, 3; 5, 2. Compare Rh. D.'s note on the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* V, 45.

4. And the mother and the father and the former wife of the venerable Yasa with their own hands served and offered¹ excellent food, both hard and soft, to the Blessed One and to the venerable Yasa; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed his bowl and his hands, they sat down near him. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the mother, and father, and the former wife of the venerable Yasa by religious discourse; and then he rose from his seat and went away.

9.

1. Now four lay persons, friends of the venerable Yasa, belonging to the *setthi* families of Benares, and to the highest after the *setthi* families, by name Vimāla, Subāhu, Punṇagi, and Gavampati, heard: 'Yasa, the noble youth, has cut off his hair and beard, and has put on yellow robes, and has given up the world, and gone forth into the houseless state.' When they had heard that, they thought: 'Surely that cannot be a common doctrine and discipline, that cannot be a common renunciation of the world, if Yasa, the noble youth, has cut off his hair and beard, and has put on yellow robes, and has given up the world, and gone forth into the houseless state.'

¹ According to Subhūti (in Childers's Dictionary) *sampavāreti* means that the host hands dishes to the guest until the latter says, 'I have had enough.' Childers accordingly translates *sampavāreti*, 'to cause to refuse.' But as *pavāreti* means, 'to cause to accept,' it is impossible that *sampavāreti* should have exactly the opposite meaning. We prefer, therefore, to take it as an emphatic synonym of *pavāreti*.

2. Those four persons went to the place where the venerable Yasa was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the venerable Yasa, they stood by his side. And the venerable Yasa went with his four lay-friends to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Yasa said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, here are four lay-friends of mine, belonging to the *setthi* families of Benares and to the highest after the *setthi* families; their names are Vimala, Subâhu, Punnagi, and Gavampati. May the Blessed One administer exhortation and instruction to these four persons.'

3. Then the Blessed One preached to them, (&c., as in chap. 8. 2).

4. And having seen the Truth, (&c., down to :) dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the Teacher's doctrine, they thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the *pabbaggâ* and *upasampadâ* ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhus,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.'

Thus these venerable persons received the *upasampadâ* ordination. And the Blessed One administered to these Bhikkhus exhortation and instruction by discourse relating to the Dhamma. While they received exhortation and instruction from the Blessed One by discourse relating to the Dhamma, their minds became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the *Âsavas*.

At that time there were eleven Arahats in the world.

Here ends the story of the ordination of
the four laymen.

10.

Now fifty lay persons, friends of the venerable Yasa, belonging to the highest families in the country and to those next to the highest, heard, (&c., as in chap. 9, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, down to:). While they received exhortation and instruction from the Blessed One by discourse relating to the Dhamma, their minds became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the Āsavas.

At that time there were sixty-one Arahats in the world.

11.

1. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'I am delivered, O Bhikkhus, from all fetters, human and divine. You, O Bhikkhus, are also delivered from all fetters, human and divine. Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way¹. Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine

¹ This cannot be understood as a general rule, for it is repeated nowhere where precepts for wandering Bhikkhus are given, and, on the contrary, numerous instances occur in the Sacred Texts

which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation. They will understand the doctrine. And I will go also, O Bhikkhus, to Uruvelâ, to Senâni-nigama¹, in order to preach the doctrine.'

2. And Mâra the wicked One went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he addressed the Blessed One in the following stanza: 'Thou art bound by all fetters, human and divine. Thou art bound by strong fetters. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samana.'

Buddha replied: 'I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. I am delivered from the strong fetters. Thou art struck down, O Death.'

(Mâra said): 'The fetter which pervades the sky, with which mind is bound, with that fetter I will bind thee. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samana.'

(Buddha replied): 'Whatever forms, sounds, odours, flavours, or contacts there are which please the

in which two or more Bhikkhus are mentioned as wandering together, without any expression of disapproval being added. The precept given here evidently is intended to refer only to the earliest period in the spread of the new doctrine; just as in chap. 12 a form of upasampadâ is introduced by Buddha which was regarded as inadmissible in later times.

¹ The correct spelling of this name appears to be Senâni-nigama ('the General's Town'), and not Senâni-gama ('the Army's Town'); the *Gâtaka Atthavannanâ* (vol. i. p. 68) and the Paris MS. of the *Mahâvagga* (manu secunda) read Senâninigama. The *Lalita Vistara* has Senâpatigrâma.

senses, in me desire for them has ceased. Thou art struck down, O Death.'

Then Māra the wicked One understood: 'The Blessed One knows me, the perfect One knows me,' and, sad and afflicted, he vanished away.

Here ends the story of Māra.

12.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus brought (to Buddha), from different regions and different countries, persons who desired to obtain the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations, thinking: 'The Blessed One will confer on them the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations.' Thus both the Bhikkhus became tired (from the journey), and also those who desired to obtain the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations. Now when the Blessed One was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: 'The Bhikkhus now bring to me from different regions and different countries persons who desire to obtain the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations, thinking: "The Blessed One will confer on them the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations." Now both the Bhikkhus become tired, and also those who desire to obtain the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations. What if I were to grant permission to the Bhikkhus, saying: "Confer henceforth, O Bhikkhus, in the different regions, and in the different countries, the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations yourselves (on those who desire to receive them)."'

2. And the Blessed One, having left the solitude

in the evening, in consequence of that, and on this occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'When I was alone, O Bhikkhus, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration, &c. What if I were to permit, . . . ' (&c., as in § 1).

3. 'I grant you, O Bhikkhus, this permission: Confer henceforth in the different regions and in the different countries the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations yourselves (on those who desire to receive them). And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations in this way: Let him (who desires to receive the ordination), first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and tell him to say:

4. "I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the *Samgha*. And for the second time I take (&c. . . . *Samgha*). And for the third time I take my refuge in the Buddha, and for the third time I take my refuge in the Dhamma, and for the third time I take my refuge in the *Samgha*."

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations consisting in the three times repeated declaration of taking refuge (in the holy triad).'

End of the account of the upasampadâ ordination by the threefold declaration of taking refuge¹.

¹ On this ceremony, which is still gone through before the regular ordination, see the remarks in the note on chapter I, § 1.

13.

1. And the Blessed One, after having kept the vassa residence¹, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'By wise contemplation, O Bhikkhus, and by wise firmness of exertion have I attained the highest emancipation, have I realised the highest emancipation. Attain ye also, O Bhikkhus, the highest emancipation, realise the highest emancipation, by wise contemplation and by wise firmness of exertion.'

2. And Māra the wicked One went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he addressed the Blessed One by the following stanza: 'Thou art bound by Māra's fetters, human and divine. Thou art bound by strong fetters. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samana.'

(Buddha replied): 'I am delivered from Māra's fetters, human and divine. I am delivered from the strong fetters. Thou art struck down, O Death.'

Then Māra the wicked One understood: 'The Blessed One knows me, the perfect One knows me;' and, sad and afflicted, he vanished away.

14.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Benares as long as he thought fit, went forth to Uruvelā. And the Blessed One left the road and went to a certain grove; having gone there, and having entered it, he sat down at the foot of a tree. At that time there was a party of thirty friends, rich young men, who were sporting in that same grove

¹ See about the vassa residence the rules given in Book III.

together with their wives. One of them had no wife; for him they had procured a harlot. Now while they did not pay attention, and were indulging in their sports, that harlot took up the articles belonging to them, and ran away.

2. Then those companions, doing service to their friend, went in search of that woman; and, roaming about that grove, they saw the Blessed One sitting at the foot of a tree. Seeing him they went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they said to the Blessed One: 'Pray, Lord, has the Blessed One seen a woman passing by?'

'What have you to do, young men, with the woman?'

'We were sporting, Lord, in this grove, thirty friends, rich young men, together with our wives. One of us had no wife; for him we had procured a harlot. Now, Lord, while we did not pay attention, and were indulging in our sports, that harlot has taken up the articles belonging to us, and has run away. Therefore, Lord, we companions, doing service to our friend, go in search of that woman, and roam about this grove.'

3. 'Now what think you, young men? Which would be the better for you; that you should go in search of a woman, or that you should go in search of yourselves?'

'That, Lord, would be the better for us, that we should go in search of ourselves.'

'If so, young men, sit down, I will preach to you the Truth (Dhamma).'

The rich young companions replied: 'Yes, Lord,' and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and sat down near him.

4. Then the Blessed One preached to them, (&c., as in chap. 8. 2, or 9. 3).

5. And having seen the Truth, (&c., as in chap. 9. 4 down to:). Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

Here ends the story of the thirty rich young companions.

End of the second Bhānavāra.

15.

1. And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Uruvelâ. At that time there lived in Uruvelâ three *Gaṇilas*¹, Uruvelâ Kassapa, Nadi Kassapa (Kassapa of the River, i. e. the Nerañgarâ), and Gayâ Kassapa (Kassapa of the village Gayâ). Of these the *Gaṇila* Uruvelâ Kassapa was chief, leader, foremost, first, and highest over five hundred *Gaṇilas*; Nadi Kassapa was chief (&c., down to highest over) three hundred *Gaṇilas*, Gayâ Kassapa was chief (&c., down to highest over) two hundred *Gaṇilas*.

2. And the Blessed One went to the hermitage of

¹ The *Gaṇilas* (i. e. ascetics wearing matted hair) are Brahmanical vānaprasthas. The description of their ascetic life given in many passages of the *Gâtaka Atthavannanâ* and of the *Apadâna* exactly agrees with the picture of the forest life of the ὰλόβιοι which so frequently occurs in the Mahābhārata. In the Mahāvagga (VI, 35, 2) it is expressly stated that the *Gaṇilas* recognised the authority of the Veda, and it is in keeping with this that the usual term for adopting the state of a *Gaṇila* is 'isipabbaggam pabbagati' (frequently in the *Gât. Atth.*), i. e. leaving the world and becoming a *Rishi*.

the *Gaṭila Uruvelā Kassapa*; having gone there, he said to the *Gaṭila Uruvelā Kassapa*: 'If it is not disagreeable to you, Kassapa, let me spend one night in the room where your (sacred) fire is kept.'

'It is not disagreeable to me, great *Samāna*, but there is a savage *Nāga* (or *Serpent*) king of great magical power¹, a dreadfully venomous serpent; let him do no harm to you.'

And a second time the Blessed One said to the *Gaṭila Uruvelā Kassapa*: 'If it is not disagreeable,' &c.

'It is not disagreeable,' &c.

And a third time the Blessed One said: 'If it is not disagreeable,' &c.

'It is not disagreeable,' &c.

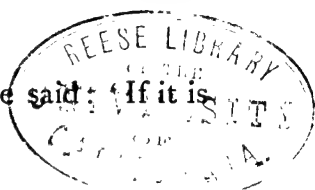
'He is not likely to do any harm to me. Pray, *Kassapa*, allow me a place in the room where your fire is kept.'

'Stay there, great *Samāna*, as you wish it.'

3. Then the Blessed One entered the room where the fire was kept, made himself a couch of grass, and sat down cross-legged, keeping the body erect and surrounding himself with watchfulness of mind². And the *Nāga* saw that the Blessed One had entered; when he saw that, he became annoyed, and irritated, and sent forth a cloud of smoke. Then the Blessed One thought: 'What if I were to leave intact the skin, and hide, and flesh, and ligaments, and bones,

¹ *Iddhi*. Compare the passages referred to by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' pp. 2, 40, 259; and further *Mahāvagga* VI, 15, 8, and *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 4, and VII, 2, 1.

² *Satiṃ upaṭṭhāpetvā*. *Sati* is here a more precise idea than memory.



and marrow of this Nâga ; but were to conquer the fire, which he will send forth, by my fire.'

4. And the Blessed One effected the appropriate exercise of miraculous power and sent forth a cloud of smoke. Then the Nâga, who could not master his rage¹, sent forth flames. And the Blessed One, converting his body into fire², sent forth flames. When they both shone forth with their flames, the fire room looked as if it were burning and blazing, as if it were all in flames. And the *Gaṭīlas*, surrounding the fire room, said : 'Truly the countenance of the great Samana is beautiful, but the Nâga will do harm to him³.'

5. That night having elapsed, the Blessed One, leaving intact the skin and hide and flesh and ligaments and bones and marrow of that Nâga, and conquering the Nâga's fire by his fire, threw him into his alms-bowl, and showed him to the *Gaṭīla Uruvelâ Kassapa* (saying), 'Here you see the Nâga, Kassapa ; his fire has been conquered by my fire.'

Then the *Gaṭīla Uruvelâ Kassapa* thought: 'Truly the great Samana possesses high magical powers and great faculties, in that he is able to conquer by his fire the fire of that savage Nâga king, who is possessed of magical power, that dreadfully venomous serpent. He is not, however, holy (*arahâ*) as I am.'

6⁴. Near the *Nerañgarâ* river the Blessed One

¹ Buddhaghosa explains *makkha* by *kodha*.

² Compare *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4, where Dabba also *tegodhâtum samâpaggati*, that is, his finger is on fire.

³ Compare the Editor's corrections at *Kullavagga*, p. 363.

⁴ In §§ 6, 7 (excepting the last clause of § 7) the story related in §§ 1-5 is repeated in a more popular style. This appears to us to be a more archaic redaction than the preceding. We do not know

said to the *Gaṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa: 'If it is not disagreeable to you, Kassapa, let me dwell this moonlight night in your fire room.'

'It is not disagreeable to me, great *Samana*, but in your own behalf I warn you off. There is a savage Snake king there possessed of magical power, a dreadfully venomous serpent; let him do no harm to you.'

'He is not likely to do any harm to me; pray, Kassapa, allow me a place in your fire room.'

When he saw that Kassapa had given his permission, fearlessly He, who had overcome all fear, entered. When the chief of Serpents saw that the Sage had entered, he became irritated, and sent forth a cloud of smoke. Then the chief of men¹, joyful and unperplexed, also sent forth a cloud of smoke. Unable to master his rage, the chief of Serpents sent forth flames like a burning fire. Then the chief of men¹, the perfect master of the element of fire, also sent forth flames. When they shone forth both with their flames, the *Gaṭilas* looked at the fire room (saying), 'Truly the countenance of the great *Samana* is beautiful, but the *Nāga* will do harm to him.'

7. And when that night had elapsed, the flames of the *Nāga* were extinguished, but the various-coloured flames of Him who is possessed of magical powers remained. Dark blue and red, light red, yellow, and crystal-coloured flames of various colours

any other instance in the Pāli Piṭakas of a similar repetition, excepting a short passage at the end of chap. 24. 3; and one other in the *Mahā-padhāna Sutta*.

¹ Literally, 'the Snake among men,' or 'the Elephant among men' (*manussanāgo*).

appeared on the Āṅgīrasa's¹ body. Having put the chief of Serpents into his alms-bowl, he showed him to the Brāhmaṇa (saying), 'Here you see the Nāga, Kassapa; his fire has been conquered by my fire.'

And the Gaṭṭhā Uruvelā Kassapa, having conceived an affection for the Blessed One in consequence of this wonder, said to the Blessed One: 'Stay with me, great Samana, I will daily provide you with food.'

End of the first Wonder.

16.

1. And the Blessed One resided in a certain grove near the hermitage of the Gaṭṭhā Uruvelā Kassapa. And on a beautiful night the four Mahārāgas², filling the whole grove with light by the brilliancy of their complexion, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they stood in the four directions like great firebrands.

2. And when that night had elapsed, the Gaṭṭhā Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'It is time, great Samana, the meal is ready. Who were they, great Samana, who came, this beautiful night, filling the whole grove with light by the brilliancy of their complexion, to

¹ According to Vedic tradition the Gautamas, as is well known, belong to the Āṅgīrasa tribe.

² See chap. 4. 4.

the place where you were, and having approached you and respectfully saluted you, stood in the four directions like great firebrands?’

‘They were the four Mahârâgas, Kassapa, who came to me in order to hear my preaching.’

Then the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa thought : ‘Truly the great Samana possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since even the four Mahârâgas come to hear his preaching. He is not, however, holy like me.’

And the Blessed One ate the food offered by the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, and continued to stay in that same grove.

End of the second Wonder.

17.

1. And on a beautiful night Sakka (Sakra or Indra) the king of the devas, filling the whole grove with light by the brilliancy of his complexion, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stood near him like a great firebrand, surpassing in beauty and brilliancy the splendour of the former appearances.

2. And when that night had elapsed (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

End of the third Wonder.

18.

And on a beautiful night Brahmā Sahampati (&c., as in chap. 17).

End of the fourth Wonder.

19.

1. At that time a great sacrifice which the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa used to celebrate was approaching, and all the people of Aṅga and Magadha wished to go to that sacrifice carrying abundant food, both hard and soft. Now the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa thought : 'Presently my great sacrifice is approaching, and all the people of Aṅga and Magadha will come and bring with them abundant food, both hard and soft. If the great Samāna should perform a wonder before that great assembly, gain and honour would increase to the great Samāna, and my gain and honour would diminish. Well, the great Samāna shall not appear here to-morrow.'

2. Then the Blessed One, understanding by the power of his mind this reflection which had arisen in the mind of the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, went to Uttara Kuru ; having begged alms there, he took the food (he had received) to the Anotatta lake¹; there he took his meal and rested during the heat of the day at the same place.

And when the night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him, he said to the

¹ One of the supposed seven great lakes in the Himavant.

Blessed One: 'It is time, great Samana, the meal is ready. Why did you not come yesterday, great Samana? We have thought of you: "Why does the great Samana not come?" and your portions of food, both hard and soft, were served up for you.'

3. (Buddha replied): 'Did you not think, Kassapa: "Presently my great sacrifice(&c., as above down to:). Well, the great Samana shall not appear here to-morrow?"'

4. 'Now I understood, Kassapa, by the power of my mind this reflection which had arisen in your mind, and I went to Uttara Kuru; having begged alms there, I took the food to the Anotatta lake; there I took my meal and rested during the heat of the day at the same place.'

Then the *Gatila Uruvelâ* Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great Samana possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since he is able to understand by the power of his mind the thoughts of other people. He is not, however, holy like me.'

And the Blessed One ate (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

End of the fifth Wonder.

20.

1. At that time the Blessed One had rags taken from a dust heap (of which he was going to make himself a dress). Now the Blessed One thought: 'Where shall I wash these rags?' Then Sakka the king of the devas, understanding in his mind the thought which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, dug a tank with his own hand,

and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, might the Blessed One wash the rags here.'

And the Blessed One thought: 'What shall I rub the rags upon?' Then Sakka the king of the devas, understanding, &c., put there a great stone and said: 'Lord, might the Blessed One rub the rags upon this stone.'

2. And the Blessed One thought: 'What shall I take hold of when going up (from the tank)?' Then a deity that resided in a Kakudha tree, understanding, &c., bent down a branch and said: 'Lord, might the Blessed One take hold of this branch when going up (from the tank).'

And the Blessed One thought: 'What shall I lay the rags upon (in order to dry them)?' Then Sakka the king of the devas, understanding, &c., put there a great stone and said: 'Lord, might the Blessed One lay the rags upon this stone.'

3. And when that night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'It is time, great Samāna, the meal is ready. What is this, great Samāna? Formerly there was here no tank, and now here is this tank. Formerly no stone was put here; by whom has this stone been put here? Formerly this Kakudha tree did not bend down its branch, and now this branch is bent down.'

4. 'I had rags, Kassapa, taken from a dust heap; and I thought, Kassapa: "Where shall I wash these rags?"' Then, Kassapa, Sakka the king of the devas, understanding in his mind the thought which had arisen in my mind, dug a tank with his hand and said to me: "Lord, might the Blessed One wash the

rags here." Thus this tank has been dug by the hand of a non-human being.

'And I thought, Kassapa : "What shall I rub the rags upon?" Then, Kassapa, Sakka, &c. Thus this stone has been put here by a non-human being.

5. 'And I thought, Kassapa : "What shall I take hold of when going up (from the tank)?" Then, Kassapa, a deity, &c. Thus this Kakudha tree has served me as a hold for my hand.

'And I thought, Kassapa : "Where shall I lay the rags upon (in order to dry them)?" Then, Kassapa, Sakka, &c. Thus this stone has been put here by a non-human being.'

6. Then the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa thought : 'Truly the great Samāna possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since Sakka the king of the devas does service to him. He is not, however, holy like me.'

And the Blessed One ate (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

7. And when that night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him, he announced to the Blessed One that it was time, by saying, 'It is time, great Samāna, the meal is ready.'

(Buddha replied): 'Go you, Kassapa ; I will follow you.'

Having thus sent away the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, he went to pluck a fruit from the gambu tree after which this continent of Gambudīpa (the Gambu Island, or India) is named¹; then arriving before

¹ See about this gambu tree, which grows in the forest of Himavanta, Hardy's Manual, p. 18 seq.

Kassapa he sat down in the room where Kassapa's (sacred) fire was kept¹.

8. Then the *Gaṭṭila Uruvelā* Kassapa saw the Blessed One sitting in the fire room; seeing him he said to the Blessed One: 'By what way have you come, great *Samana*? I have departed before you, and you have arrived before me and are sitting in the fire room.'

9. 'When I had sent you away, Kassapa, I went to pluck a fruit from the *gambu* tree after which this continent of *Gambudīpa* is named; then I arrived before you and sat down in the fire room. Here is the *gambu* fruit, Kassapa, it is beautiful, fragrant, and full of flavour; you may eat it, if you like.'

'Nay, great *Samana*, to you alone it is becoming to eat it; eat it yourself.'

And the *Gaṭṭila Uruvelā* Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great *Samana* possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since he is able, having sent me away before him, to go and pluck a fruit from the *gambu* tree after which this continent of *Gambudīpa* is named, and then to arrive before me and to sit down in the fire room. He is not, however, holy like me.'

And the Blessed One ate (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

10. And when that night had elapsed (&c., as in § 7, down to:). Having thus sent away the *Gaṭṭila Uruvelā* Kassapa, he went to pluck a fruit from a mango tree growing near the *gambu* tree after which this continent of *Gambudīpa* is named, &c. He

¹ Very probably it is this story in which a similar legend has originated that the Ceylonese tell about Mahinda, the converter of their island; see *Dīpavaṃsa* XII, 75.

went to pluck a fruit from an emblic myrobalan tree, &c., from a yellow myrobalan tree growing near the gambu tree, &c. He went to the Tāvātimsa heaven to pluck a pârikĕĕhattaka (or pâri-gâtaka) flower; then arriving before Kassapa he sat down in the fire room. Then the Gaṭiḷa Uruvelâ Kassapa saw (&c., as in § 8).

11. 'When I had sent you away, Kassapa, I went to the Tāvātimsa heaven to pluck a pârikĕĕhattaka flower; then I arrived before you and sat down in the fire room. Here is the pârikĕĕhattaka flower, Kassapa; it is beautiful and fragrant; you may take it, if you like.'

'Nay, great Samana, to you alone it is becoming to keep it; keep it yourself.'

And the Gaṭiḷa (&c., as in § 9). 'He is not, however, holy as I am.'

12. At that time one day the Gaṭiḷas, who wished to attend on their sacred fires, could not succeed in splitting fire-wood. Now these Gaṭiḷas thought: 'Doubtless this is the magical power and the high faculty of the great Samana that we cannot succeed in splitting fire-wood.' Then the Blessed One said to the Gaṭiḷa Uruvelâ Kassapa: 'Shall the fire-wood be split, Kassapa?'

'Let it be split, great Samana.'

Then in a moment the five hundred pieces of fire-wood¹ were split. And the Gaṭiḷa Uruvelâ

¹ Bigandet (Life of Gaudama, p. 135) translates this passage from the Burmese version: 'Gaudama split it in a moment, in five hundred pieces.' Doubtless the true meaning is, that there were five hundred pieces of wood, one for each of the five hundred Gaṭiḷas over whom was Kassapa chief. In the following two stories (§§ 13, 14) we have five hundred sacred fires.

Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great Samāna possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since even the fire-wood splits itself (at his command). He is not, however, holy like me.'

13. At that time the *Gaṭilas* who wished to attend on their sacred fires, could not succeed in lighting up the fires (&c., as in the preceding story).

14. At that time the *Gaṭilas*, after having attended on their sacred fires, could not succeed in extinguishing the fires (&c., as above).

15. At that time in the cold winter nights, in the time between the *ashākā* festivals¹, when snow falls, the *Gaṭilas* plunged into the river *Neraṅgarā*, and emerged again, and repeatedly plunged into the water and emerged. And the Blessed One created five hundred vessels with burning fire²; at those the *Gaṭilas* coming out of the river warmed themselves. And the *Gaṭilas* thought: 'Doubtless this is the magical power and the high faculty of the great Samāna that these vessels with fire have been caused to appear here.' And the *Gaṭila* *Uruvelā* Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great Samāna possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since he can create such great vessels with fire. He is not, however, holy like me.'

16. At that time a great rain fell out of season; and a great inundation arose. The place where the Blessed One lived was covered with water. Then

¹ The *ashākā* festivals, about which accurate details are given in the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, were celebrated about the wane of the moon of the winter months *mārgaśīrsha*, *taisha*, and *māgha*; see Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, II, p. 337, and H. O.'s note on the *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya*, 3, 12, ap. *Indische Studien*, XV, p. 145.

² *Buddhaghosa* explains *mandāmukhiyo* by *aggibhāganāni*.

the Blessed One thought: 'What if I were to cause the water to recede round about, and if I were to walk up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot.' And the Blessed One caused the water to recede round about, and he walked up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot.

And the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa*, who was afraid that the water might have carried away the great *Samana*, went with a boat together with many *Gaṭīlas* to the place where the Blessed One lived. Then the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa* saw the Blessed One, who had caused the water to recede round about, walking up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot. Seeing him, he said to the Blessed One: 'Are you there, great *Samana*?'

'Here I am, Kassapa,' replied the Blessed One, and he rose in the air and stationed himself in the boat.

And the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa* thought: 'Truly the great *Samana* possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since the water does not carry him away. He is not, however, holy like me.'

17. Then the Blessed One thought: 'This foolish man will still for a long time think thus: "Truly the great *Samana* possesses high magical powers and great faculties; he is not, however, holy like me." What if I were to move the mind of this *Gaṭīla* (in order to show him my superiority).'

And the Blessed One said to the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa*: 'You are not holy (*arahâ*), Kassapa, nor have you entered the path of *Arahatship*, nor do you walk in such a practice as will lead you to *Arahatship*, or to entering the path of *Arahatship*.'

Then the *Gaṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa prostrated himself, inclining his head to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let me receive the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations from the Blessed One.'

18. (Buddha replied): 'You, Kassapa, are chief, leader, foremost, first, and highest of five hundred *Gaṭilas*; go first and inform them of your intention, and let them do what they think fit.'

Then the *Gaṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa went to those *Gaṭilas*; having gone to them, he said to those *Gaṭilas*: 'I wish, Sirs, to lead a religious life under the direction of the great Samana; you may do, Sirs, what you think fit.'

(The *Gaṭilas* replied): 'We have conceived, Sir, an affection for the great Samana long since; if you will lead, Sir, a religious life under the great Samana's direction, we will all lead a religious life under the great Samana's direction.'

19. Then the *Gaṭilas* flung their hair¹, their braids, their provisions², and the things for the agnihotra sacrifice into the river, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and prostrated themselves before him, inclining their heads to the feet of the Blessed One, they said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations from the Blessed One.'

¹ Which they had cut off in order to receive the pabbaggā ordination, see chap. 12. 3.

² We are extremely doubtful about the meaning of *khârikâga*, which Buddhaghosa explains by *khâribhâra*. Perhaps it may mean provisions of any description of which each *Gaṭila* used to keep one *khâri* (a certain dry measure).

‘Come, O Bhikkhus,’ said the Blessed One, ‘well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.’

Thus these venerable persons received the upa-sampadâ ordination.

20. And the *Gaṭila* Nadi Kassapa saw the hair, the braids, the provisions, the things for the agni-hotra sacrifice, which were carried down by the river; when he saw that, he became afraid that some misfortune might have befallen his brother. He sent some *Gaṭilas*, saying, ‘Go and look after my brother,’ and went himself with his three hundred *Gaṭilas* to the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa; having approached him, he said to the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa: ‘Now, Kassapa, is this bliss?’

(Uruvelâ Kassapa replied): ‘Yes, friend, this is bliss.’

21. And the *Gaṭilas* (who had come with Nadi Kassapa (&c., as in § 19).

22. And the *Gaṭila* Gayâ Kassapa saw (&c., as in § 20); when he saw that, he became afraid that some misfortune might have befallen his brothers. He sent some *Gaṭilas*, saying, ‘Go and look after my brothers,’ and went himself with his two hundred *Gaṭilas* to the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa (&c., as above).

23. And the *Gaṭilas* (who had come with Gayâ Kassapa (&c., as in § 19).

24. ¹ At the command of the Blessed One the five hundred pieces of fire-wood could not be split and were split, the fires could not be lit up and

¹ This is evidently a remark added to the text by a reader or commentator.

were lit up, could not be extinguished and were extinguished; besides he created five hundred vessels with fire. Thus the number of these miracles amounts to three thousand five hundred.

21.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Uruvelâ as long as he thought fit, went forth to Gayâsîsa¹, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by one thousand Bhikkhus who all had been *Gaḥilās* before. There near Gayâ, at Gayâsîsa, the Blessed One dwelt together with those thousand Bhikkhus.

2. There the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Everything, O Bhikkhus, is burning. And how, O Bhikkhus, is everything burning?

'The eye, O Bhikkhus, is burning; visible things are burning; the mental impressions based on the eye are burning; the contact of the eye (with visible things) is burning; the sensation produced by the contact of the eye (with visible things), be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful, that also is burning. With what fire is it burning? I declare unto you that it is burning with the fire of lust, with the fire of anger, with the fire of ignorance; it is burning with (the anxieties of) birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair.

3. 'The ear is burning, sounds are burning, &c. . . . The nose is burning, odours are burning, &c.

¹ According to General Cunningham, Gayâsîsa ('the head of Gayâ') is the mountain of Brahmâyoni near Gayâ. Arch. Rep. III, 107.

. . . . The tongue is burning, tastes are burning, &c. . . . The body is burning, objects of contact are burning, &c. . . . The mind is burning, thoughts are burning, &c. . . .¹

4. 'Considering this, O Bhikkhus, a disciple learned (in the scriptures), walking in the Noble Path, becomes weary of the eye, weary of visible things, weary of the mental impressions based on the eye, weary of the contact of the eye (with visible things), weary also of the sensation produced by the contact of the eye (with visible things), be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful. He becomes weary of the ear (&c. . . . , down to thoughts¹). Becoming weary of all that, he divests himself of passion; by absence of passion he is made free; when he is free, he becomes aware that he is free; and he realises that re-birth is exhausted; that holiness is completed; that duty is fulfilled; and that there is no further return to this world.'

When this exposition was propounded, the minds of those thousand Bhikkhus became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the Âsavas.

Here ends the sermon on 'The Burning.'

End of the third Bhânavâra concerning the
Wonders done at Uruvelâ.

¹ Here the same exposition which has been given relating to the eye, its objects, the sensations produced by its contact with objects, &c., is repeated with reference to the ear and the other organs of sense.

22.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Gayâsîsa as long as he thought fit, went forth to Râgagaha, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by one thousand Bhikkhus who all had been *Gaṭilas* before. And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Râgagaha. There the Blessed One dwelt near Râgagaha, in the *Latthivana* pleasure garden, near the sacred shrine of *Supatittha*¹.

2. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra heard : 'The Samana Gotama Sakyaputta, an ascetic of the Sakya tribe, has just arrived at Râgagaha and is staying near Râgagaha, in the *Latthivana* pleasure garden, near the sacred shrine of *Supatittha*. Of Him the blessed Gotama such a glorious fame is spread abroad : "Truly he is the blessed, holy, absolute Sambuddha, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the most happy One, who understands all worlds, the highest One, who guides men as a driver curbs a bullock, the teacher of gods and men, the blessed Buddha. He makes known the Truth, which he has understood himself and seen face to face, to this world system with its devas, its Mâras, and its Brahmâs ; to all beings, Samanas and Brâhmanas,

¹ *Latthivana* (Sansk. *yashâvana*), literally, 'stick forest,' means a forest consisting of bambus. General Cunningham has the following note about this bambu forest : 'In 1862, when I was at Râjgir (i.e. Râgagaha), I heard the bambu forest always spoken of as Jaktiban ; . . . I fixed the position of the bambu forest to the south-west of Râjgir on the hill lying between the hot-springs of Tapoban and old Râgagrîha.' Reports, III, 140.

The word we have rendered sacred shrine is *Ketiya*.

gods and men; he preaches that Truth (Dhamma) which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; he proclaims a consummate, perfect, and pure life." It is good to obtain the sight of holy men (Arahats) like that.'

3. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, surrounded by twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders¹, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. And of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders some also respectfully saluted the Blessed One and sat down near him; some exchanged greeting with the Blessed One, having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, they sat down near him; some bent their clasped hands towards the Blessed One and sat down near him; some shouted out their name and their family name before the Blessed One and sat down near him; some silently sat down near him.

4. Now those twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders thought: 'How now is this? has the great Samana placed himself under the spiritual direction of Uruvelâ Kassapa, or has Uruvelâ Kassapa placed himself under the spiritual direction of the great Samana?'

And the Blessed One, who understood in his mind the reflection which had arisen in the minds of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders, addressed the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa

¹ The word householder (gahapati) is used here, as is the case not unfrequently, to denote householders of the third caste. Compare Rh. D.'s note on Mahâ-sudassana Sutta, p. 260.

in this stanza: 'What knowledge have you gained, O inhabitant of Uruvelā, that has induced you, who were renowned for your penances¹, to forsake your sacred fire? I ask you, Kassapa, this question: How is it that your fire sacrifice has become deserted?'

(Kassapa replied): 'It is visible things and sounds, and also tastes, pleasures and woman that the sacrifices speak of²; because I understood that whatever belongs to existence³ is filth, therefore I took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings⁴.'

5. 'But if your mind, Kassapa (said the Blessed One⁵), found there no more delight,—either in visible things, or sounds, or tastes,—what is it in the world of men or gods in which⁶ your mind, Kassapa, now finds delight? Tell me that.'

(Kassapa replied): 'I have seen the state of peace (i. e. Nirvāṇa) in which the basis of existence (upadhi³) and the obstacles to perfection (kiñ-

¹ Literally, 'who is known as emaciate.' This is said with reference to the mortifications practised by the *Gaṣṭas* or *Vānaprasthas*. The *Mahābhārata* (III, 1499) uses the same adjective (*krīṣa*) of a *Gaṣṭa*. *Vadāno* we take for a participle, but it is possible also to read *vadāno*, 'tell us,' which Professor Jacobi (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, XXXIV, p. 187) prefers. *Buddhaghosa* takes *kisakovadāno* for a compound of *kisaka* and *ovadāna*: *tāpasānam ovadako anusāsako*.

² The meaning is: The mantras which are recited at the sacrifices contain praises of visible things, &c., and the rewards that are promised to him who offers such sacrifices do not extend beyond that same sphere.

³ The Pāli word is *upadhi*, which is translated by Childers, 'substratum of being.' See our note on chap. 5. 2. In this passage *upadhi* is said to refer to the *Khandhas* (*Buddhaghosa*).

⁴ Here we have the Vedic distinction of greater and smaller sacrifices (*yagatayas* and *guhodayas*).

⁵ The words 'said the Blessed One' (*ti Bhagavā avoṭṭa*) are probably interpolated from a gloss, as they destroy the metre.

⁶ Doubtless *Buddhaghosa* is right in explaining *ko* by *kva*.

*kaṇa*¹) have ceased, which is free from attachment to sensual existence, which cannot pass over into another state, which cannot be led to another state; therefore I took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings.'

6. Then the venerable Uruvelā Kassapa rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, prostrated himself, inclining his head to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'My teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One, I am his pupil; my teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One, I am his pupil.' Then those twelve myriads of Magadha Brāhmaṇas and householders understood: 'Uruvelā Kassapa has placed himself under the spiritual direction of the great Samana.'

7, 8. And the Blessed One, who understood in his mind the reflection that had arisen in the minds of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brāhmaṇas and householders, preached to them in due course (&c., as in chap. 7, §§ 5, 6, down to:). Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus eleven myriads of those Magadha Brāhmaṇas and householders with Bimbisāra at their head, while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject

¹ *Akiṇṇa* here, and elsewhere, used as an epithet of Arahatsip, refers to the state of mind in which the *kiṇṇas*, that is, lust, malice, and delusion (so in the *Samgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*), have ceased to be. It is literally 'being without the somethings,' which are the things that stand in the way, the obstacles to Buddhist perfection; and Buddhaghosa (in the *Su-māṅgala Vilāsinī* on the passage in the *Samgīti Sutta*) explains accordingly *kiṇṇa* by *paṭibodha*.

also to the condition of cessation.' One myriad announced their having become lay-pupils.

9. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, having seen the Truth (&c. . . . down to) dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the Teacher's doctrine, said to the Blessed One: 'In former days, Lord, when I was a prince, I entertained five wishes; these are fulfilled now. In former days, Lord, when I was a prince, I wished: "O that I might be inaugurated as king." This was my first wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. "And might then the holy, absolute Sambuddha come into my kingdom." This was my second wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now.

10. "And might I pay my respects to Him, the Blessed One." This was my third wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. "And might He the Blessed One preach his doctrine (Dhamma) to me." This was my fourth wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. "And might I understand His, the Blessed One's doctrine." This was my fifth wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. These were the five wishes, Lord, which I entertained in former days when I was a prince; these are fulfilled now.

11. 'Glorious, Lord! (&c., as in chap. 7. 10, down to:) who has taken his refuge in Him. And might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with me to-morrow together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent.

12. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

And when the night had elapsed, the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and had dinner-time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time, Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and with his *ktvara* on entered the city of Râgagaha accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by one thousand Bhikkhus who all had been *Gaṭilas* before.

13. At that time Sakka the king of the devas, assuming the appearance of a young Brâhman, walked in front of the Bhikkhu fraternity with Buddha at its head, singing the following stanzas: 'The self-controlled One with the self-controlled, with the former *Gaṭilas*, the released One with the released, the Blessed One, gold-coloured like an ornament of *siṅgt* gold¹, has entered Râgagaha.

'The emancipated One with the emancipated, with the former *Gaṭilas*, &c.

'He who has crossed (the ocean of passion) with them who have crossed (it), with the former *Gaṭilas*, the released One with the released, the Blessed One, gold-coloured like an ornament of *siṅgt* gold, has entered Râgagaha.

'He who is possessed of the ten Noble States²

¹ Gold colour is one (the 17th) of the thirty-two *lakkhana* which form the characteristics of Buddha as a *mahâpurisa*.

² The ten *ariyavâsas*. Buddhaghosa says: *dasasu ariyavâsesu vutthavâso*. The *Samgîti Sutta* gives the ten Noble States, as follows: 1. being free from the five bad qualities (*pañkaṅga*), 2. being possessed of the six good qualities (*khaḷaṅga*), 3. being guarded in the one thing (*ekâraḁkha*), 4. observing four things (*katurâpassena*), 5. rejecting each of the four false truths (*pa-nunna pakkeka-sakka*), 6. seeking right things (*samavayasa-*

and of the ten Powers¹, who understands the ten Paths of Kamma² and possesses the ten (attributes of Arahatsip)³, the Blessed One, surrounded by ten hundred of followers, has entered Râgagaha.'

14. The people when they saw Sakka the king of the devas, said: 'This youth indeed is handsome; this youth indeed has a lovely appearance; this youth indeed is pleasing. Whose attendant may this youth be?'

When they talked thus, Sakka the king of the devas addressed those people in this stanza: 'He who is wise, entirely self-controlled, the unrivalled Buddha, the Arahata, the most happy upon earth: his attendant am I.'

15. And the Blessed One went to the palace of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra. Having gone there, he sat down with the Bhikkhus who followed him, on seats laid out for them. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra with his own hands served and offered excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at

dhesana), 7. having pure aims (*anâvila-samkappa*), 8. being full of ease (*passaddhakâya-samkhâra*), 9. being emancipated in heart (*suvimuttakitta*), 10. being emancipated in ideas (*suvimuttapañña*). The *Samgiti* then further enlarges on the meaning of each of these ten.

¹ The ten Balas, which are ten kinds of knowledge (*ñâna*); see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 781 and following, and compare *Gâtaka* I, 78.

² *Buddhaghosa* explains *dasadhammavidû* by *dasakammapathavidû*.

³ *Buddhaghosa* explains *dasabhi k'ûpeto* by supplying *asekhehi dhammehi*. The first eight of the ten *asekhâ dhammâ* consist in the full perfection of *sammâdiñhi* (right belief) and the other categories enumerated in the formula of the Noble Eightfold Path; the ninth and tenth are the perfection of *sammâñâna* (right knowledge) and *sammâvimutti* (right emancipation).

its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleansed his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him.

16. Sitting near him the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra thought: 'Where may I find a place for the Blessed One to live in, not too far from the town and not too near, suitable for going and coming, easily accessible for all people who want (to see him), by day not too crowded, at night not exposed to much noise and alarm, clean of the smell of people, hidden from men, well fitted for a retired life?'

17. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra thought: 'There is the *Ve/uvana*¹, my pleasure garden, which is not too far from the town and not too near, suitable for going and coming, . . . (&c., down to a retired life). What if I were to make an offering of the *Ve/uvana* pleasure garden to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head?'

18. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra took a golden vessel (with water in it, to be poured over the Buddha's hand); and dedicated (the garden) to the Blessed One (by saying), 'I give up this *Ve/uvana* pleasure garden, Lord, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head.' The Blessed One accepted the *ârâma* (park). Then the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Magadha king Seniya

¹ The site of the *Ve/uvana* ('bambu forest') near *Râgagaha* has not yet been discovered. 'It must have occupied about the position where the ancient basements, marked K. K. K. and G. in Cunningham's map of *Râgagriha* (pl. xiv, Reports, vol. i), were found by him' (Rh. D., 'Buddhism,' p. 62 note).

Bimbisāra by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away.

And in consequence of this event the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to receive the donation of an ārama (a park).'

23.

1. At that time Saṅgaya, a paribbāgaka (wandering ascetic), resided at Rāgagaha with a great retinue of paribbāgakas, with two hundred and fifty paribbāgakas. At that time Sāriputta and Moggallāna (two young Brāhmanas) led a religious life as followers of Saṅgaya the paribbāgaka; these had given their word to each other: 'He who first attains to the immortal (amata, i.e. Nirvāna) shall tell the other one.'

2. Now one day the venerable Assagi in the forenoon, having put on his under-robes, and having taken his alms-bowl, and with his *ḷīvara* on, entered the city of Rāgagaha for alms; his walking, turning back, regarding, looking, drawing (his arms) back, and stretching (them) out was decorous; he turned his eyes to the ground, and was dignified in deportment. Now the paribbāgaka Sāriputta saw the venerable Assagi, who went through Rāgagaha for alms, whose walking, &c., was decorous, who kept his eyes on the ground, and was dignified in deportment. Seeing him he thought: 'Indeed this person is one of those Bhikkhus who are the worthy ones (Arahats) in the world, or who have entered the path of Arahatsip. What if I were to approach this Bhikkhu and

to ask him: "In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?"

3. Now the paribbâgaka Sâriputta thought: 'This is not the time to ask this Bhikkhu; he has entered the interior yard of a house, walking for alms. What if I were to follow this Bhikkhu step by step, according to the course recognised by those who want something¹.'

And the venerable Assagi, having finished his alms-pilgrimage through Râgagaha, went back with the food he had received. Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta went to the place where the venerable Assagi was; having approached him, he exchanged greeting with the venerable Assagi; having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, he stationed himself at his side; standing at his side the paribbâgaka Sâriputta said to the venerable Assagi: 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess²?'

4. (Assagi replied): 'There is, friend, the great Samana Sakyaputta, an ascetic of the Sakya tribe; in His, the Blessed One's, name have I retired from the world; He, the Blessed One, is my teacher; and His, the Blessed One's, doctrine do I profess.'

¹ This seems to us the meaning of *atthikehi upaññâtam maggam*. Sâriputta followed Assagi as suppliants are accustomed to follow their proposed benefactor till a convenient season arrives for preferring their request.

² The same words as are put in the mouth of Upaka, when addressing the Buddha, above, chap. 6, § 7 (and see below, § 6).

‘And what is the doctrine, Sir, which your teacher holds, and preaches to you?’

‘I am only a young disciple, friend; I have but recently received the ordination; and I have newly adopted this doctrine and discipline. I cannot explain to you the doctrine in detail; but I will tell you in short what it means.’

Then the paribbāgaka Sâriputta said to the venerable Assagi: ‘Well, friend, tell me much or little as you like, but be sure to tell me the spirit (of the doctrine); I want but the spirit; why do you make so much of the letter?’

5. Then the venerable Assagi pronounced to the paribbāgaka Sâriputta the following text of the Dhamma: ‘Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathāgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Samana¹.’

And the paribbāgaka Sâriputta after having heard this text obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the following knowledge): ‘Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.’ (And he said): ‘If this alone be the Doctrine (the Dhamma), now you have reached up to the state where all sorrow ceases (i. e. Nirvāṇa), (the state) which has remained unseen

¹ This famous stanza doubtless alludes to the formula of the twelve Nidānas (see chap. 1. 2) which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here ‘dhammā hetuppabhavā.’ Hetu and paṭṭhaya (the word so frequently used in the formula of the Nidānas) are nearly synonymous. Colebrooke (Life and Essays, vol. ii. p. 419) says that the Bauddhas distinguish between hetu, ‘proximate cause,’ and paṭṭhaya (pratyaya), ‘concurrent occasion;’ but, in practical use, this slight difference of meaning, if it really existed, has but little weight attached to it.

through many myriads of Kappas (world-ages) of the past.'

6. Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta went to the place where the paribbâgaka Moggallâna was. And the paribbâgaka Moggallâna saw the paribbâgaka Sâriputta coming from afar; seeing him he said to the paribbâgaka Sâriputta: 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. Have you then really reached the immortal, friend?'

'Yes, friend, I have attained to the immortal.'

'And how, friend, have you done so?'

7-9. 'I saw, friend, the Bhikkhu Assagi who went through Râgagaha for alms (&c.¹, down to:); "But I will tell you in short what it means."

"Tell me much or little as you like, but be sure to tell me the spirit (of the doctrine); I want but the spirit; why do you make so much of the letter?"

10. 'Then, friend, the Bhikkhu Assagi pronounced the following Dhamma sentence: "Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathâgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Samana."'

And the paribbâgaka Moggallâna, after having heard (&c., as in § 5, down to the end).

24.

1. Then the paribbâgaka Moggallâna said to the paribbâgaka Sâriputta: 'Let us go, friend, and join

¹ See §§ 2-4. Instead of 'The paribbâgaka Sâriputta,' of course, the pronoun of the first person is to be read; instead of 'The venerable Assagi' read, 'The Bhikkhu Assagi;' and further, the vocative 'Friend' (âvuso), addressed to Moggallâna, is inserted three or four times in the course of this narration.

the Blessed One; that He, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.'

(Sâriputta replied): 'It is on our account, friend, that these two hundred and fifty paribbâgakas live here (as followers of Sañgaya), and it is we whom they regard; let us first inform them also of our intention; then they may do what they think fit.'

Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where those paribbâgakas were; having approached them, they said to the paribbâgakas: 'Friends, we are going to join the Blessed One; that He, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.'

(The paribbâgakas replied): 'It is on your account, Sirs, that we live here, and it is you whom we regard; if you, Sirs, are about to place yourselves under the spiritual direction of the great Samana, we all will place ourselves also under the spiritual direction of the great Samana.'

2. Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where the paribbâgaka Sañgaya was; having approached him, they said to the paribbâgaka Sañgaya: 'Friend, we are going to join the Blessed One; that He, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.'

(Sañgaya replied): 'Nay, friends, do not go; let us all three share in the leadership of this body (of disciples).'

And a second time Sâriputta and Moggallâna said, &c. And a third time Sâriputta and Moggallâna said, &c. (And a third time he replied): 'Nay, friends, do not go; let us all three share in the leadership of this body (of disciples).'

3. But Sâriputta and Moggallâna took with them those two hundred and fifty paribbâgakas and went to the Veḷuvana. But the paribbâgaka Sañgaya

began, on the spot, to vomit hot blood from his mouth¹.

And the Blessed One saw them, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, coming from afar; on seeing them he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'There, O Bhikkhus, two companions arrive, Kolita and Upatissa²; these will be a pair of (true) pupils, a most distinguished, auspicious pair.'

When³ (Sâriputta and Moggallâna), who had reached emancipation in the perfect destruction of the substrata (of existence), which is a profound subject accessible only to knowledge, came to the Vêlûvana, the Teacher, who saw them, foretold about

¹ The later Burmese and Chinese works translated by Bigandet (Life of Gaudama, p. 152) and by Beal (Romantic Legend, p. 330) add that he died. This is not in the Pâli text, and the Sinhalese account given by Hardy (Manual, p. 197) is directly opposed to that statement.

² Upatissa was called Sâriputta after his mother ('The Son of Sâri'); Kolita had the family name Moggallâna (compare Beal, Romantic Legend, pp. 324, 331). The name Upatissa occurs in Asoka's well-known edict which has been found at Bairât. The king there quotes 'The Question of Upatissa' among the texts, the study of which he recommends to the brethren and sisters of the fraternity and to the laymen of either sex. This very probably refers to the dialogue between Assagi and Sâriputta.

³ As to this repetition of what had been related before, comp. the note on chap. 15. 6, 7. The words from gambhîre down to upadhisamkhaṇḍe form a sloka. This is one of several instances where an older passage in verse, and probably first composed in some nearly related dialect, appears in the Pâli Piṭakas in prose. It is this which explains the extraordinary grammatical construction of the first seven words. Compare Rh. D.'s note on the similar instance at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 62. The exclamation put into the mouth of Sâriputta, and afterwards of Moggallâna (above, chap. 23, §§ 5, 10), ought also, perhaps, to be included in the same category.

them: 'These two companions who are now coming—Kolita and Upatissa—these will be a pair of (true) pupils, a most distinguished, auspicious pair.'

4. Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they prostrated themselves, inclining their heads to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhus,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.' Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

5. At that time many distinguished young Magadha noblemen led a religious life under the direction of the Blessed One. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'The Samana Gotama causes fathers to beget no sons; the Samana Gotama causes wives to become widows; the Samana Gotama causes families to become extinct. Now he has ordained one thousand Gatilas, and he has ordained these two hundred and fifty paribbâgakas who were followers of Saṅgaya; and these many distinguished young Magadha noblemen are now leading a religious life under the direction of the Samana Gotama.' And moreover, when they saw the Bhikkhus, they reviled them in the following stanza: 'The great Samana has come to Giribbaga (i. e. Râgagaha) of the Magadha people, leading with him all the followers of Saṅgaya; who will be the next to be led by him?'

6. Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were

annoyed, murmured, and had become angry; these Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One. (He replied): 'This noise, O Bhikkhus, will not last long; it will last only seven days; after seven days it will be over. And if they revile you, O Bhikkhus, in this stanza: "The great Samāna has come, &c.," you should reply to the revilers in the following stanza: "It is by means of the true doctrine that the great heroes, the Tathāgatas, lead men. Who will murmur at the wise, who lead men by the power of the Truth?"'

7. At that time the people, when seeing the Bhikkhus, reviled them in the following stanza: 'The great Samāna has come, &c.'

Then the Bhikkhus replied to the revilers in the following stanza: 'It is by means of the true doctrine, &c.'

Then the people understood: 'It is by truth, and not by wrong, that the Sakyaputtiya Samānas lead men;' and thus that noise lasted only seven days, and after seven days it was over.

Here ends the narration of the ordination of
Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

End of the fourth Bhānavāra.

25¹.

1. At that time some Bhikkhus, as they had no upagghāyas (preceptors) and received no exhorta-

¹ The chief object of the first book being to discuss the regulations for the upasampadā ordination, at which the preceptor

tion and instruction, went on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments (or, wearing their under and upper garments improperly), and in an improper attire. While people were eating, they held out their alms-bowls in which were leavings of food¹, over the hard food (which the people were eating), and held them out over soft food, and held them out over savoury food, and held them out over drinks. They asked for soup and boiled rice themselves, and ate it; in the dining halls they made a great and loud noise.

2. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments, . . . (&c., as in § 1, down to drinks)? How can they make so great and loud a noise in the dining halls? They behave like Brāhmanas at the dinners given to them.'

3. Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry. Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, frugal, modest, con-

(upagghâya) of the candidate has a principal part, the text now goes on to relate the institution of the office and upagghâyas, and to explain the mutual duties incumbent on upagghâyas and pupils (saddhivihârikas).

¹ Buddhaghosa has the following note on utti//hapatta: 'utti//hapattan ti pindâya karanakapattam, tasmim hi manussâ ukki//hasaññino (this word is spelt so in the Paris MS. as well as in the Berlin MS. of the Samanta Pâsâdikâ; the usual spelling is ukkhi//ha), tasmâ utti//hapattan ti vuttam. athavâ utti//hahitvâ pattam upanâmentiti evam ettha attho da//habbo.' We take the word, as the former of Buddhaghosa's two explanations implies, for a composition of ukkhi//ha. For the conversion of palatal consonants into dentals, see E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik, p. 36, and on the use of the word compare Trenckner's Milinda Pañho, pp. 213, 214.

scientious, anxious for training, were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Bhikkhus go on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments, &c.? How can they make so great and loud a noise in the dining halls?'

4. These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, questioned the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that some Bhikkhus go on their rounds, . . . (&c., down to), that they make a great and loud noise in the dining halls?'

'It is true, Lord.'

5. Then the Blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'It is improper, O Bhikkhus, what these foolish persons are doing, it is unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of *Samaṇas*, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, go on their rounds, &c.? How can they make so great and loud a noise in the dining halls? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted, and for augmenting the number of the converted; but it will result, O Bhikkhus, in the unconverted being repulsed (from the faith), and in many of the converted being estranged.'

6. And the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus in many ways, spoke against unfrugality, ill-nature, immoderation, insatiableness, delighting in society, and indolence; spoke in many ways in praise of frugality, good-nature, of the moderate, contented, who have eradicated (sin), who have shaken off (sin), of the gracious, of the reverent, and of the energetic. And having delivered before the Bhikkhus a religious

discourse in accordance to, and in conformity with these subjects, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, (that young Bhikkhus choose) an upagghāya (or preceptor).

'The upagghāya, O Bhikkhus, ought to consider the saddhivihārika (i.e. pupil) as a son; the saddhivihārika ought to consider the upagghāya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline.

7. 'And let them choose, O Bhikkhus, an upagghāya in this way: Let him (who is going to choose an upagghāya) adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet (of the intended upagghāya), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "Venerable Sir, be my upagghāya; venerable Sir, be my upagghāya; venerable Sir, be my upagghāya." (If the other answer): "Well," or, "Certainly," or, "Good," or, "All right," or, "Carry on (your work) with friendliness (towards me)," or should he express this by gesture (lit. by his body), or by word, or by gesture and word, then the upagghāya has been chosen. If he does not express this by gesture, nor by word, nor by gesture and word, the upagghāya has not been chosen.

8. 'The saddhivihārika, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his upagghāya. And these are the rules for his conduct: Let him arise betimes, and having taken off his shoes¹ and adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder,

¹ If he had put on shoes for having a walk early in the morning or for keeping his feet clean (Buddhaghosa).

let him give (to the *upagghâya*) the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat (for the *upagghâya*). If there is rice-milk, let him rinse the jug and offer the rice-milk (to the *upagghâya*). When he has drunk it, let him give water (to the *upagghâya*), take the jug, hold it down, rinse it properly without (damaging it by) rubbing, and put it away. When the *upagghâya* has risen, let him take away the seat. If the place is dirty, let him sweep the place.

9. 'If the *upagghâya* wishes to go into the village, let (the *saddhivihârîka*) give (to the *upagghâya*) his under garment, take (from him) his second under garment (i.e. his house-dress?), give him his girdle, lay the two upper garments upon each other¹ and give them (to the *upagghâya*), rinse the alms-bowl, and give it him with some water in it. If the *upagghâya* wishes (to go with) an attendant Bhikkhu, let him put on his under garment so as to conceal the three circles (viz. the navel and the two knees) and as to cover the body all around; then let him put on his girdle, lay the two upper garments upon each other and put them on, tie the knots, take his alms-bowl, after having it rinsed, and follow the *upagghâya* as his attendant. Let him not go too far (from the *upagghâya*) nor too near. Let him take (from the *upagghâya*) what has been put into his alms-bowl².

10. 'When the *upagghâya* speaks, let (the *sad-*

¹ Buddhaghosa explains *sagunam* *katvâ* by *ekato* *katvâ*.

² According to Buddhaghosa the meaning of these words is: If the alms-bowl of the *upagghâya* has become too heavy or hot by the food put into it, the *saddhivihârîka* ought to take it and give his own bowl to the *upagghâya*.

dhivihârika) not interrupt him. If the upagghâya is in danger of committing an offence by the words he says, let (the saddhivihârika) keep him back. When (the upagghâya) turns back (from his alms-pilgrimage), let the saddhivihârika go back (to the Vihâra) before (the upagghâya), prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel¹; then let him go to meet the upagghâya, take his bowl and his robe, give him his second under garment (his house-dress?), and take his under garment. If the robe (of the upagghâya) is wet with perspiration, let him dry it a while in a hot place, but let him not leave the robe in a hot place. Let him fold up the robe. When folding up the robe, let him fold it up so as to leave (every day) four inches (more than the day before) hanging over at the corners, in order that no fold may arise in the middle of it². Let him . . . the girdle³. If there is any food received in the alms-bowl, and the upagghâya desires to eat it, let him give water (to the upagghâya) and then offer him the food.

11. 'Let him offer to the upagghâya (water) to drink. When the upagghâya has finished his meal, let (the saddhivihârika) give him water, take his alms-bowl, hold it down, rinse it properly without (damaging it by) rubbing, pour the water out, and dry (the bowl) a while in some hot place, but let

¹ See Chap. 6, 11, with the note.

² I. e. in order that the folds might not fall upon the same place every day, and the robe might be worn out at that place (Buddhaghosa).

³ The Pâli text is: 'Obhoge kâyabandhanam kâtabbam.' Buddhaghosa's note runs as follows: 'Kâyabandhanam samgharivâ (read samharitvâ) kîvarabhoge pakkhipitvâ thapetabbam.' We do not venture to offer any conjectures as to the meaning of this passage.

him not leave the bowl in the hot place. Let him put away the alms-bowl and the robe. When he puts away the alms-bowl, let him do so holding the alms-bowl with one hand, and first feeling with the other hand under the bed or under the chair (where he is going to put the bowl), and let him not put the bowl on the bare ground. When he hangs up the robe, let him take the robe with one hand and stroke with the other hand along the bambu peg or rope on which the robe is to be hung up, and hang up the robe so that the border is turned away from him (and turned to the wall), and the fold is turned towards him. When the upagghâya has risen, let him take away the seat and put away the water for the washing of the feet, the foot-stool, and the towel¹. If the place is dirty, let him sweep the place.

12. 'If the upagghâya wishes to bathe, let him prepare a bath. If he wants cold water, let him get cold water; if he wants hot water, let him get hot water. If the upagghâya wishes to go to the *gantâghara*², let (the *saddhivihârîka*) knead the powder³, moisten the clay⁴, take up the chair belonging to the *gantâghara*, follow the upagghâya from behind, give him the chair, take his

¹ See Chap. 6. 11, with the note.

² A *gantâghara* (Sansk. *yantragriha*, according to Dr. Bühler's conjecture) is a bathing-place for hot sitting baths. See *Kullavagga* V, 14, 3; VIII, 8; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachf.*, XXV, 325.

³ It is first moistened by water and then kneaded into lumps (*Buddhaghosa*),—no doubt to be rubbed over the person who is bathing.

⁴ The face was besmeared with moistened clay in order to protect it from the heat. See *Kullavagga* V, 14, 3.

robe and put it aside, give him the powder and the clay. If he is able¹, let him also enter the *gantâghara*. When he is going to enter the *gantâghara*, let him besmear his face with clay, cover himself from before and behind, and thus enter the *gantâghara*.

13. 'Let him not sit down so as to encroach on senior Bhikkhus, nor let him dislodge junior Bhikkhus from their seats. Let him wait upon the *upagghâya* in the *gantâghara*. When he is going to leave the *gantâghara*, let him take up the chair belonging to the *gantâghara*, cover himself from before and behind, and thus leave the *gantâghara*. Let him wait upon the *upagghâya* also in the water. When he has bathed, let (the *saddhivihârika*) go out of the water first, let him dry his own body, put on his dress, then wipe off the water from his *upagghâya*'s body, give him his under garment and his upper garment, take the chair belonging to the *gantâghara*, go before the *upagghâya*, prepare a seat for him, and get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel². Let him offer to the *upagghâya* (water) to drink.

14. 'If (the *upagghâya*) likes being called upon to deliver a discourse, let him call upon (the *upagghâya* to do so). If (the *upagghâya*) likes questions being put to him, let him put questions (to the *upagghâya*).

'If the *Vihâra*, in which the *upagghâya* dwells, is dirty, let him clean that *Vihâra*, if he is able to do so. When cleaning the *Vihâra*, let him first take away the alms-bowl and the robe (of the *upagghâya*)

¹ I. e. if he is not prevented by indisposition (Buddhaghosa).

² See Chap. 6. 11, with the note.

and lay them aside. Let him take away the mat and the sheet¹ and lay them aside. Let him take away the mattress and the pillow and lay them aside.

15. 'Let him turn down the bed, take it away properly without rubbing it (against the floor) and without knocking it against door or doorpost, and put it aside. Let him turn down the chair, take it away properly without rubbing it (against the floor) and without knocking it against door or doorpost, and put it aside. Let him take away the supporters of the bed² and put them aside. Let him take away the spitting-box and put it aside. Let him take away the board to recline on³ and put it aside. Let him take away the carpet, after having noticed how it was spread out, and put it aside. If there are cobwebs in the Vihâra, let him remove them as soon as he sees them. Let him wipe off the casements⁴ and the corners of the room. If a wall which is coated with red chalk, is dirty, let him moisten the mop, wring it out, and scour the wall. If the floor is coated black and is dirty, let him moisten the mop, wring it out, and scour the floor. If the floor is not blacked, let him sprinkle it with water and scrub it in order that the Vihâra may not become dusty. Let him heap up the sweepings and cast them aside.

16. 'Let him bask the carpet in the sunshine, clean it, dust it by beating, take it back, and spread it out as it was spread before. Let him put the supporters of the bed in the sunshine, wipe them,

¹ See VIII, 16, 3. 4.

² The bedstead rested on movable supporters. See *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 5.

³ See *Kullavagga* VI, 20, 2.

⁴ See the *Samanta Pâsâdikâ*, ap. Minayeff, *Prâtîmoksha*, p. 87.

take them back, and put them in their place. Let him put the bed in the sunshine, clean it, dust it by beating, turn it down, take it back properly without rubbing it (against the floor) and without knocking it against door and doorpost, and put it in its place. Let him put the chair in the sunshine, &c.¹ Let him put mattress and pillow in the sunshine, clean them, dust them by beating, take them back, and lay them out as they were laid out before. Let him put the mat and sheet in the sunshine, &c.¹ Let him put the spittoon in the sunshine, wipe it, take it back, and put it in its place. Let him put in the sunshine the board to recline on, &c.¹

17. 'Let him put away the alms-bowl and the robe. When he puts them away (&c., as in § 11, down to:), and hang up the robe so that the border is turned away from him and the fold is turned towards him.

18. 'If dusty winds blow from the East, let him shut the windows on the East. If dusty winds blow from the West, let him shut the windows on the West, &c.² If it is cold weather, let him open the windows by day and shut them at night. If it is hot weather, let him shut the windows by day and open them at night.

19. 'If the cell is dirty, let him sweep the cell. If the store-room is dirty, let him sweep the store-room. If the refectory, &c. If the fire room, &c. If the privy is dirty, let him sweep the privy. If there is no drinkable water, let him provide drinkable water. If there is no food, let him provide food. If there is no water in the waterpot for rinsing the mouth with, let him pour water into the pot.

¹ As in the preceding clause.

² The same for North and South.

20. 'If discontent has arisen within the upagghâya's heart, let the saddhivihârika appease him¹, or cause him to be appeased (by another), or compose him by religious conversation. If indecision has arisen in the upagghâya's mind, let the saddhivihârika dispel it, or cause it to be dispelled, or compose him by religious conversation. If the upagghâya takes to a false doctrine, let the saddhivihârika discuss it, or cause another to discuss it, or compose (the upagghâya) by religious conversation.

21. 'If the upagghâya is guilty of a grave offence, and ought to be sentenced to parivâsa discipline², let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha sentence the upagghâya to parivâsa discipline. If the upagghâya ought to be sentenced to recommence his penal discipline, let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha may order the upagghâya to recommence his penal discipline. If the mânatta discipline ought to be imposed on the upagghâya, let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha impose the mânatta discipline on the upagghâya. If the upagghâya is to be rehabilitated (when his penal discipline has been duly undergone), let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha rehabilitate the upagghâya.

¹ Literally, make it (the discontentedness) clear. Buddhaghosa reads vûpakâsetabbo vûpakâsâpetabbo, which he explains thus: 'vûpakâsetabbo means, "Let (the saddhivihârika) lead him to another place;" vûpakâsâpetabbo means, "Let him tell another Bhikkhu to take the Thera and go with him elsewhere."'

² The second and third books of the Kullavagga contain a detailed explanation of parivâsa and of the other technical terms contained in this paragraph.

22. 'If the *Samgha* wishes to proceed against the *upagghâya* by the *tagganiyakamma*¹, or the *nissaya*, or the *pabbâganiyakamma*, or the *paṭisâranīyakamma*, or the *ukkhepanīyakamma*, let the *saddhivihârika* do what he can in order that the *Samgha* may not proceed against the *upagghâya* or may mitigate the proceeding. Or if the *Samgha* has instituted a proceeding against him, the *tagganiyakamma*, &c., or the *ukkhepanīyakamma*, let the *saddhivihârika* do what he can in order that the *upagghâya* may behave himself properly, live modestly, and aspire to get clear of his penance, and that the *Samgha* may revoke its sentence.

23. 'If the robe of the *upagghâya* must be washed, let the *saddhivihârika* wash it or take care that the *upagghâya*'s robe is washed. If a robe must be made for the *upagghâya*, let the *saddhivihârika* make it or take care that the *upagghâya*'s robe is made. If dye must be boiled for the *upagghâya*, &c. If the robe of the *upagghâya* must be dyed, &c. When he dyes the robe, let him dye it properly and turn it whenever required, and let him not go away before the dye has ceased to drop.

24. 'Let him not give his alms-bowl to any one without the permission of his *upagghâya*. Let him not accept an alms-bowl from any one else without the permission of his *upagghâya*. Let him not give his robe to any one else, &c. Let him not accept a robe from any one else; let him not give articles

¹ The discussion about the *tagganiyakamma* and the other disciplinary proceedings alluded to in this paragraph is given in the first book of the *Kullavagga*.

(required for a Bhikkhu) to any one else; let him not receive (such) articles from any one else; let him not shave the hair of any one else; let him not have his hair shaven by any one else; let him not wait upon any one else; let him not have done service by any one else; let him not execute commissions for any one else; let him not have commissions executed by any one else; let him not go with any one else as his attendant; let him not take any one else with him as his attendant; let him not carry any one's food received by him in alms (to the Vihâra); let him not have the food received by himself in alms carried by any one (to the Vihâra) without the permission of his upagghâya. Let him not enter the village, or go to a cemetery, or go abroad on journeys without the permission of his upagghâya. If his upagghâya is sick, let him nurse him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered.'

End of the duties towards an upagghâya.

26.

1. 'The upagghâya, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his saddhivihârika. And these are the rules for his conduct: Let the upagghâya, O Bhikkhus, afford (spiritual) help and furtherance to the saddhivihârika by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, by instruction. If the upagghâya has an alms-bowl and the saddhivihârika has not, let the upagghâya give the alms-bowl to the saddhivihârika or take care

that the saddhivihârika gets an alms-bowl. If the upagghâya has a robe and the saddhivihârika has not, let the upagghâya give the robe, &c. If the upagghâya has the articles (required for a Bhikkhu) and the saddhivihârika has not, &c.

2-6. 'If the saddhivihârika is sick, let (the upagghâya) arise betimes and give him the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat (for the saddhivihârika). If there is rice-milk (&c., as in chap. 25. 8, 9, down to :), and give it him with some water in it. When he expects: "Now he must be about to return," let him prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet (&c., as in chap. 25. 10-13¹, down to :). Let him offer to the saddhivihârika water to drink.

7-10. 'If the Vihâra in which the saddhivihârika dwells, is dirty (&c., as in chap. 25. 14-22).

11. 'If the robe of the saddhivihârika must be washed, let the upagghâya tell the saddhivihârika: "Thus must you wash your robe," or let him take care that the saddhivihârika's robe is washed. If a robe must be made for the saddhivihârika, let the upagghâya tell the saddhivihârika: "Thus must you make the robe," or let him take care that the saddhivihârika's robe is made. If dye must be boiled for the saddhivihârika, &c. If the robe of the saddhivihârika must be dyed, let the upagghâya tell, &c. When he dyes the robe, let him dye it properly, and turn it whenever required, and let him not go away before the dye has ceased to drop. If the saddhivihârika

¹ Instead of, 'Follow the upagghâya from behind' (chap. 25. 12), read here, 'Go (with the saddhivihârika).'

is sick, let him nurse him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered.'

End of the duties towards a saddhivihârika.

27.

1. At that time the saddhivihârikas did not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas. The moderate Bhikkhus¹ were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the saddhivihârikas not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas?' These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

(Then Buddha questioned the Bhikkhus): 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the saddhivihârikas do not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas?'

(They replied): 'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'How can the saddhivihârikas, O Bhikkhus, not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas?' Having rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus²: 'Let a saddhivihârika, O Bhikkhus, not forbear to observe a proper conduct towards

¹ We believe that the words 'The moderate Bhikkhus' are intended here and throughout the whole work as an abbreviation of the fuller phrase, 'Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, frugal, modest, conscientious, anxious for training' (chap. 25. 3).

² All this is an abbreviation of what has been given at full length in chap. 25. 4-6.

his upagghâya. He who does not observe it, is guilty of a dukkaṭa¹ offence.'

2. Notwithstanding this, they did not observe a proper conduct. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I ordain, O Bhikkhus, to turn away (a saddhivihârika) who does not observe a proper conduct. And he ought, O Bhikkhus, to be turned away in this way: (The upagghâya is to say): "I turn you away," or, "Do not come back hither," or, "Take away your alms-bowl and robe," or, "I am not to be attended by you any more." Whether he express this by gesture, or by word, or by gesture and word, the saddhivihârika has then been turned away. If he does not express this by gesture, nor by word, nor by gesture and word, the saddhivihârika has not been turned away.'

3. At that time saddhivihârikas who had been turned away did not beg pardon (of their upagghâyas). They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (a saddhivihârika who has been turned away) should beg pardon (of his upagghâya).'

They did not beg pardon notwithstanding. They told, &c.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (a saddhivihârika) who has been turned away shall not forbear to beg pardon (of his upagghâya). If he does not beg pardon, it is a dukkaṭa offence.'

¹ Those slight offences which were not embodied in the Pātimokkha are called dukkaṭa offences. They range, as to their gravity, with the pāṭittiya offences of the Pātimokkha. For him who had committed a dukkaṭa offence, no further penance was required than a simple confession of his fault. See *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 10.

4. At that time *upagghâyas*, when the *saddhivihârikas* begged their pardon, would not forgive them. They told, &c.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, forgiving.’

Notwithstanding this they did not forgive. The *saddhivihârikas* went away, or returned to the world, or went over to other schools. They told, &c.

‘Let him who is asked for his pardon, not withhold it. He who does not forgive, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.’

5. At that time *upagghâyas* turned away (a *saddhivihârîka*) who observed a proper conduct, and did not turn away one who did not observe it. They told, &c.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who observes a proper conduct, be turned away. He who turns him away is guilty of a *dukkata* offence. And let no one, O Bhikkhus, who does not observe a proper conduct, not be turned away. (An *upagghâya*) who does not turn him away is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.

6. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought to be turned away: when he does not feel great affection for his *upagghâya*, nor great inclination (towards him), nor much shame, nor great reverence, nor great devotion (towards the *upagghâya*). In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought to be turned away.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought not to be turned away: when he feels great affection for his *upagghâya*, great inclination (towards him), &c. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought not to be turned away.

7. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, it is right to turn away a *saddhivihârîka*: when he does not feel

great affection, &c. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, it is right to turn away a saddhivihârika.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, it is not right, &c.

8. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, an upagghâya who does not turn away a saddhivihârika, trespasses (against the law), and an upagghâya who turns him away, does not trespass: when he does not feel great affection, &c. In these five cases, &c.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, an upagghâya who turns away a saddhivihârika, trespasses (against the law), and an upagghâya who does not turn him away, does not trespass, &c.’

28.

1. At that time a certain Brâhmaṇa came to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination. The Bhikkhus were not willing to ordain him. As he did not obtain the pabbaggâ ordination from the Bhikkhus, he became emaciated, lean, discoloured, more and more livid, and the veins became visible all over his body.

And the Blessed One saw this Brâhmaṇa, who had become emaciated, &c. When he had seen him, he said to the Bhikkhus: ‘How is it, O Bhikkhus, that this Brâhmaṇa has become emaciated, &c.?’

‘This Brâhmaṇa, Lord, came to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination (&c., as above, down to:), and the veins became visible all over his body.’

2. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: ‘Now, O Bhikkhus, who remembers anything about this Brâhmaṇa?’

When he had spoken thus, the venerable Sâriputta said to the Blessed One: 'I remember something, Lord, about this Brâhmaṇa.'

'And what is it you remember, Sâriputta, about this Brâhmaṇa?'

'This Brâhmaṇa, Lord, one day, when I went through Râgagaha for alms, ordered a spoonful of food to be given to me; this is what I remember, Lord, about this Brâhmaṇa.'

3. 'Good, good, Sâriputta; pious men, Sâriputta, are grateful and remember what has been done to them. Therefore, Sâriputta, confer you the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations on that Brâhmaṇa.'

'Lord, how shall I confer the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations on this Brâhmaṇa?'

Then the Blessed One on this occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I abolish, O Bhikkhus, from this day the upasampadâ ordination by the threefold declaration of taking refuge¹, which I had prescribed. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you confer the upasampadâ ordination by a formal act of the Order in which the announcement (*ñatti*) is followed by three questions².

4. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer the

¹ See chap. 12 and the note on chap. 1. 1.

² The form for bringing a formal motion before the Order is the following: The mover first announces to the assembled Bhikkhus what resolution he is going to propose; this announcement is called *ñatti* (see, for instance, § 4). After the *ñatti* follows the question put to the Bhikkhus present if they approve the resolution. This question is put either once or three times; in the first case we have a *ñattidutiya kamma* (see, for instance, II, chap. 6); in the second case, a *ñattikatuttha kamma* (as in this chapter).

upasampadâ ordination in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*:

‘Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N. (i. e. with the venerable N. N. as his *upagghâya*). If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* confer on N. N. the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as *upagghâya*. This is the *ñatti*.

5, 6. ‘Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N. The *Samgha* confers on N. N. the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as *upagghâya*. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of the upasampadâ ordination of N. N. with N. N. as *upagghâya*, be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak.

‘And for the second time I thus speak to you: Let the *Samgha* (&c., as before).

‘And for the third time I thus speak to you: Let the *Samgha*, &c.

‘N. N. has received the upasampadâ ordination from the *Samgha* with N. N. as *upagghâya*. The *Samgha* is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand¹.’

29.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu shortly after having received the upasampadâ ordination, aban-

¹ With this and the following chapters should be compared the corresponding ordinance laid down in chapters 74-76.

doned himself to bad conduct. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'You ought not to do so, friend; it is not becoming.'

He replied: 'I never asked you, Sirs, saying, "Confer on me the upasampadâ ordination." Why have you ordained me without your being asked?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, ordain a person unless he has been asked to do so. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you ordain only after having been asked.

2. 'And (a Bhikkhu) ought to be asked in this way: Let him who desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination, go to the Saṃgha, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus with his head, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I ask the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, for the upasampadâ ordination; might the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, draw me out (of the sinful world) out of compassion towards me." And for the second time, &c.; and for the third time let him ask, &c.

3. 'Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the Saṃgha: "Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N.; N. N. asks the Saṃgha for the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as upagghâya. If the Saṃgha is ready, &c."¹

¹ Here follows the complete formula of a *ñatti* atuttha kamma, as in chap. 28. 4-6. The only difference is, that here in the *ñatti*, as well as in the three questions, the words 'N. N. asks the Saṃgha for the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as upagghâya' are inserted after the words 'desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N.'

30.

1. At that time an arrangement had been made at Râgagaha that the Bhikkhus were to receive excellent meals successively (in the houses of different rich upâsakas). Now (one day) a certain Brâhmana thought: 'Indeed the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya Samanas keep and the life they live are commodious; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind¹. What if I were to embrace the religious life among the Sakyaputtiya Samanas?' Then this Brâhmana went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations on him.

2. When he had been ordained, the arrangement of successive meals (with the rich upâsakas) came to an end. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'Come, friend, let us now go on our rounds for alms.'

He replied: 'I have not embraced the religious life for that purpose—to going about for alms; if you give me (food), I will eat; if you do not, I will return to the world.'

(The Bhikkhus said): 'What, friend! have you indeed embraced the religious life for your belly's sake?'

'Yes, friends.'

3. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can a Bhikkhu embrace the religious life in so well-taught a doctrine and discipline for his belly's sake?'

¹ On this curious expression, compare *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 8. It is frequently repeated below.

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.
(The Buddha said): 'Is it true, O Bhikkhu, that you have embraced the religious life for your belly's sake?'

(He replied): 'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked that Bhikkhu: 'How can you, foolish person that you are, embrace the religious life in so well-taught a doctrine and discipline for your belly's sake? This will not do, O foolish one, for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted.'

Having rebuked him and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

4. 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who confers the upasampadâ ordination (on a Bhikkhu), tell him the four Resources:

'The religious life has morsels of food given in alms for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Meals given to the *Saṃgha*, to certain persons, invitations, food distributed by ticket, meals given each fortnight, each uposatha day (i. e. the last day of each fortnight), or the first day of each fortnight, are extra allowances.

'The religious life has the robe made of rags taken from a dust heap for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Linen, cotton, silk, woollen garments, coarse cloth, hempen cloth are extra allowances.

'The religious life has dwelling at the foot of a tree for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. *Vihâras*, *addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics, caves¹ are extra allowances.

¹ These are the five kinds of dwellings (*pañka lenâni*) which are declared to be allowable, *Kullavagga* VI, 1, 2. The single expres-

‘The religious life has decomposing urine as medicine¹ for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses are extra allowances.’

Here ends the fifth Bhānavāra, which contains the duties towards upagghāyas.

31.

1. At that time a certain youth came to the Bhikkhus and asked them to be ordained. The Bhikkhus told him the (four) Resources before his ordination. Then he said: ‘If you had told me the Resources, venerable Sirs, after my ordination, I should have persisted (in the religious life); but now, venerable Sirs, I will not be ordained; the Resources are repulsive and loathsome to me.’

The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to tell the Resources (to the candidates) before their ordination. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you tell the Resources (to the newly-ordained Bhikkhus) immediately after their upasampadā.’

sions are explained by Buddhaghosa in his note on *Kullavagga* 1.1. as follows: ‘*addhayogo* ’ti *suvaṇṇavaṇṇageham*, *pāsādo* ’ti *dīgha-pāsādo*, *hammiyan* ti *upariākāsatale patiṭṭhitakūṭāgāro pāsādo* yeva, *guhā* ’ti *iṭṭhakaguhā* *silāguhā* *dārughā* *pamsuguhā*,’ i.e. ‘*Addha-yoga* is a gold-coloured Bengal house. *Pāsāda* is a long storied mansion (or, the whole of an upper storey). *Hammiya* is a *Pāsāda*, which has an upper chamber placed on the topmost storey. *Guhā* is a hut made of bricks, or in a rock, or of wood.’

¹ Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 6.

2. At that time some Bhikkhus performed the upasampadâ service with a chapter of two or three Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the upasampadâ ordination before a chapter of less than ten Bhikkhus. He who performs the upasampadâ service (with a smaller number of Bhikkhus), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe you, O Bhikkhus, the holding of upasampadâ services with a chapter of ten Bhikkhus or more than ten.’

3. At that time some Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on their saddhivihârikas one or two years after their own upasampadâ. ¹ Thus also the venerable Upasena Vaṅgantaputta conferred the upasampadâ ordination on a saddhivihârika of his one year after his own upasampadâ. When he had concluded the vassa residence, after two years from his own upasampadâ had elapsed, he went with his saddhivihârika, who had completed the first year after his upasampadâ, to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

4. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas to exchange greeting with incoming Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Upasena Vaṅgantaputta: ‘Do things go well with you, Bhikkhu? Do you get enough to support your life? Have you made your journey with not too great fatigue?’

‘Things go pretty well with us, Lord; we get

¹ This story recurs in the *Gâtaka Commentary* II, 449.

enough, Lord, to support our life, and we have made our journey, Lord, with not too great fatigue.'

The Tathāgatas sometimes ask about what they know; sometimes they do not ask about what they know. They understand the right time when to ask, and they understand the right time when not to ask. The Tathāgatas put questions full of sense, not void of sense; to what is void of sense the bridge is pulled down for the Tathāgatas. For two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus, when they intend to preach the doctrine or when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples.

5. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Upananda Vaṅgantaputta: 'How many years have you completed, O Bhikkhu, since your upasampadā?'

'Two years, Lord.'

'And how many years has this Bhikkhu completed?'

'One year, Lord.'

'In what relation does this Bhikkhu stand to you?'

'He is my saddhivihārika, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked him: 'This is improper, O foolish one, unbecoming, unsuitable, unworthy of a Samāṇa, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can you, O foolish one, who ought to receive exhortation and instruction from others, think yourself fit for administering exhortation and instruction to another Bhikkhu? Too quickly, O foolish one, have you abandoned yourself to the ambition of collecting followers. This will not do (&c., as in chap. 30. 3). Let no one, O Bhikkhus, confer the upasampadā ordination who has not

completed ten years. He who does, is guilty of a *dukkatā* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that only he who has completed ten years, or more than ten years, may confer the *upasampadā* ordination.'

6. At that time ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus (who said), 'We have completed ten years (since our *upasampadā*), we have completed ten years,' conferred the *upasampadā* ordination; (thus) ignorant *upagghāyas* were found and clever *saddhivihārikas*; unlearned *upagghāyas* were found and learned *saddhivihārikas*; *upagghāyas* were found who had small knowledge, and *saddhivihārikas* who had great knowledge; foolish *upagghāyas* were found and wise *saddhivihārikas*. And a certain Bhikkhu who had formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, when his *upagghāya* remonstrated with him (on certain offences) according to the Dhamma, brought his *upagghāya* (by reasoning) to silence and went back to that same *Titthiya* school¹.

7. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can those ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus confer the *upasampadā* ordination (saying), "We have completed ten years, we have completed ten years?"' (Thus) ignorant *upagghāyas* are found and clever *saddhivihārikas* (&c., down to:), foolish *upagghāyas* are found and wise *saddhivihārikas*.'

These Bhikkhus told, &c.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, &c.?''

'It is true, Lord.'

8. Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus,

¹ See the conclusion of this in chapter 38.

confer the upasampadâ ordination (saying), "We have, &c.?" (Thus) ignorant upagghâyas are found, &c. This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted.'

Having rebuked those Bhikkhus and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, confer the upasampadâ ordination. If he does, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that only a learned, competent Bhikkhu who has completed ten years, or more than ten years, may confer the upasampadâ ordination.'

32.

1. At that time some Bhikkhus whose upagghâyas were gone away, or had returned to the world, or had died, or were gone over to a (schismatic) faction¹, as they had no âkariyas and received no exhortation and instruction, went on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments (&c., as in chap. 25. 1-6, down to:), he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, (that young Bhikkhus choose) an âkariya².

¹ Buddhaghosa can scarcely be right in explaining pakkhasamkanta by titthiyapakkhasamkanta.

² Âkariya as well as upagghâya means 'teacher,' or 'preceptor.' It is very difficult or rather impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between âkariya and upagghâya. The duties of an âkariya towards his antevâsika, and of an antevâsika towards his âkariya, as indicated in chaps. 32, 33 (=Kullavagga VIII, 13, 14), are exactly the same as those of an upagghâya

‘The âkariya, O Bhikkhus, ought to consider the antevâsika (i.e. disciple) as a son; the antevâsika ought to consider the âkariya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you live (the first) ten years in dependence (on an âkariya); he who has completed his tenth year may give a nissaya¹ himself.

towards his saddhivihârika and vice versa (chaps. 25, 26 = *Kulavagga* VIII, 11, 12). The position of an upagghâya, however, was considered as the more important of the two; at the upasampadâ service the upagghâya had a more prominent part than the âkariya, as we may infer from chaps. 28, 29, and from the explanations on the 65th pâkittiya rule which are given in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*. There it is said that, if the upasampadâ ordination had been conferred, against the rule, on a person that has not yet attained his twentieth year, the upagghâya has made himself guilty of a pâkittiya offence, the âkariya and the other present Bhikkhus only of a dukkaṭa offence. We may add that the succession of Vinaya teachers from Upâli down to Mahinda, which is given in the *Dīpavamsa* (*Bhāṇavāras* IV and V), is a succession of upagghâyas and saddhivihârikas (see IV, 36, 42, 43, &c.), not of âkariyas and antevâsikas; the duty of instructing the young Bhikkhus in the holy doctrines and ordinances seems, therefore, to belong to the upagghâya rather than to the âkariya; compare also *Dīpavamsa* VII, 26. So among the *Brāhmaṇas*, on the contrary, the âkârya is estimated higher than the upādhyâya; see *Manu* II, 145; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 35. Compare also chap. 36. 1 (end of the paragraph), and Buddhaghosa’s explanation of that passage.

¹ Nissaya (i.e. dependence) is the relation between âkariya and antevâsika. The antevâsika lives ‘nissâya’ with regard to the âkariya, i.e. dependent on him; the âkariya gives his nissaya to the antevâsika, i.e. he receives him into his protection and care. At chap. 36. 1, ‘nissaya’ is said also of the relation between upagghâya and saddhivihârika.

2. 'And let (the antevâsika), O Bhikkhus, choose his âkariya in this way: Let him adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet (of the âkariya), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "Venerable Sir, be my âkariya, I will live in dependence on you, Sir." (This formula is repeated thrice.)

'(If the other answers): "Well" (&c., as in chap. 25. 7).

3. 'The antevâsika, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his âkariya' (&c., as in chap. 25. 8-24).

End of the duties towards an âkariya.

33.

'The âkariya, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his antevâsika' (&c., as in chap. 26).

End of the duties towards an antevâsika.

End of the sixth Bhânavâra.

34.

At that time the antevâsikas did not observe a proper conduct towards their âkariyas (&c., as in chap. 27. 1-8).

35.

1, 2. At that time ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus (who said), 'We have completed ten years (since our upasampadâ), we have completed ten years,' gave a nissaya (i.e. they received young Bhikkhus as their antevâsikas); (thus) ignorant âkariyas were found and clever antevâsikas; unlearned âkariyas were found and learned antevâsikas; âkariyas were found who had small knowledge, and antevâsikas who had great knowledge; foolish âkariyas were found and wise antevâsikas. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed (&c., as in chap. 31. 7, 8).

'Let no ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, give a nissaya. If he does, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that only a learned, competent Bhikkhu who has completed ten years, or more than ten years, may give a nissaya.'

36.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus whose âkariyas and upagghâyas were gone away, or had returned to the world, or had died, or were gone over to a (schismatic) faction, were not acquainted with (the rules about) the cessation of their nissayas¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are five cases of cessation of a nissaya, O Bhikkhus, between (saddhivihârîka and) upag-

¹ That is, 'did not know how to decide whether their nissaya was destroyed, or not.'

gghâya: When the *upagghâya* is gone away, or he has returned to the world, or has died, or is gone over to a (schismatic) faction; the fifth case is that of order (given by the *upagghâya* to the *saddhivihârika*¹). These, O Bhikkhus, are the five cases of the cessation of a *nissaya* between (*saddhivihârika* and) *upagghâya*.

‘There are six cases of cessation of a *nissaya*, O Bhikkhus, between (*antevâsika* and) *âkariya*: When the *âkariya* is gone away, &c.; the fifth case is that of order (given by the *âkariya* to the *antevâsika*); or (sixthly) when the *âkariya* and the *upagghâya* have come together at the same place². These, O Bhikkhus, are the six cases of cessation of a *nissaya* between (*antevâsika* and) *âkariya*.

2. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer the *upasampadâ* ordination, nor give a *nissaya*, nor ordain a novice³: When he does not possess full perfection in what belongs to moral practices; or does not possess full perfection in what belongs to self-concentration; or does not possess full perfection in what belongs to wisdom; or does

¹ This refers, according to Buddhaghosa, to the *paṇāmanâ* (turning away of the *saddhivihârika*); see chap. 27. 2.

² Buddhaghosa: ‘Coming together may be understood either by seeing or by hearing. If a *saddhivihârika* who lives in dependence (*nissâya*) on his *âkariya* sees his *upagghâya* paying homage to a sacred shrine in the same *Vihâra*, or going on his rounds in the same village, cessation of the *nissaya* (towards the *âkariya*) is the consequence. If he hears the voice of his *upagghâya*, who preaches the Dhamma or gladdens (lay-people by religious discourse), in the *Vihâra* or in the interior of a house, and if he recognises that it is his *upagghâya*’s voice, cessation of the *nissaya* (towards the *âkariya*) is the consequence.’

³ About the ordination of novices, see chap. 54. 3.

not possess full perfection in what belongs to emancipation; or does not possess full perfection in what belongs to knowledge and insight into emancipation. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer the upasampadâ ordination, nor give a nissaya, nor ordain a novice.

3. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer the upasampadâ ordination, give a nissaya, and ordain a novice: When he possesses full perfection in what belongs to moral practices, &c. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may, &c.

4. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he does not possess for himself full perfection in what belongs to moral practices, and is not able to help others to full perfection in what belongs to moral practices; or does not possess for himself full perfection in what belongs to self-concentration, and is not able to help others to full perfection in what belongs to self-concentration, &c.

5. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he possesses for himself full perfection in what belongs to moral practices, and is able to help others to full perfection, &c.

6. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he is unbelieving, shameless, fearless of sinning, indolent, forgetful. In these five cases, &c.

7. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he is believing, modest, fearful of sinning, strenuous, of ready memory. In these five cases, &c.

8. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When as regards

moral practices he is guilty of moral transgressions ; or when as regards the rules of conduct¹ he is guilty of transgressions in his conduct ; or when as regards belief he is guilty of heresy ; or when he is unlearned ; or when he is foolish. In these five cases, &c.

9. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When as regards moral practices he is not guilty of moral transgressions, &c.; when he is learned ; and when he is wise. In these five cases, &c.

10. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he is not able to nurse or to get nursed an antevâsika or a saddhivihârika when he is sick, to appease him or to cause him to be appeased when discontent with religious life has sprung up within him, to dispel or to cause to be dispelled according to the Dhamma doubts of conscience which have arisen in his mind ; when he does not know what is an offence ; or does not know how to atone for an offence. In these five cases, &c.

11. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he is able (&c., down to:); when he knows what is an offence ; and knows how to atone for an offence. In these five cases, &c.

12. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he is not able to train an antevâsika or a saddhivihârika in the precepts of proper conduct², to educate him

¹ According to Buddhaghosa, moral transgression (*adhisîla*) is said with regard to offences against the *pârâgika* and *samghâdisesa* rules, while transgressions in conduct (*agghâkâra*) consist in offences against the minor rules of the *Pâtimokkha*. Buddhaghosa's explanation is confirmed by the *Mahāvagga* IV, 16, 12.

² According to Buddhaghosa, this refers to instruction in the

in the elements of morality¹, to instruct him in what pertains to the Dhamma, to instruct him in what pertains to the Vinaya, to discuss or to make another discuss according to the Dhamma a false doctrine that might arise. In these five cases, &c.

13. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he is able, &c.

14. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he does not know what is an offence; or does not know what is no offence; or does not know what is a light offence; or does not know what is a grave offence; when the two Pâtimokkhas are not perfectly known to him in their entirety, with all their divisions and their whole course, and with the entire discussion according to the single rules and to the single parts of each rule. In these five cases, &c.

15. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he knows, &c.

16. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he does not know what is an offence; or does not know what is no offence; or does not know what is a light offence; or does not know what is a grave offence;

khandhakavatta (i.e. in the rules contained in the Khandhaka texts, Mahāvagga and Kullavagga?). See also Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 492.

¹ This means instructing him in the *sekhapaññatti* (Buddhaghosa). We cannot say what is the accurate meaning of the last term, which apparently, as its verbal meaning seems to imply, refers to ordinances for those Bhikkhus who have entered the path of sanctification, but have not yet attained Arahatsip. Spence Hardy (*Manual*, p. 493) gives the term *sekha-sīla*, which he explains as the observance of precepts in order to become a *sekha*. See also Hardy's note on *âdibrahmañariya-sīla*, l. l. p. 492.

or when he has not completed the tenth year (after his upasampadâ). In these five cases, &c.

17. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he knows (&c., down to:); when he has completed ten years or more than ten years (after his upasampadâ). In these five cases, &c.'

End of the sixteen times five cases concerning
the admissibility of upasampadâ.

37.

'In six cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.¹'

End of the sixteen times² six cases concerning
the admissibility of upasampadâ.

38.

1. At that time that Bhikkhu who, having formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, had (by reasoning) put to silence his upagghâya, when he remonstrated with him according to the Dhamma, and had returned to that same Titthiya school³, came back again and asked the Bhikkhus for the upasampadâ ordination. The Bhikkhus told, &c.

'That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who having formerly

¹ Chap. 37 is exactly identical with chap. 36. 2-15, but for the sixth case, which, throughout chap. 37, is added each time at the end of the five cases given in chap. 36, 'When he has not completed the tenth year (after his upasampadâ);' and respectively, 'When he has completed ten years or more than ten years (after his upasampadâ).'

² It should be, 'Fourteen times.'

³ See chap. 31, § 6.

belonged to a Titthiya school, has put to silence his upagghâya when he remonstrated with him according to the Dhamma, and has returned to that same Titthiya school, must not receive the upasampadâ ordination, if he comes back. On other persons, O Bhikkhus, who have formerly belonged to Titthiya schools and desire to receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations in this doctrine and discipline, you ought to impose a parivâsa (a probation-time) of four months.

2. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to impose it in this way: Let him (who desires to receive the ordination) first cut off his hair and beard; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands, and tell him to say: "I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the Samgha. And for the second time, &c. And for the third time take I my refuge in the Buddha, and for the third time take I my refuge in the Dhamma, and for the third time take I my refuge in the Samgha."

3. 'Let that person, O Bhikkhus, who has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, approach the Samgha, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I, N. N., reverend Sirs, who have formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, desire to receive the upasampadâ ordination in this doctrine and discipline, and ask the Samgha, reverend Sirs, for a parivâsa of four months." Let him ask thus a second time. Let him ask thus a third time.

‘Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, desires to receive the *upasampadā* ordination in this doctrine and discipline. He asks the *Samgha* for a *parivāsa* of four months. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* impose on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, a *parivāsa* of four months. This is the *ñatti*.

4. “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N., who has, &c. He asks the *Samgha* for a *parivāsa* of four months. The *Samgha* imposes on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, a *parivāsa* of four months. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of imposing a *parivāsa* of four months on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak. A *parivāsa* of four months has been imposed by the *Samgha* on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school. The *Samgha* is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand.”

5. ‘And this, O Bhikkhus, is the way in which a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, succeeds or fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus and obtaining *upasampadā* when the probation-time is over).

‘What is the way, O Bhikkhus, in which a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus)?

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, enters the village

too early, and comes back (to the Vihâra) too late, thus, O Bhikkhus, a person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus).

‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, frequents the society of harlots, or of widows, or of adult girls, or of eunuchs, or of Bhikkhunis, thus also, O Bhikkhus, a person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus).

6. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, does not show himself skilled in the various things his fellow Bhikkhus have to do, not diligent, not able to consider how those things are to be done, not able to do things himself, not able to give directions to others, thus also, O Bhikkhus, &c.

‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, does not show keen zeal, when the doctrine is preached to him or when questions are put, in what belongs to morality, to contemplation, and to wisdom, thus also, O Bhikkhus, &c.

7. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, becomes angry, displeased, and dissatisfied, when people speak against the teacher, the belief, the opinions, the persuasion, the creed of the school he formerly belonged to ; and is pleased, glad, and satisfied, when people speak against the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṃgha ; or he is pleased, glad, and satisfied, when people speak in praise of the teacher, &c. ; and becomes angry, displeased, dissatisfied, when people speak in praise of the Buddha, the

Dhamma, and the *Samgha*; this, O Bhikkhus, is a decisive moment for the failure of a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school (in obtaining admission to the *Samgha*).

‘Thus, O Bhikkhus, a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus). When a person comes, O Bhikkhus, that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, and has thus failed in satisfying (the Bhikkhus), the *upasam-padâ* ordination should not be conferred on him.

8-10. ‘And what is the way, O Bhikkhus, in which a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, succeeds in satisfying (the Bhikkhus)?

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, does not enter the village too early (&c., point by point the contrary of the preceding).

‘When a person comes, O Bhikkhus, that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, and has thus succeeded in satisfying (the Bhikkhus), the *upasam-padâ* ordination ought to be conferred on him.

11. ‘If a person, O Bhikkhus, that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, comes (to the Bhikkhus) naked, it is incumbent on his *upagghâya* to get a robe for him. If he comes with unshaven hair, the *Samgha*’s permission ought to be asked for having his hair shaved¹.

‘If fire-worshippers and *Gaṭṭilas* come to you, O Bhikkhus, they are to receive the *upasampadâ* ordination (directly), and no *parivâsa* is to be imposed on them. And for what reason? These, O Bhikkhus, hold the doctrine that actions receive their

¹ Compare chap. 48.

reward, and that our deeds have their result (according to their moral merit).

‘If a Sakya by birth, O Bhikkhus, who has belonged to a Titthiya school, comes to you, he is to receive the upasampadâ ordination (directly), and no parivâsa is to be imposed on him. This exceptional privilege, O Bhikkhus, I grant to my kinsmen.’

Here ends the exposition on the ordination of persons that have formerly belonged to Titthiya schools.

End of the seventh Bhânavâra.

39.

1. At that time these five diseases prevailed among the people of Magadha:—leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits. The people who were affected with these five diseases went to Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭa¹ and said: ‘Pray, doctor, cure us.’

‘I have too many duties, Sirs, and am too occupied. I have to treat the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, and the royal seraglio, and the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head. I cannot cure you.’

‘All that we possess shall be yours, doctor, and we will be your slaves; pray, doctor, cure us.’

‘I have too many duties, Sirs, &c.; I cannot cure you.’

2. Now those people thought: ‘Indeed the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya Samanas keep and

¹ Gîvaka was physician to king Bimbisâra, and one of the chief partisans of Buddha at the court of Râgagaha. See VIII, 1, the introduction of the Sâmaññaphala Sutta, &c.

the life they live are commodious; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind. What if we were to embrace the religious life among the Sakyaputtiya Samanas: then the Bhikkhus will nurse us, and *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* will cure us.'

Thus these persons went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations; and the Bhikkhus nursed them, and *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* cured them.

3. At that time the Bhikkhus, who had to nurse many sick Bhikkhus, began to solicit (lay people) with many demands and many requests: 'Give us food for the sick; give us food for the tenders of the sick; give us medicine for the sick.' And also *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha*, who had to treat many sick Bhikkhus, neglected some of his duties to the king.

4. Now one day a man who was affected with the five diseases went to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* and said: 'Pray, doctor, cure me.'

'I have too many duties, Sir, and am too occupied; I have to treat the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, and the royal seraglio, and the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head; I cannot cure you.'

'All that I possess shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave; pray doctor, cure me.'

'I have too many duties, Sir, &c.; I cannot cure you.'

5. Now that man thought: 'Indeed the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya Samanas keep (&c., down to:): then the Bhikkhus will nurse me, and *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* will cure me. When I have become free from sickness, then I will return to the world.'

Thus that man went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination; the Bhikkhus

conferred on him the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations; and the Bhikkhus nursed him, and *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* cured him. When he had become free from sickness, he returned to the world. Now *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* saw this person that had returned to the world; and when he saw him he asked that person: 'Had you not embraced the religious life, Sir, among the Bhikkhus?'

'Yes, doctor.'

'And why have you adopted such a course, Sir?'

Then that man told *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* the whole matter.

6. Then *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* was annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the venerable brethren confer the pabbaggâ ordination on a person affected with the five diseases?'

And *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: 'Pray, Lord, let their reverences not confer the pabbaggâ ordination on persons affected with the five diseases.'

7. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* by religious discourse; and *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā*, having been taught and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one,

O Bhikkhus, who is affected with the five diseases, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

40.

1. At that time the border provinces (of the kingdom) of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra were agitated. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra gave order to the officers who were at the head of the army: 'Well now, go and search through the border provinces¹.' The officers who were at the head of the army accepted the order of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty.'

2. Now many distinguished warriors thought: 'We who go (to war) and find our delight in fighting, do evil and produce great demerit. Now what shall we do that we may desist from evil-doing and may do good?'

Then these warriors thought: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life; they speak the truth; they keep the precepts of morality, and are endowed with all virtues. If we could obtain pabbaggâ with the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas, we should desist from evil-doing and do good.'

Thus these warriors went to the Bhikkhus and

¹ On uḷḷinatha, compare the use of uḷḷheḷḷhâmi at Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 1 (p. 1), which Buddhaghosa rightly explains by uḷḷhindissâmi. But we think it better to adhere here to the reading uḷḷinatha, in accordance with the MSS.

asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations.

3. The officers at the head of the army asked the royal soldiers: 'Why, how is it that the warriors N. N. and N. N. are nowhere to be seen?'

'The warriors N. N. and N. N., Lords, have embraced religious life among the Bhikkhus.'

Then the officers at the head of the army were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas ordain persons in the royal service?'

The officers who were at the head of the army told the thing to the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra asked the officers of justice: 'Tell me, my good Sirs, what punishment does he deserve who ordains a person in the royal service?'

'The upagghâya, Your Majesty, should be beheaded; to him who recites (the kammavâkâ), the tongue should be torn out; to those who form the chapter, half of their ribs should be broken.'

4. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, there are unbelieving kings who are disinclined (to the faith); these might harass the Bhikkhus even on trifling occasions. Pray, Lord, let their reverences not confer the pabbaggâ ordination on persons in royal service.'

Then the Blessed One taught (&c., see chap. 39. 7,

down to:), thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who is in the royal service, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

41.

At that time the robber Aṅgulimâla¹ had embraced religious life among the Bhikkhus. When the people saw that, they became alarmed and terrified; they fled away, went elsewhere, turned away their heads, and shut their doors. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samānas ordain a robber who openly wears the emblems (of his deeds)?'

Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry; these Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no robber, O Bhikkhus, who wears the emblems (of his deeds), receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

¹ The robber Aṅgulimâla (i. e. he who wears a necklace of fingers), whose original name was Ahimsaka, had received this surname from his habit of cutting off the fingers of his victims and wearing them as a necklace. See Spence Hardy, Manual, p. 249 seq.

42.

1. At that time the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra had issued the following decree : ' No one is to do any harm to those who are ordained among the Sakyaputtiya Samanas ; well taught is their doctrine ; let them lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.'

Now at that time a certain person who had committed robbery was imprisoned in the jail. He broke out of the jail, ran away, and received the pabbaggâ ordination with the Bhikkhus.

2. The people who saw him, said : ' Here is the robber who has broken out of jail ; come, let us bring him (before the authorities).'

But some people replied : ' Do not say so, Sirs. A decree has been issued by the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra : ' No one is to do any harm to those who are ordained, &c.'

People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking : ' Indeed these Sakyaputtiya Samanas are secure from anything ; it is not allowed to do any harm to them. How can they ordain a robber who has broken out of jail ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let no robber, O Bhikkhus, who has broken out of jail, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

43.

At that time a certain person who had committed robbery had run away and had become ordained with the Bhikkhus. At the royal palace a proclamation was written: 'Wherever he is seen, he is to be killed.'

The people who saw him, said: 'Here is the proclaimed robber; come, let us kill him' (&c., as in chap. 42).

'Let no proclaimed robber, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a robber), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

44.

At that time a certain person who had been punished by scourging had been ordained with the Bhikkhus. People were annoyed, &c.: 'How can these Sakyaputtiya Samanas ordain a person that has been punished by scourging?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has been punished by scourging, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

45.

At that time a certain person who had been punished by branding (&c., as in chap. 44, down to the end).

46.

At that time a certain person who was in debt, ran away and was ordained with the Bhikkhus. When his creditors saw him, they said : ' There is our debtor ; come, let us lead him (to prison). ' But some people replied : ' Do not say so, Sirs. A decree has been issued by the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra : ' No one is to do any harm to those who are ordained with the Sakyaputtiya Samanas ; well taught is their doctrine ; let them lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering. '

People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry : ' Indeed these Sakyaputtiya Samanas are secure from anything ; it is not allowed to do anything to them. How can they ordain a debtor ? '

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let no debtor, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on a debtor), is guilty of a dukka \acute{t} a offence. '

47.

At that time a slave ran away and was ordained with the Bhikkhus. When his masters saw him, they said : ' There is our slave ; come, let us lead him away (back to our house), ' (&c., as in chap. 46).

' Let no slave, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on a slave), is guilty of a dukka \acute{t} a offence. '

48.

1. At that time a certain smith¹ who was bald-headed, having had a quarrel with his father and mother, had gone to the Ârâma and received pabbaggâ with the Bhikkhus. Now the father and mother of that bald-headed smith, searching after that bald-headed smith, came to the Ârâma and asked the Bhikkhus: 'Pray, reverend Sirs, have you seen such and such a boy?'

The Bhikkhus, who did not know him, said: 'We do not know him;' having not seen him, they said: 'We have not seen him.'

2. Now the father and mother of that bald-headed smith, searching after that bald-headed smith, found him ordained with the Bhikkhus; they were annoyed, &c.: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas are shameless, wicked, and liars. They knew him and said: "We do not know him;" they had seen him and said: "We have not seen him." This boy has been ordained with the Bhikkhus.'

Now some Bhikkhus heard the father and mother of that bald-headed smith, who were annoyed, &c. Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Saṃgha's permission is asked for having (the new coming Bhikkhus) shaved.'

¹ Buddhaghosa explains *kammârabhandu* by *tulâtaramundako* (read *tulâdhâram*.) *suvannakâraputto*. At *Dhammapada*, v. 239, *kammâra* is said of a silversmith. There was probably no distinction in these early times between gold, silver, copper, and iron smiths; the same man being an artificer in all kinds of metal.

49.

1. At that time there was in Rāgagaha a company of seventeen boys, friends of each other; young Upāli¹ was first among them. Now Upāli's father and mother thought: 'How will Upāli after our death live a life of ease and without pain?' Then Upāli's father and mother said to themselves: 'If Upāli could learn writing, he would after our death live a life of ease and without pain.' But then Upāli's father and mother thought again: 'If Upāli learns writing, his fingers will become sore. But if Upāli could learn arithmetic, he would after our death live a life of ease and without pain.'

2. But then Upāli's father and mother thought again: 'If Upāli learns arithmetic, his breast will become diseased². But if Upāli could learn money-changing³, he would after our death live a life of ease and comfort, and without pain.' But then Upāli's father and mother said to themselves: 'If Upāli learns money-changing, his eyes will suffer. Now here are the Sakyaputtiya Samānas, who keep commodious precepts and live a commodious life; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind. If Upāli could be ordained with the

¹ This Upāli is different from the famous Upāli who belonged to the chief disciples of Buddha; the latter came not from Rāgagaha, but from the Sakya country.

² Buddhaghosa: 'He who learns arithmetic, must think much; therefore his breast will become diseased.'

³ We prefer this translation of rūpa to translating it by 'painting,' on account of Buddhaghosa's note: 'He who learns the rūpa-sutta must turn over and over many kārshāpānas and look at them.'

Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas, he would after our death live a life of ease and without pain.'

3. Now young Upāli heard his father and mother talking thus. Then young Upāli went to the other boys; having approached them, he said to those boys: 'Come, Sirs, let us get ordained with the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas.' (They replied): 'If you will get ordained, Sir, we will be ordained also.' Then those boys went each to his father and mother and said to them: 'Give me your consent for leaving the world and going forth into the houseless state.' Then the parents of those boys, who thought, 'It is a good thing what all these boys are wishing so unanimously for,' gave their consent. They went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination. The Bhikkhus conferred the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations on them.

4. In the night, at dawn, they rose and began to cry: 'Give us rice-milk, give us soft food, give us hard food!' The Bhikkhus said: 'Wait, friends, till day-time. If there is rice-milk, you shall drink; if there is food, soft or hard, you shall eat; if there is no rice-milk and no food, soft or hard, you must go out for alms, and then you will eat.'

But those Bhikkhus, when they were thus spoken to by the other Bhikkhus, threw their bedding about and made it wet, calling out: 'Give us rice-milk, give us soft food, give us hard food!'

5. Then the Blessed One, having arisen in the night, at dawn, heard the noise which those boys made; hearing it he said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Now, Ānanda, what noise of boys is that?'

Then the venerable Ānanda told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the Bhikkhus knowingly confer the upasampadâ ordination on persons under twenty years of age?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

Then the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus: ‘How can those foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, knowingly confer the upasampadâ ordination on persons under twenty years of age?’

6. ‘A person under twenty years, O Bhikkhus, cannot endure coldness and heat, hunger and thirst, vexation by gadflies and gnats, by storms and sun-heat, and by reptiles; (he cannot endure) abusive, offensive language; he is not able to bear bodily pains which are severe, sharp, grievous, disagreeable, unpleasant, and destructive to life; whilst a person that has twenty years of age, O Bhikkhus, can endure coldness, &c. This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted.’

Having rebuked those Bhikkhus and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, knowingly confer the upasampadâ ordination on a person under twenty years of age. He who does, is to be treated according to the law¹.’

¹ The law alluded to is the 65th pâkittiya rule. Generally in the Khandhakas, which presuppose, as we have stated in our preface, the existence of the Pâtimokkha, direct repetition of the rules laid down there has been avoided. If, nevertheless, in the Khandhakas a transgression alluded to in the Pâtimokkha had to be mentioned again, then in most cases the Khandhakas, instead of directly indicating the penance incurred thereby, use of the guilty Bhikkhu the expression, ‘yathâdhammo kâretabbo,’ i.e. ‘he is to be treated according to the law.’ See H. O.’s Introduction to his edition of the Mahâvagga, p. xx note.

50.

At that time a certain family had died of pestilence¹; only a father and his son were left; they received the pabbaggâ ordination with the Bhikkhus and went together on their rounds for alms. Now that boy, when food was given to his father, ran up to him and said: 'Give some to me too, father; give some to me too, father.'

People were annoyed, &c.: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas live an impure life; this boy is a Bhikkhun's son.'

Some Bhikkhus heard, &c.

They told this thing to the Blessed One, &c.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, confer the pabbaggâ ordination on a boy under fifteen years of age. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

51.

At that time a believing, pious family, who devoted themselves to the (especial) service of the venerable Ānanda, had died of pestilence. Only two boys were left; these, when seeing Bhikkhus, ran up to them according to their old custom, but the Bhikkhus turned them away. When they were turned away by the Bhikkhus, they cried. Now the venerable Ānanda thought: 'The Blessed One has forbidden us to confer the pabbaggâ ordination

¹ Buddhaghosa explains ahivâtakaroga by mâribyâdhi, and says: 'When this plague befalls a house, men and beasts in that house die; but he who breaks through wall or roof, or is "rogâ mâdigato (?)," may be saved.'

on a boy under fifteen years of age, and these boys are under fifteen years of age. What can be done in order that these boys may not perish ?' And the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Are these boys able, Ānanda, to scare crows ?'

'They are, Lord.'

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus : 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the *pabbaggā* ordination on crow-keeper boys even under fifteen years of age.'

52.

At that time the venerable Upananda, of the Sakya tribe, had two novices, *Kandaka* and *Ma-haka*; these committed sodomy with each other. The Bhikkhus were annoyed, &c. : 'How can novices abandon themselves to such bad conduct ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One, &c.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, ordain two novices. He who does, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence¹.'

53.

1. At that time the Blessed One dwelt at Rāgagaha during the rainy season, and remained at the same place during winter and summer. The people were annoyed, &c. : 'The (four) regions are² . . . and

¹ This seems very unpractical : and the rule is accordingly practically abrogated again by chapter 55.

² We must leave '*āhundarikā*' untranslated ; Buddhaghosa says nothing about this obscure word.

covered by darkness to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas; they cannot discern the (four) regions.' Some Bhikkhus heard, &c.

2. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Go, Ānanda, take a key and tell the Bhikkhus in every cell: "Friends, the Blessed One wishes to go forth to Dakkhināgiri. Let any one of the venerable brethren who thinks fit, come to him."''

The venerable Ānanda accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' took a key, and said to the Bhikkhus in every cell: 'Friends, the Blessed One,' &c.

3. The Bhikkhus replied: 'Friend Ānanda, the Blessed One has prescribed¹ that Bhikkhus are to live (the first) ten years in dependence (on their ākariyas and upagghāyas), and that he who has completed his tenth year, may give a nissaya himself. Now if we go there, we shall be obliged to take a nissaya there; then we shall stay there for a short time, then we must go back again and take a new nissaya. If our ākariyas and upagghāyas go, we will go also; if our ākariyas and upagghāyas do not go, we will not go either. Otherwise our light-mindedness, friend Ānanda, will become manifest.'

4. Thus the Blessed One went forth to Dakkhināgiri followed only by a few Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Dakkhināgiri as long as he thought fit, went back to Rāgagaha again.

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'How is it, Ānanda, that the perfect

¹ See chap. 32. 1.

One has gone forth to Dakkhinâgiri with so few Bhikkhus ?'

Then the venerable Ânanda told the thing to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a learned, competent Bhikkhu lives five years in dependence (on his âkariya and upagghâya), an unlearned one all his life.

5. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not live without a nissaya (i.e. independent of âkariya and upagghâya): when he does not possess full perfection in what belongs to moral practices (&c., as in chap. 36. 2). In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not live without a nissaya.

'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may live without a nissaya: when he possesses full perfection in what belongs to moral practices (&c., as in chap. 36. 3). In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may live without a nissaya.

6-13. 'And also in other five cases, &c.¹'

End of the eighth Bhânavâra, which is called the Abhayûvara Bhânavâra².

54.

1. Then the Blessed One, after having resided at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to

¹ Supply these pentads and hexads, respectively, from chaps. 36. 6, 7; 8, 9; 14, 15; 16, 17; 37. 1, 2; 5, 6; 7, 8; 13, 14.

² Abhayûvara means, 'secure from anything.' This refers to the expression used in chap. 42, § 2.

Kapilavatthu. Wandering from place to place he came to Kapilavatthu. There the Blessed One dwelt in the Sakka country, near Kapilavatthu, in the Nigrodhârâma (Banyan Grove).

And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl and with his *klvara* on went to the residence of the Sakka Suddhodana (his father). Having gone there, he sat down on a seat laid out for him.

Then the princess, who was the mother of Râhula¹, said to young Râhula: 'This is your father, Râhula; go and ask him for your inheritance.'

2. Then young Râhula went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he stationed himself before the Blessed One (and said): 'Your shadow, Samana, is a place of bliss.'

Then the Blessed One rose from his seat and went away, and young Râhula followed the Blessed One from behind and said: 'Give me my inheritance, Samana; give me my inheritance, Samana.'

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Sâriputta: 'Well, Sâriputta, confer the pabbaggâ ordination on young Râhula.'

(Sâriputta replied): 'How shall I confer, Lord, the pabbaggâ ordination on young Râhula?'

3. In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe,

¹ The Buddha's former wife. This is, as far as we know, the only passage in the Pâli Piṭakas which mentions this lady, and it deserves notice that her name is not mentioned. Probably this name was unknown to the Buddhists in early times, and thus we may best account for the difference of the simply invented names given to this lady by later writers. Compare Rh. D., Buddhism, p. 50 seq.

O Bhikkhus, the *pabbaggâ* ordination of novices by the threefold declaration of taking refuge.

‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer the *pabbaggâ* ordination (on a novice) in this way: Let him first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and tell him to say: “I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the *Samgha*. And for the second time, &c. And for the third time, &c.”

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the *pabbaggâ* ordination of novices by this threefold declaration of taking refuge.’

Thus the venerable Sâriputta conferred the *pabbaggâ* ordination on young Râhula.

4. Then the Sakka Suddhodana went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the Sakka Suddhodana said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, I ask one boon of the Blessed One.’ (The Buddha replied): ‘The perfect Ones, Gotama, are above granting boons (before they know what they are¹).’ (Suddhodana said): ‘Lord, it is a proper and unobjectionable demand.’ ‘Speak, Gotama.’

5. ‘Lord, when the Blessed One gave up the

¹ Granting a boon (*vara*) is a constant phrase used of princes when making an open promise to give to any one whatever they should ask. See, for instance, the *Gâtaka* Story, No. 9, where the person to whom the boon was given laid it by for a convenient season; and then asked the king to make her son heir-apparent, in violation of all ancient law and custom.

world, it was a great pain to me; so it was when Nanda¹ did the same; my pain was excessive when Râhula too did so. The love for a son, Lord, cuts into the skin; having cut into the skin, it cuts into the hide; having cut into the hide, it cuts into the flesh, . . . the ligaments, . . . the bones; having cut into the bones, it reaches the marrow and dwells in the marrow. Pray, Lord, let their reverences not confer the pabbaggâ ordination on a son without his father's and mother's permission.'

Then the Blessed One taught the Sakka Suddhodaṇa (&c., see chap. 39. 7).

'Let no son, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination without his father's and mother's permission. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on a son without that permission), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

55.

Then the Blessed One, after having resided at Kapilavatthu as long as he thought fit, went forth to Sâvatthi. Wandering from place to place he came to Sâvatthi. There the Blessed One dwelt at Sâvatthi, in the Getavana, the Ârâma of Anâthapindika.

At that time a family who devoted themselves to the (especial) service of the venerable Sâriputta sent a boy to the venerable Sâriputta (with this message):

¹ Nanda was a son of Mahâpagâpatî, a half-brother of the Buddha. See the story of his conversion in Rh. D.'s Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 128 (later and fuller accounts can be seen in Hardy, Manual, p. 204 seq.; Beal, Romantic Legend, p. 369 seq.)

‘ Might the Thera confer the pabbaggâ ordination on this boy.’ Now the venerable Sâriputta thought: ‘ The Blessed One has established the rule¹ that no one may ordain two novices, and I have already one novice, Râhula. Now what am I to do ?’

He told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, a learned, competent Bhikkhu to ordain two novices, or to ordain as many novices as he is able to administer exhortation and instruction to.’

56.

Now the novices thought: ‘ How many precepts² are there for us, and in what (precepts) are we to exercise ourselves ?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, ten precepts for the novices, and the exercise of the novices in these (ten precepts), viz. abstinence from destroying life; abstinence from stealing; abstinence from impurity; abstinence from lying; abstinence from arrack and strong drink and intoxicating liquors, which cause indifference (to religion); abstinence from eating at forbidden times; abstinence from dancing, singing, music, and seeing spectacles; abstinence from garlands, scents, unguents, ornaments, and finery; abstinence from (the use of) high or broad beds; abstinence from accepting gold or silver. I pre-

¹ See chap. 52.

² Sikkhâpadâni, literally, ‘ Paths of Training.’ Compare chap. 60.

scribe, O Bhikkhus, these ten precepts for the novices, and the exercise of the novices in these (ten precepts).'

57.

1. At that time novices did not show reverence and confidence towards the Bhikkhus, and did not live in harmony with them. The Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the novices not show reverence and confidence towards the Bhikkhus, and not live in harmony with them?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you inflict punishment upon a novice in five cases: When he is intent on the Bhikkhus' receiving no alms; when he is intent on the Bhikkhus' meeting with misfortune; when he is intent on the Bhikkhus' finding no residence; when he abuses and reviles the Bhikkhus; when he causes divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that in these five cases you inflict punishment upon a novice.'

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'What punishment are we to inflict?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you forbid them (certain places, for instance, their own residences).'

At that time Bhikkhus forbid novices the whole *Samghârâma*. The novices, who were not admitted to the *Samghârâma*, went away, or returned to the world, or went over to *Titthiya* schools.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let them not, O Bhikkhus, forbid (novices) the whole *Samghârâma*. He who does so, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (the Bhikkhus) forbid (a novice) the place where he lives or which he uses to frequent.’

3. At that time Bhikkhus forbade the novices the use of (certain kinds of) food that is taken with the mouth. People, when they prepared rice-milk to drink or meals for the *Samgha*, said to the novices: ‘Come, reverend Sirs, drink rice-milk; come, reverend Sirs, take food.’ The novices replied: ‘It is impossible, friends; the Bhikkhus have issued a fore-warning (against us).’ The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking: ‘How can their reverences forbid novices the use of all food that is taken with the mouth?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let them not, O Bhikkhus, forbid (novices) food that is taken with the mouth. He who does so, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

End of the section about punishment (of novices).

58.

At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya*¹ Bhikkhus laid a ban upon novices without the consent of the *upagghâyas* (of those novices). The *upagghâyas*

¹ Here first appear the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (the company of the ‘six Bhikkhus’, with their attendants), the constant and indefatigable evil-doers throughout the whole *Vinaya-Piṭaka*. Buddhaghosa (on *Kullavagga* I, 1) says that *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* belonged to this company, and also *Assagi* and *Punabbasu* are mentioned as *Kḥabbaggiyas* (see Childers s. v. *kḥabbaggiyo*).

searched after them, thinking: 'How is it that our novices have disappeared?' The Bhikkhus said: 'The *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, friends, have laid a ban upon them.' The *upagghāyas* were annoyed, &c.: 'How can the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus lay a ban upon our novices without having obtained our consent?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, lay a ban (upon novices) without consent of the *upagghāyas*. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

59.

At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus drew the novices of senior Bhikkhus over (to themselves). The Theras, who were obliged to get themselves teeth-cleansers and water to rinse their mouths with, became tired.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, draw the followers of another Bhikkhu over to himself. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

60.

At that time a novice, *Kandaka* by name, who was a follower of the venerable Upananda Sakya-putta, had sexual intercourse with a Bhikkhunī, *Kandakā* by name. The Bhikkhus were annoyed, &c.: 'How can a novice abandon himself to such conduct?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you expel a novice (from the fraternity) in the following ten cases: When he destroys life; when he commits theft; when he commits impurity; when he is a liar; when he drinks strong drinks; when he speaks against the Buddha; when he speaks against the Dhamma; when he speaks against the Samgha; when he holds false doctrines; when he has sexual intercourse with Bhikkhunis¹. In these ten cases I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you expel the novice (from the fraternity).’

61.

At that time, &c.²

‘Let a eunuch, O Bhikkhus, who has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).’

¹ The case of the novice's committing sexual intercourse with a Bhikkhunî can have found its place here only by a negligence of the redactor, as it is comprised already in the third of the ten cases (the novice's committing impurity). Buddhaghosa (who of course never admits anything like an inadvertence of the holy Theras by whom the Vinaya is compiled) says that the third case and the tenth are distinguished here, because a person that has simply committed an impurity may receive the ordination, if he is willing to refrain himself in future; whilst a bhikkhunîdûsaka cannot be ordained in any case (see chap. 67).

² Tena kho pana samayena aññataro paṇḍako bhikkhûsu pabagito hoti, so dahare dahare bhikkhû upasamkamitvâ evaṃ vadeti: etha maṃ âyasmanto dûsethâ 'ti. Bhikkhû apasâdenti: nassa paṇḍaka, vinassa paṇḍaka, ko tayâ attho 'ti. So bhikkhûhi apasâdito mahante mahante moligalle (Buddhaghosa: thûlasarîre) sâmaṇere upasamkamitvâ evaṃ vadeti: etha maṃ âvuso dûsethâ

62.

1. At that time there was a certain person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away; he was delicately nurtured. Now this person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, thought: 'I am delicately nurtured; I am not able to acquire new riches or to augment the riches which I possess. What shall I do in order that I may live a life of ease and without pain?'

Then this person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, gave himself the following answer: 'There are the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, who keep commodious precepts and live a commodious life; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from wind. What if I were to procure myself an alms-bowl and robes on my own account, and were to have my hair and beard cut off, to put on yellow robes, to go to the Ârâma, and to live there with the Bhikkhus.'

2. Then that person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, procured himself an alms-bowl and robes on his own account, had his hair and beard cut off, put on yellow robes, went to the Ârâma, and respectfully saluted the Bhikkhus. The

'ti. Sāmanerā apasādenti: nassa *pandāka*, vinassa *pandāka*, ko tayā attho 'ti. So sāmānerehi apasādito hatthibhande assabhande upasamkamitvā *evam* vadeti: etha *mam* āvuso dūsethā 'ti. Hatthibhandā assabhandā dūsesum. Te *ugghāyanti* khīyanti vipāṭenti: *pandakā* ime samanā Sakyaputtiyā, ye pi imesam na *pandakā* te pi *pandake* dūsentī, *evam* ime sabbeva abrahmakārinō 'ti. Assosum kho bhikkhū hatthibhandānam assabhandānam *ugghāyantānam* khīyantānam vipāṭentānam. Atha kho te bhikkhū bhagavato etam attham ārokesum.

Bhikkhus said to him : ‘ How many years, friend, have elapsed since your upasampadâ ?’

‘ What does that mean, friends, “ years elapsed since the upasampadâ ?” ’

‘ And who is your upagghâya, friend ?’

‘ What does that word upagghâya mean, friends ?’

The Bhikkhus said to the venerable Upâli : ‘ Pray, friend Upâli, examine this ascetic.’

3. Then that person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, when being examined by the venerable Upâli, told him the whole matter. The venerable Upâli told this thing to the Bhikkhus ; the Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ Let a person, O Bhikkhus, who has furtively attached himself to the Saṃgha, if he has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it ; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).

‘ Let a person, O Bhikkhus, who has gone over to the Tittihas’ (&c., as in chap. 61).

63.

1. At that time there was a serpent who was aggrieved at, ashamed of, and conceived aversion for his having been born as a serpent. Now this serpent thought : ‘ What am I to do in order to become released from being a serpent, and quickly to obtain human nature ?’ Then this serpent gave himself the following answer : ‘ These Sakyaputtiya Samanas lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life ; they speak the truth ; they keep the precepts of morality, and are endowed with all virtues. If

I could obtain pabbaggā with the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, I should be released from being a serpent and quickly obtain human nature.'

2. Then that serpent, in the shape of a youth, went to the Bhikkhus, and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on him the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations.

At that time that serpent dwelt together with a certain Bhikkhu in the last Vihāra (near the boundary wall of the Getavana). Now that Bhikkhu, having arisen in the night, at dawn, was walking up and down in the open air. When that Bhikkhu had left (the Vihāra), that serpent, who thought himself safe (from discovery), fell asleep (in his natural shape). The whole Vihāra was filled with the snake's body; his windings jutted out of the window.

3. Then that Bhikkhu thought: 'I will go back to the Vihāra,' opened the door, and saw the whole Vihāra filled with the snake's body, the windings jutting out of the window. Seeing that he was terrified and cried out. The Bhikkhus ran up, and said to that Bhikkhu: 'Why did you cry out, friend?' 'This whole Vihāra, friends, is filled with a snake's body; the windings jut out of the window.'

Then that serpent awoke from that noise and sat down on his seat. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'Who are you, friend?' 'I am a serpent, reverend Sirs.' 'And why have you done such a thing, friend?' Then that Nāga told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus; the Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

4. In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of

Bhikkhus to assemble, said to that serpent: 'You serpents are not capable of (spiritual) growth in this doctrine and discipline. However, serpent, go and observe fast on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month; thus will you be released from being a serpent and quickly obtain human nature.'

Then that serpent, who thought, 'I am not capable of (spiritual) growth in this doctrine and discipline,' became sad and sorrowful, shed tears, made an outcry, and went away.

5. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'There are two occasions, O Bhikkhus, on which a serpent (who has assumed human shape) manifests his true nature: when he has sexual intercourse with a female of his species, and if he thinks himself safe (from discovery) and falls asleep. These, O Bhikkhus, are the two occasions on which a serpent manifests his true nature.

'Let an animal, O Bhikkhus, that has not received the upasampadā ordination, not receive it; if it has received it, let it be expelled (from the fraternity).'

64.

1. At that time a certain young man deprived his mother of life. He was grieved, ashamed, and loathed this sinful deed. Now this young man thought: 'What am I to do to get rid of my sinful deed?' Then this young man gave himself this answer: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life, &c. If I could obtain

pabbaggâ with the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, I might get rid of my sinful deed.'

2. Then that young man went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination. The Bhikkhus said to the venerable Upâli: 'Formerly, friend Upâli, a serpent in the shape of a youth received the pabbaggâ ordination with the Bhikkhus; pray, friend Upâli, examine this young man.' Then that young man, when examined by the venerable Upâli, told him the whole matter. The venerable Upâli told it to the Bhikkhus; the Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

'Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that is guilty of matricide, if he has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).'

65.

At that time a certain young man deprived his father of life (&c., as in chap. 64).

'Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that is guilty of patricide, &c.'

66.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road from Sâketa to Sâvatthi. On the road robbers broke forth, robbed some of the Bhikkhus, and killed some of them. Then royal soldiers came from Sâvatthi and caught some of the robbers; others of them escaped. Those who had escaped, received pabbaggâ with the Bhikkhus; those who had been caught, were led to death.

2. Then those who had been ordained, saw those robbers who were being led to death ; seeing them they said : ' It is well that we have escaped ; had we been caught, we should also be killed thus.' The Bhikkhus said to them : ' Why, what have you done, friends ?' Then those (robbers) who had been ordained, told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, were Arahats. Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has murdered an Arahata, if this person has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it ; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).'

67.

At that time a number of Bhikkhunis were travelling on the road from Sâketa to Sâvatthi. On the road robbers broke forth, robbed some of the Bhikkhunis, and violated some of them. Then royal soldiers (&c., as in chap. 66).

The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has violated a Bhikkhuni (or, that has had sexual intercourse with a Bhikkhuni), (&c., as in chap. 66).

' Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has caused a schism among the Saṃgha, &c.

' Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has shed (a Buddha's) blood,' &c.

68.

At that time a certain hermaphrodite had received pabbaggā with the Bhikkhus; so karoti pi kārāpeti pi.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let a hermaphrodite, O Bhikkhus,' &c.

69.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadā ordination on a person that had no upagghāya.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has no upagghāya, receive the upasampadā ordination. He who confers the upasampadā ordination (on such a person), commits a dukkata offence.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadā ordination with the Saṃgha as upagghāya.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one receive the upasampadā ordination with the Saṃgha as upagghāya. He who confers the upasampadā ordination (in such a way), commits a dukkata offence.'

3. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadā ordination with a number of Bhikkhus¹ as upagghāya (&c., as before).

4. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-

¹ I.e. not with the whole fraternity residing at that place, but with a part of it.

sampadâ ordination with a eunuch as upagghâya, &c.; with a person that had furtively attached himself (to the Samgha) as upagghâya; with a person that was gone over to the Titthiyas as upagghâya; with an animal as upagghâya; with a person that was guilty of matricide as upagghâya; with a person that was guilty of parricide as upagghâya; with a person that had murdered an Arahât as upagghâya; with a person that had violated a Bhikkhunî as upagghâya; with a person that had caused a schism among the Samgha as upagghâya; with a person that had shed (a Buddha's) blood as upagghâya; with a hermaphrodite as upagghâya.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one,' &c. (as in the first clause).

70.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on persons that had no alms-bowl. They received alms with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'Like the Titthiyas.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the upasampadâ ordination without having an alms-bowl. He who confers the upasampadâ ordination (on a person that has not), commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on persons that had no robes. They went out for alms naked. People were annoyed (&c., as in § 1).

3. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-

sampadâ ordination on persons that had neither alms-bowl nor robes. They went out for alms naked and (received alms) with their hands. People were annoyed (&c., as in § 1).

4. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-sampadâ ordination on persons that had borrowed alms-bowls. After the ordination (the owners) took their alms-bowls back ; (the Bhikkhus) received alms with their hands. People were annoyed (&c. . . . down to) : 'Like the Tittihas.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the upa-sampadâ ordination who has borrowed the alms-bowl. He who confers,' &c. (as in the first clause).

5. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-sampadâ ordination on persons that had borrowed robes. After the ordination (the owners) took their robes back ; (the Bhikkhus) went out for alms naked. People were annoyed (&c., as in § 1 to the end).

6. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-sampadâ ordination on persons that had borrowed alms-bowls and robes, &c.

Here end the twenty cases in which upasampadâ is forbidden.

71.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the pabbaggâ ordination on a person whose hands were cut off, on a person whose feet were cut off, whose hands and feet were cut off, whose ears were cut off, whose nose was cut off, whose ears and nose were cut off, whose fingers were cut off, whose

thumbs were cut off, whose tendons (of the feet) were cut, who had hands like a snake's hood¹, who was a hump-back, or a dwarf, or a person that had a goitre, that had been branded, that had been scourged, on a proclaimed robber, on a person that had elephantiasis, that was afflicted with bad illness, that gave offence (by any deformity) to those who saw him, on a one-eyed person, on a person with a crooked limb, on a lame person, on a person that was paralysed on one side, on a cripple², on a person weak from age, on a blind man, on a dumb man, on a deaf man, on a blind and dumb man, on a blind and deaf man, on a deaf and dumb man, on a blind, deaf and dumb man.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no person, O Bhikkhus, whose hands are cut off, receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination. Let no person whose feet are cut off, receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination, &c. (each of the above cases being here repeated). He who confers the *pabbaggâ* ordination (on such persons), is guilty of a *dukkatā* offence.'

Here end the thirty-two cases in which *pabbaggâ* is forbidden.

End of the ninth *Bhāṇavāra*.

¹ 'Whose fingers are grown together, like bats' wings' (Buddhaghosa).

² Buddhaghosa (Berlin MS.) explains '*khinniriyâpatha*' by '*pidhasappi*.' We ought to read, no doubt, *pîḥasappî*, which is Sanskrit *pîḥasarpin*, a cripple that is moved on in a rolling chair.

72.

1. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus gave a nissaya to shameless Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, give a nissaya to shameless Bhikkhus. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

At that time some Bhikkhus lived in dependence on shameless Bhikkhus (i. e. they received a nissaya from them, they chose them for their upaggaḥāyas or āḥariyas); ere long they became also shameless, bad Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, live in dependence on shameless Bhikkhus. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that we shall not give a nissaya to shameless Bhikkhus, nor live in dependence on shameless Bhikkhus. Now how are we to discern modest and shameless persons?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you wait first four or five days until you have seen how a Bhikkhu behaves to the other Bhikkhus.’

73.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu was travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that we shall not live without a nissaya (of an āḥariya and

an upagga^hâya); now I want a nissaya, but I am travelling. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a travelling Bhikkhu who can get no nissaya, to live without a nissaya.’

2. At that time two Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. They came to a certain residence; there one of the two Bhikkhus was taken ill. Now that sick Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that we shall not live without a nissaya; now I want a nissaya, but I am sick. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a sick Bhikkhu who can get no nissaya, to live without a nissaya.’

3. Now the other Bhikkhu, who nursed that sick Bhikkhu, thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed, &c.; now I want a nissaya, but this Bhikkhu is sick. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is nursing a sick Bhikkhu, if he can get no nissaya and the sick asks him (to remain with him), to live without a nissaya.’

4. At that time a certain Bhikkhu lived in the forest; he had a dwelling-place where he lived pleasantly. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed, &c.; now I want a nissaya, but I live in the forest and have a dwelling-place where I live pleasantly. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu living in the forest who finds a place where he may live pleasantly,

and who can get (there) no nissaya, to live without a nissaya (saying to himself): "If a proper person to give me nissaya comes hither, I will take nissaya of that person."

74.

1. At that time there was a person that desired to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable Mahâkassapa. Then the venerable Mahâkassapa sent a messenger to the venerable Ânanda: 'Come, Ânanda, and recite the upasampadâ proclamation for this person.' The venerable Ânanda said: 'I cannot pronounce the Thera's (i. e. Mahâkassapa's) name; the Thera is too venerable compared with me.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use also the family name (of the upagghâya, instead of his proper name) in the proclamation.'

2. At that time there were two persons that desired to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable Mahâkassapa. They quarrelled with each other. (One said): 'I will receive the upasampadâ ordination first.' (The other said): 'Nay, I will receive it first.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to ordain two persons by one proclamation.'

3. At that time there were persons who desired to receive the upasampadâ ordination from different Theras. They quarrelled with each other. (One said): 'I will receive the upasampadâ ordina-

tion first.' (The other said): 'Nay, I will receive it first.' The Theras said: 'Well, friends, let us ordain them altogether by one proclamation.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to ordain two or three persons by one proclamation, provided they have the same *upagghâya*, but not if they have different *upagghâyas*.'

75.

At that time the venerable Kumârakassapa had received the *upasampadâ* ordination when he had completed the twentieth year from his conception (but not from his birth). Now the venerable Kumârakassapa thought: 'The Blessed One has forbidden us to confer the *upasampadâ* ordination on persons under twenty years of age¹, and I have completed my twentieth year (only) from my conception. Have I, therefore, received the *upasampadâ* ordination, or have I not received it?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'When, O Bhikkhus, in the womb the first thought rises up (in the nascent being), the first consciousness manifests itself, according to this the (true) birth should be reckoned. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the *upasampadâ* ordination on persons that have completed the twentieth year from their conception (only).'

¹ See chap. 49. 6.

76.

1. At that time ordained Bhikkhus were seen who were afflicted with leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who confers the upasampadā ordination, ask (the person to be ordained) about the Disqualifications (for receiving the ordination). And let him ask, O Bhikkhus, in this way :

‘Are you afflicted with the following diseases, leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits ?

‘Are you a man ?

‘Are you a male ?

‘Are you a freeman ?

‘Have you no debts ?

‘Are you not in the royal service ?

‘Have your father and mother given their consent ?

‘Are you full twenty years old ?

‘Are your alms-bowl and your robes in due state ?

‘What is your name ?

‘What is your upagghāya’s name ?’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus asked the persons who desired to receive the upasampadā ordination about the Disqualifications, without having them instructed beforehand (how to answer). The persons that desired to be ordained, became disconcerted, perplexed, and could not answer.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you first instruct (the persons desirous of being ordained), and then ask them about the Disqualifications.’

3. Then they instructed (the candidates) in the midst of the assembly; the persons desirous of being ordained became disconcerted, perplexed, and could not answer nevertheless.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you instruct them aside, and ask them about the Disqualifications before the assembly. And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to instruct them in this way: You ought first to cause them to choose an *upagghâya*; when they have chosen an *upagghâya*, their alms-bowl and robes must be shown to them, “This is your alms-bowl, this is your *samghâti*, this is your upper robe, this is your under garment; come and place yourself here.”’

4. Ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus instructed them; the persons desirous of being ordained, though they had been instructed, became disconcerted, perplexed, and could not answer.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, instruct them. If they do, they commit a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a learned, competent Bhikkhu instruct them.’

5. At that time persons instructed them who were not appointed thereto.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, instruct them without being appointed thereto. He who so instructs, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that an appointed Bhikkhu is to instruct them. And (this Bhikkhu), O Bhikkhus, is to be appointed in this way: One may either appoint himself, or one may appoint another person. And how is (a Bhikkhu) to

appoint himself? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. N.N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N.N. If the *Samgha* is ready, I will instruct N.N." Thus one may appoint himself.

6. 'And how is (a Bhikkhu) to appoint another person? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, &c. N.N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N.N. If the *Samgha* is ready, let N.N. instruct N.N." Thus one may appoint another person.

7. 'Then let that appointed Bhikkhu go to the person who desires to be ordained, and thus address him: "Do you hear, N.N.? This is the time for you to speak the truth, and to say that which is. When I ask you before the assembly about that which is, you ought, if it is so, to answer: 'It is;' if it is not so, you ought to answer: 'It is not.' Be not disconcerted, be not perplexed. I shall ask you thus: 'Are you afflicted with the following diseases, &c?'"'

8. (After the instruction, the instructor and the candidate) appeared together before the assembly.

'Let them not appear together. Let the instructor come first and proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. N.N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N.N.; he has been instructed by me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let N.N. come." Then let him be told: "Come on." Let him be told to adjust his upper robe (&c., see chap. 29. 2), to raise his joined hands, and to ask (the *Samgha*) for the upasampadā ordination (by say-

ing), "I ask the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, for the upasampadâ ordination; might the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, draw me out (of the sinful world) out of compassion towards me. And for the second time, reverend Sirs, I ask, &c. And for the third time, reverend Sirs, I ask, &c."

9. 'Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N. If the *Samgha* is ready, let me ask N. N. about the Disqualifications.

"Do you hear, N. N.? This is the time for you (&c., see § 7, down to:) you ought to answer: 'It is not.'"

"Are you afflicted with the following diseases, &c.?"

10. 'Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N.; he is free from the Disqualifications; his alms-bowl and robes are in due state. N. N. asks the *Samgha* for the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as *upagghâya*. If the *Samgha* is ready, &c.¹"

End of the regulations for the upasampadâ
ordination².

¹ Here follows the usual complete formula of a *ñattikatuttha kamma*; see chaps. 28. 4-6; 29. 3, &c.

² With these sections compare the previous chapters 12, 28 and following, 36 and following. The *ñatti* prescribed in this chapter, together with the Three Refuges Formula prescribed in chap. 12, § 4, the whole of chap. 77, and the Four Interdictions form together

77.

‘Then let them measure the shadow, tell (the newly-ordained Bhikkhu) what season and what date it is, tell him what part of the day it is, tell him the whole formula¹, and tell him the four Resources: “The religious life has the morsels of food given in alms for its resource (&c., as in chap. 30. 4).”’

End of the four Resources.

78.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus, after having conferred the upasampadâ ordination on a certain Bhikkhu, left him alone and went away. Afterwards, as he went alone (to the Ârâma), he met on the way his former wife. She said to him: ‘Have you now embraced the religious life?’ (He replied): ‘Yes, I have embraced the religious life.’ ‘It is difficult to persons who have embraced religious life, to obtain sexual intercourse; come, let us have intercourse.’ He practised intercourse with her, and, in consequence, came late (to the Ârâma). The Bhikkhus said: ‘How is it, friend, that you are so late?’

2. Then that Bhikkhu told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

the current ceremony of ordination (the upasampadâ-kamma-vâkâ) as now still in use in the Order. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, VII, p. 1.

¹ I. e., according to Buddhaghosa, repeat to him all the data specified before together, in order that he might be able to give a correct answer when asked about his spiritual age.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a companion to a newly-ordained Bhikkhu, and that you tell him the four Interdictions :

“A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought to abstain from all sexual intercourse even with an animal. A Bhikkhu who practises sexual intercourse is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a man whose head is cut off, cannot live any longer with his trunk alone, thus a Bhikkhu who practises sexual intercourse is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts.

3. “A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought to abstain from taking what is not given to him, and from theft, even of a blade of grass. A Bhikkhu who takes what is not given to him, or steals it, if it is a pâda (i. e. a quarter of a kârshâpana), or of the value of a pâda, or worth more than a pâda, is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a sear leaf loosed from its stalk cannot become green again, thus a Bhikkhu who takes, &c. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts.

4. “A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought not intentionally to destroy the life of any being down to a worm or an ant. A Bhikkhu who intentionally kills a human being, down to procuring abortion, is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a great stone which is broken in two, cannot be reunited, thus a Bhikkhu who intentionally, &c. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts.

5. “A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought not to attribute to

himself any superhuman condition, and not to say even: 'I find delight in sojourning in an empty place.' A Bhikkhu who with bad intention and out of covetousness attributes to himself a superhuman condition, which he has not, and which he is not possessed of, a state of *ghâna* (mystic meditation), or one of the *vimokkhas*¹, or one of the *samâdhis* (states of self-concentration), or one of the *samâpattis* (the attainment of the four *ghânas* and four of the eight *vimokkhas*), or one of the Paths (of sanctification), or one of the Fruits thereof, is no *Samāna* and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a palm tree of which the top sprout has been cut off, cannot grow again, thus a Bhikkhu who with bad intention, &c. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts."

End of the four Interdicts.

79.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu against whom expulsion² had been pronounced for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself), returned to

¹ The *vimokkhas* (literally, deliverances) are eight stages of meditation different from the four *ghânas*. The characteristics of the different *vimokkhas* are specified by Childers s. v.

² This temporary expulsion (*ukkehapaniyakamma*), which is pronounced against Bhikkhus who refuse to see an offence committed by themselves (*âpattiyâ adassane*), or to atone for such an offence (*âpattiyâ appa/ikamme*), or to renounce a false doctrine (*pâpikâya di/hiyâ appa/inissagge*), must be distinguished from the definitive and permanent expulsion (*nâsanâ*) which is pronounced against Bhikkhus who have committed a *pârâ-gika* offence, or in cases like those treated of in chapters 61 seq.

the world. Afterwards he came back to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the upasampadâ ordination.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself), returns to the world, and afterwards comes back to the Bhikkhus and asks them for the upasampadâ ordination, let them say to him: “Will you see that offence?” If he replies: “I will see it,” let him be admitted to the pabbaggâ ordination; if he replies: “I will not see it,” let him not be admitted to the pabbaggâ ordination.

2. ‘When he has received the pabbaggâ ordination let them say to him: “Will you see that offence?” If he says: “I will see it,” let him be admitted to the upasampadâ ordination; if he says: “I will not see it,” let him not be admitted to the upasampadâ ordination.

‘When he has received the upasampadâ ordination (&c., as before). If he says: “I will see it,” let him be restored¹; if he says: “I will not see it,” let him not be restored.

‘When he has been restored, let them say to him: “Do you see that offence?” If he sees it, well and good; if he does not see it, let them expel him again, if it is possible to bring about unanimity (of the fraternity for the sentence of expulsion); if that is impossible, it is no offence to live and to dwell together (with such a Bhikkhu).

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal

¹ I. e. the sentence of expulsion is abolished; compare the Samanta Pâsâdikâ, ap. Minayeff, Prâtimoksha, p. 92.

to atone for an offence (committed by himself), &c.¹ When he has been restored, let them say to him : "Atone now for that offence." If he atones for it, well and good, &c.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to renounce a false doctrine, &c.² When he has been restored, let them say to him : "Renounce now that false doctrine." If he renounces it, well and good, &c.'

End of the first Khandhaka, which is called the Great Khandhaka³.

¹ As in §§ 1, 2. Instead of 'Will you see that offence?' and, 'I will see it,' read here : 'Will you atone for that offence?' and, 'I will atone for it.'

² As above. Read here : 'Will you renounce that false doctrine?' and, 'I will renounce it.'

³ Here follow some Slokas, probably written in Ceylon, and an elaborate Table of Contents, both of which we leave untranslated. The Slokas are introductory to the Table of Contents (uddâna) and belong to it. A similar Table of Contents is found in the MSS. nearly after all the other Khandhakas.

SECOND KHANDHAKA.

(THE UPOSATHA CEREMONY, AND THE PÂTIMOKKHA.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt near Râgagaha, on the *Gigg'hakûta* mountain ('the Vulture's Peak'). At that time the Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools assembled on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month¹ and recited their Dhamma. The people went to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They were filled with favour towards, and were filled with faith in, the Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools; the Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools gained adherents.

2. Now when the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind : 'The Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools assemble now on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month and recite their Dhamma. The people go to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They are filled with favour towards, and are filled with faith in, the Paribbâgakas who belong to Titthiya

¹ One should be inclined to understand that the Paribbâgakas assembled twice each half month, on the eighth day of the pakkha and on the fourteenth or fifteenth day, according to the different length of the pakkha. However, chap. 4 makes it probable that not two days in each pakkha are to be understood, but three. Compare, however, the remark of Buddhaghosa, quoted in the note on chap. 34. 1.

schools; the Paribbāgakas who belong to Tittiya schools gain adherents. What if the reverend ones (the Buddhist Bhikkhus) were to assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month.'

3. Then the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, when I was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to my mind: "The Paribbāgakas, &c.; what if the reverend ones were to assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month." Well, Lord, let the reverend ones assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month.'

4. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra by religious discourse; and the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, having been taught . . . and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, passed round him with his right side towards him, and went away.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you assemble on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each month.'

2.

At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Blessed One had ordered them to assemble on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month, assembled on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month and sat there silent. The people went to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakya-puttiya Samanas, when they have assembled on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month, sit there silent, like the dumb, or like hogs? Ought they not to recite the Dhamma, when they have assembled?' Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry; these Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One. In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you recite the Dhamma, when you have assembled on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month.'

3.

1. Now when the Blessed One was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: 'What if I were to prescribe that the Bhikkhus recite as the Pâtimokkha¹ the precepts which I have promulgated to

¹ On the origin and the meaning of the title 'Pâtimokkha,' see our Introduction, p. xxvii.

them; this will be their Uposatha service (service of the fast-day).'

2. And the Blessed One, having left the solitude in the evening, in consequence of that and on this occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'When I was alone, O Bhikkhus, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration, &c., this will be their Uposatha service. I prescribe you, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pātimokkha.

3. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to recite it in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. To-day it is Uposatha, the fifteenth (of the half month). If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold the Uposatha service and recite the Pātimokkha. What ought to be first done by the *Samgha*? Proclaim the *pārisuddhi*¹, Sirs. I will recite the Pātimokkha."

"We hear it well and fix well the mind on it all of us²."

"He who has committed an offence, may confess it; if there is no offence, you should remain silent; from your being silent I shall understand that the reverend brethren are pure (from offences). As a single person that has been asked a question, answers it, the same is the matter if before an

¹ See chap. 22. If a Bhikkhu is prevented by disease from assisting to the Pātimokkha ceremony, he is to charge another Bhikkhu with his *pārisuddhi*, i.e. with the solemn declaration that he is pure from the offences specified in the Pātimokkha.

² These words are evidently the answer of the Bhikkhus then present to the proclamation of the *pātimokkhu*ddesaka.

assembly like this a question has been solemnly proclaimed three times : if a Bhikkhu, after a three-fold proclamation, does not confess an existing offence which he remembers, he commits an intentional falsehood. Now, reverend brethren, an intentional falsehood has been declared an impediment¹ by the Blessed One. Therefore, by a Bhikkhu who has committed (an offence), and remembers it, and desires to become pure, an existing offence should be confessed; for if it has been confessed, it is treated duly.”

4.² ‘Pâtimokkham:’ it is the beginning, it is the face (*mukham*), it is the principal (*pamukham*) of good qualities; therefore it is called ‘pâtimokkham’³.

‘Âyasmanto:’ this word ‘âyasmanto’ is an expression of friendliness, an expression of respect, an appellation that infers respectfulness and reverence.

‘Uddisissâmi:’ I will pronounce, I will show, I will proclaim, I will establish, I will unveil, I will distinguish, I will make evident, I will declare.

‘Tam’ (it): this refers to the Pâtimokkha.

‘Sabbe va santâ’ (all of us): as many as are present in that assembly, aged, young, and middle-aged (Bhikkhus), are denoted by ‘sabbe va santâ’⁴.

‘Sâdhukam sunoma’ (we hear it well): admit-

¹ See § 7.

² §§ 4-8 contain an explanation, word by word, of the formula given in § 3. This explanation is a portion of the ancient commentary on the Pâtimokkha which at the time of the redaction of the Vinaya Piṭaka has been admitted into it in its full extent (see the Introduction, p. xv seq.).

³ See p. 241, note 1.

⁴ See p. 1, note 5.

ting its authority, fixing our minds on it, we repeat the whole of it in our thoughts.

‘Manasikaroma’ (we fix our minds on it): we listen to it with concentrated, not perplexed, not confused thoughts.

5. ‘Yassa siyâ âpatti’ (he who has committed an offence): he who, whether an aged or young or middle-aged Bhikkhu, has committed some offence belonging to the five classes of offences or to the seven classes of offences¹.

‘So âvikareyya:’ he may show it, unveil it, make it evident, declare it before the Samgha (the full chapter of Bhikkhus), or before a small number, or before one person.

‘Asanti âpatti’ (a non-existing offence): an offence which has not been committed, or which has been committed and atoned for.

‘Tunhi bhavitabbam’ (he ought to remain silent): he ought to accept (the recitation of the Pâtimokkha without any answer), he ought not to utter anything.

‘Parisuddhâ’ti vedissâmi’ (I shall understand that they are pure): I shall infer, I shall know.

6. ‘Yathâ kho pana pakkekaputtassa veyyâkaranam hoti’ (as a single person that has been asked a question answers it): as a single person that has been asked a question by another one, would answer it, thus (those who are present) in that assembly ought to understand: ‘He asks me.’

¹ The five classes of offences are, the pārâgika, samghâdisesa, pâkittiya, pâidesaniya, dukkaṭa offences; the seven classes, the pārâgika, samghâdisesa, thullaṭṭaya, pâkittiya, pâidesaniya, dukkaṭa, dubbhâsita offences. See, for instance, Kullavagga IX, 3, 3.

‘Evarûpâ parisâ’ (an assembly like this): this refers to the assembly of Bhikkhus.

‘Yâvatatīyam anussâvitam hoti’ (it has been solemnly proclaimed three times): it has been solemnly proclaimed once, and the second time, and the third time.

‘Saramâno’ (remembering it): knowing it, being conscious of it.

‘Santī âpatti’ (an existing offence): an offence which has been committed, or which has been committed and not been atoned for.

‘Nâvikareyya:’ he does not show it, he does not unveil it, he does not make it evident, he does not declare it before the *Samgha*, or before a small chapter, or before one person.

7. ‘Sampagânamusâvâd’ assa hoti’ (he commits an intentional falsehood): what is intentional falsehood? It is a sin¹.

‘Antarâyiko dhammo vutto bhagavatâ’ (it has been declared an impediment by the Blessed One): an impediment to what? An impediment to the attainment of the first *Ghâna*, an impediment to the attainment of the second . . . third . . . fourth *Ghâna*, an impediment to the attainment of the *Ghânas*, *Vimokkhas*², *Samâdhis* (states of self-concentration), *Samâpattis* (the eight attainments of the four *Ghânas* and four of the eight *Vimokkhas*),

¹ The Pâli text has ‘dukka/a.’ We cannot interpret here *dukka/a* in the technical sense of a *dukka/a* offence (see the Introduction, p. xxiv), for intentional falsehood belongs to the class of the *pâkittiya* offences, among which it occupies the first place.

² See the note on I, 78, 5.

the states of renunciation, of escape (from the world), of seclusion, of (all) good qualities.

‘Tasmā:’ for that reason.

‘Saramānena’ (by him who remembers it): by him who knows it and is conscious of it.

‘Visuddhāpekkhena’ (by him who desires to become pure): by him who wishes to atone for it and to make himself pure of it.

8. ‘Santi āpatti’ . . . (see § 6).

‘Āvikātabbā’ (it is to be confessed): it is to be confessed before the Saṃgha, or before a small chapter, or before one person.’

‘Āvikatā hi ’ssa phāsu hoti’ (for if it has been confessed, it is treated duly): duly for what purpose? In the due way for the attainment of the first *Ghāṇa* (and so on, as in § 7, down to:) of (all) good qualities.

4.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Pātimokkha recitation had been instituted by the Blessed One, recited the Pātimokkha every day.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The Pātimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be recited every day. He who recites it (every day), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I ordain, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pātimokkha on the Uposatha day.’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that it had been prescribed by the Blessed One to recite the Pātimokkha on the Uposatha day, recited the Pātimokkha three times each half month, on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be recited three times each half month. He who recites it (three times), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you recite the Pâtimokkha once each half month, on the fourteenth or on the fifteenth day.’

5.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus recited the Pâtimokkha according as they lived together, every one before his own companions.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be recited according as (the Bhikkhus) live together, by every one before his own companions. He who recites it (in that way), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Uposatha service is to be held by the complete fraternity.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that the Uposatha service is to be held by the complete fraternity. How far does completeness extend, as far as one residence (or one district), or all over the earth?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that completeness is to extend as far as one residence.’

3. At that time the reverend Mahâ Kappina dwelt near Râgagaha, in the deer park of Madda-kukki. Now (one day) when the reverend Mahâ Kappina was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: ‘Shall I go to the Uposatha service or shall I not go? Shall I go to the functions of the Order

or shall I not go? Indeed I have become pure by the highest purity (i. e. I have reached Arahatsip or Nirvâna).'

4. Then the Blessed One, understanding by the power of his mind the reflection which had arisen in Mahâ Kappina's mind, disappeared from the Giggḥakûṭa mountain and appeared in the deer park of Maddakukkkhi, before the reverend Mahâ Kappina (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw his outstretched arm back. The Blessed One sat down on a seat laid out for him, and the reverend Mahâ Kappina, after having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, sat down also near him.

5. When the reverend Mahâ Kappina was seated near him, the Blessed One said to him: 'When you were alone, Kappina, and had retired into solitude, has not the following consideration presented itself to your mind: "Shall I go (&c., as in § 3 down to:) by the highest purity?"'

'Even so, Lord.'

'If you Brâhmaṇas do not honour, do not regard, do not revere, do not pay reverence to the Upasatha, who will then honour, regard, revere, pay reverence to the Upasatha? Go to the Upasatha, O Brâhmaṇa, do not neglect to go; go to the functions of the Order, do not neglect to go.' The reverend Mahâ Kappina promised the Blessed One to do so (by saying), 'Even so, Lord.'

6. Then, having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the reverend Mahâ Kappina by a religious discourse, the Blessed One disappeared from the deer park of Maddakukkkhi, from the presence of the reverend Mahâ Kappina, and appeared on the

Gigghakûta mountain (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw his out-stretched arm back.

6.

Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed that completeness (of the assembled fraternity) is to extend as far as one residence¹. Now how far does one residence extend?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you determine a boundary. And it ought to be determined, O Bhikkhus, in this way: First the landmarks are to be proclaimed: a landmark consisting in a mountain, in a rock, in a wood, in a tree, in a path, in an ant-hill, in a river, in a piece of water. The landmarks having been proclaimed, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha*, as the landmarks have been proclaimed all around, by these landmarks determine the boundary for common residence and communion of Uposatha. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. The *Samgha* determines the boundary (&c., as above). Thus I understand."'

7.

1. At that time the *Khāḍḍaggiya* Bhikkhus, considering that fixing of boundaries had been

¹ See chap. 5. 2.

prescribed by the Blessed One, fixed boundaries of excessive extension, of four yoganas, five yoganas, six yoganas. The Bhikkhus who came to the Uposatha, arrived when the Pâtimokkha was being recited, or when it had just been recited, or they were obliged to stay the night on the way.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, determine a boundary of excessive extension, of four, five, or six yoganas. He who determines (such a boundary), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you determine boundaries of three yoganas’ extent at most.’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus determined a boundary which extended to the opposite side of a river. The Bhikkhus who came to the Uposatha, were carried down (by the river), and their alms-bowls and robes were carried away.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, determine a boundary which extends to the opposite side of a river. He who determines (such a boundary), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, if there is a regular communication by a ferry boat or a dike, at such places to determine a boundary which extends also to the opposite side of the river.’

8.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus recited the Pâtimokkha in their successive cells without appointing (a certain place for doing so). The Bhikkhus who

arrived (from distant places), did not know where the Uposatha was to be held that day.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in the successive cells without appointing a certain place for it. He who recites it (in this way), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the holding of Uposatha after having fixed upon an Uposatha hall, wherever the Saṃgha likes, a Vihâra, or an *Addhayoga*, or a storied building, or a house, or a cave¹. And you ought to appoint it in this way:

2. ‘Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the Saṃgha: “Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the Saṃgha is ready, let the Saṃgha appoint the Vihâra called N. N. to be our Uposatha hall. This is the *ñatti*. Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. The Saṃgha appoints, &c. Thus I understand.”’

3. At that time there were in a certain residence (or district) two Uposatha halls fixed upon. The Bhikkhus assembled in both places, because (some of them) thought, ‘The Uposatha will be held here;’ (and some), ‘It will be held there.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, fix upon two Uposatha halls in one district. He who does so, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I ordain, O Bhikkhus, the abolishing of one of them², and the holding of Uposatha (only) in one place.

4. ‘And you ought to abolish it, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu pro-

¹ See the note on I, 30, 4.

² I. e. to abolish the character of uposathâgâra, conferred on the Vihâra &c. by the act of sammuti.

claim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, the *Samgha* may abolish the Uposatha hall called N.N. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, &c. Thus I understand."

9.

1. At that time in a certain district too small an Uposatha hall had been appointed. On the day of Uposatha a great assembly of Bhikkhus met together. The Bhikkhus heard the Pâtimokkha sitting outside the site fixed upon. Now those Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has promulgated the precept that Uposatha is to be held after an Uposatha hall has been fixed upon, and we have heard the Pâtimokkha sitting outside the site fixed upon. Have we therefore (duly) held Uposatha or have we not held it?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Whether (a Bhikkhu) be seated inside or outside the site fixed upon, provided he hears the Pâtimokkha, Uposatha has been duly held by him.

2. 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* determine as large an uposatha-pamukha¹ as it desires. And it ought to be determined, O Bhikkhus, in this way: First the landmarks are to be proclaimed. The landmarks having been proclaimed, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti*

¹ Uposatha-pamukha (literally, that which has the Uposatha at its head, or, that which is situated in front of the Uposatha) evidently means the place around the uposathâgâra, in which the Pâtimokkha recitation may be heard as well as in the uposathâgâra itself.

before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha*, as the landmarks have been proclaimed all around, determine an uposathapamukha by these landmarks. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, &c. Thus I understand."

10.

At that time in a certain district on the day of Uposatha the young Bhikkhus, who had assembled first, thought: 'The Theras do not come yet,' and went away. The Uposatha service was held after the right time.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that on the Uposatha day the Theras ought to assemble first.'

11.

At that time there were at Râgagaha several residences (of Bhikkhus) within the same boundary. Now the Bhikkhus quarrelled: (some of them said), 'The Uposatha shall be held in our residence;' (others said), 'It shall be held in our residence.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are, O Bhikkhus, several (Bhikkhu) residences within the same boundary; now the Bhikkhus quarrel: (some of them say), "The Uposatha shall be held in our residence;" (others say), "It shall be held in our residence." Let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, assemble in one place all of them and hold Uposatha there, or let them assemble where

the senior Bhikkhu dwells and hold Uposatha there. But in no case is Uposatha to be held by an incomplete congregation. He who holds it (in that way), commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

12.

1. At that time the reverend Mahā Kassapa, when going to the Uposatha from Andhakavinda to Rāgagaha, and crossing a river on his way, was nearly¹ being carried away (by the river)²; and his robes got wet. The Bhikkhus said to the reverend Mahā Kassapa: 'How have your robes got wet, friend?' (He replied): 'As I was going, friends, to the Uposatha from Andhakavinda to Rāgagaha, and crossing a river on my way, I was nearly being carried away (by the river); thus my robes have become wet.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, confer on the boundary which it has determined for common

¹ 'Manam vulho ahoṣi.' Buddhaghosa: 'īsakam appattavulhābhāvo ahoṣi.' Manam is evidently the equivalent of Sanskrit manāk.

² Buddhaghosa's note on this passage contains some details regarding the way which Mahā Kassapa went. Andhakavinda is three gāvuta distant from Rāgagaha. There were eighteen (? the MS. reads: aṭṭhāra mahāvihārā) great Vihāras around Rāgagaha included by the same boundary which Buddha himself had consecrated. The Uposatha service for this whole district was performed in the Veḷuvana monastery. The river which Mahā Kassapa crossed on his way to the Veḷuvana was the Sappinī, which rises in the Giggḥakūṭa mountain.

residence and for communion of Uposatha, the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa*¹.

2. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer on it this character in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* confer on the boundary which the *Samgha* has determined for common residence and for communion of Uposatha, the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa*. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha* (&c., as above). Thus I understand."'

3. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Blessed One had ordained the conferring of the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa* (on the boundaries), deposited their robes in a house. Those robes were lost, burnt, or eaten by rats; the Bhikkhus were badly dressed and had coarse robes. (Other) Bhikkhus said: 'How comes it that you are badly dressed, friends, and that you have coarse robes?' (They replied): 'Considering, friends, that the Blessed One had ordained the conferring (on the boundaries) of the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa*, we deposited our robes in a house; the robes have been lost, burnt, or eaten by rats;

¹ *Tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa* means not parting with the three robes which belong to the usual '*parikkhârâ*' (requisites) of a Bhikkhu. Bhikkhus were not allowed to part with their *ḷivaras*, excepting under special circumstances and for a limited time (see the *Pâtimokkha*, 29th *nissaggiya dhamma*). Conferring the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa* on a boundary means, we believe, to determine that it should be free to Bhikkhus residing within this boundary, to keep a set of robes wherever they liked within the same boundary (excepting in a village, § 3), and that such an act should not be considered as parting with the robes.

therefore we are badly dressed and have coarse robes.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let¹ the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, confer on the boundary which it has determined for common residence and for communion of Uposatha, the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavāsa*, excepting villages and the neighbourhood of villages².

4. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer on it this character in this way, &c.³

5. 'Let him who determines a boundary, O Bhikkhus, first determine the boundary for common residence and for communion of Uposatha, and afterwards decree about the *tiḷḷivarena avippavāsa*. Let him who abolishes a boundary, O Bhikkhus, first abolish the decree about the *tiḷḷivarena avippavāsa*, and afterwards abolish the boundary for common residence and for communion of Uposatha.

'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to abolish the

¹ Buddhaghosa observes that this rule applies to Bhikkhus only, and not to Bhikkhunīs. For Bhikkhunīs reside only in villages; there would be no *ḷivaraparihāra* at all for Bhikkhunīs, if they were to use the *kammavâḥā* given in § 4. Buddhaghosa also observes at this occasion that the boundaries of the Bhikkhusaṃgha and of the Bhikkhunīsaṃgha are quite independent from each other, and that the rules given in chap. 13 do not refer to boundaries the one of which belongs to the Bhikkhusaṃgha, the other to the Bhikkhunīsaṃgha.

² As to the extent attributed to the '*gāmūpaḷāra*' (neighbourhood of the village), see the Vibhaṅga, quoted by Minayeff, Prâtim. p. 66, l. 1.

³ This formula is identical with that given in § 2. The only difference is that after the words 'the character of *tiḷḷivarena avippavāsa*,' the words 'excepting villages and the neighbourhood of villages' are inserted.

ti \acute{k} ivarena avippavâsa in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha abolish the ti \acute{k} ivarena avippavâsa, which the Samgha has decreed. This is the ñatti. Let the Samgha, &c."

6. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to abolish the boundary in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha abolish the boundary for common residence and for communion of Uposatha which it has determined. This is the ñatti. Let the Samgha, &c."

7. 'If there is no boundary determined nor fixed, O Bhikkhus, the village boundary of that village, or the nigama boundary of that nigama (market town) near which village or nigama (a Bhikkhu) dwells, is to be considered as boundary for common residence and for the communion of Uposatha. If (he lives), O Bhikkhus, in a forest where no villages are, community of residence and Uposatha extends to a distance of seven abbhantaras¹ all around. A river, O Bhikkhus, cannot be a boundary, a sea cannot be a boundary, a natural lake cannot be a boundary. In a river, O Bhikkhus, or in a sea, or in a natural lake, community of residence and Uposatha extends as far as an average man can spirt water all around.'

¹ 1 abbhantara=28 hattha (Buddhaghosa and Abhidhânappadî-pikâ, v. 197). See Rh. D., 'Coins and Measures,' &c., p. 15.

13.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus made one boundary overlap another one (which had been determined before by other Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The act of those who have determined their boundary first is lawful, unobjectionable, and valid. The act of those who have determined their boundary afterwards is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid. Let no one, O Bhikkhus, make one boundary overlap another one. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus made one boundary encompass another one (which had been determined before by other Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The act of those, &c. (see § 1). Let no one, O Bhikkhus, make one boundary encompass another one. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who determines a boundary, is to determine it so as to leave an interstice¹ between the boundaries.’

14.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought : ‘How many Upo-satha (days) are there?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa prescribes to leave an interstice of one *hattha*, and he adds that the ancient Sinhalese commentaries differ as to the measure required for this interstice: the *Kurundi* requires one *vidatthi*, the *Mahāpakkari* four *aṅgula*.

‘There are the following two Uposatha (days), O Bhikkhus, the fourteenth and the fifteenth (of the half month); these are the two Uposatha (days), O Bhikkhus.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How many Uposatha services are there?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘There are the following four Uposatha services, O Bhikkhus: the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation)¹, the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by a) complete (congregation), the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation), the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by a) complete (congregation).

3. ‘Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be held, nor is such an Uposatha service allowed by me. Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by a) complete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be held, nor is such an Uposatha service allowed by me. Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be held, nor is such an Uposatha service allowed by me. Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by a) complete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought to be held, and such an Upo-

¹ For a definition of lawfulness and unlawfulness of the official functions of the Order as well as of completeness and incompleteness of the congregation by which such acts are performed, see IX, 3.

satha service is allowed by me. Therefore, O Bhikkhus, you ought to train yourselves thus : " The Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by a) complete (congregation), such an Uposatha service will we hold." "

15.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought : ' How many ways are there of reciting the Pâtimokkha ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' There are the following five ways of reciting the Pâtimokkha : The introduction¹ having been recited, as to the rest, it may be proclaimed : " Such and such rules are known (to the fraternity²). " This is the first way of reciting the Pâtimokkha. The introduction having been recited, the four pâ râ-gikâ dhammâ having been recited, as to the rest, it may be proclaimed : " Such and such rules are known (to the fraternity). " This is the second way of reciting the Pâtimokkha. The introduction having been recited, the four pâ râ-gikâ dhammâ having been recited, the thirteen samghâdisesâ dhammâ having been recited, . . . the introduction having been recited, the four pâ râ-gikâ dhammâ having been recited, the thirteen samghâdisesâ dhammâ having been recited, the two aniyatâ dhammâ having been recited, as to the rest, it may be pro-

¹ The introduction (nidâna) of the Pâtimokkha is the formula given above, chap. 3. 3.

² 'Avasesam sutena sâvetabbam,' i.e. it is to be proclaimed : 'The four pâ râ-gikâ dhammâ, &c., are known to the reverend brethren (literally, have been heard by the reverend brethren).'

claimed: "Such and such rules are known (to the fraternity)." This is the fourth way of reciting the Pâtimokkha. The fifth way is (to recite it) in its full extent. These, O Bhikkhus, are the five ways of reciting the Pâtimokkha.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Blessed One had allowed to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged, always recited the Pâtimokkha abridged.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

3. At that time a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) in the Kosala country was menaced on the day of Uposatha by savage people. The Bhikkhus were not able to recite the Pâtimokkha in its full extent.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, in the case of danger to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged.'

4. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus recited the Pâtimokkha abridged also when there was no danger.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged, O Bhikkhus, if there is no danger. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, in the case of danger only to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged. The cases of danger are the following: danger from kings, from robbers, from fire, from water, from human beings, from non-human beings, from beasts of prey, from creeping things, danger of life, danger against chastity. I ordain, O Bhikkhus, the recitation in such cases of danger

of the Pâtimokkha abridged; if there is no danger, in its full extent.'

5. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus preached the Dhamma before the *Samgha* without being called upon (by the Thera).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, preach the Dhamma before the *Samgha* without being called upon. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is either to preach the Dhamma himself or to call upon another (Bhikkhu to do so).'

6. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto. He who so questions, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that an appointed (Bhikkhu) is to put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha*. And (this Bhikkhu) is to be appointed, O Bhikkhus, in this way: One may either appoint himself, or one may appoint another person.

7. 'And how is (a Bhikkhu) to appoint himself? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, I will question N. N. about the Vinaya." Thus one may appoint himself. And how is (a Bhikkhu) to appoint another person? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, &c. If the *Samgha* is

ready, let N. N. question N. N. about the Vinaya." Thus one may appoint another person.'

8. At that time appointed, clever Bhikkhus put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha*. The *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus conceived anger (towards those Bhikkhus), conceived discontent, and threatened them with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe you, O Bhikkhus, that even he who has been appointed shall (not) put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* (without) having looked at the assembly and weighed (with the mind each) person (present).'

9, 10. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus answered questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, answer questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that questions about the Vinaya are to be answered before the *Samgha* (only) by an appointed (Bhikkhu). And (this Bhikkhu) is to be appointed¹, &c.'

11. At that time appointed, clever Bhikkhus answered questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha*. The *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus², &c.

¹ See §§ 6, 7. Read: '... I will answer the questions of N. N. about the Vinaya.' And, '... let N. N. answer the questions of N. N. about the Vinaya.'

² See § 8. Read: '... shall (not) answer questions about the Vinaya ...'

16.

1. At that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus reproved for an offence a Bhikkhu who had not given them leave.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘No Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who has not given leave, may be reproved for an offence. He who reproves (such a Bhikkhu), commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you reprove (Bhikkhus) for an offence (only) after having asked for leave (by saying), “Give me leave, reverend brother, I wish to speak to you.”’

2. At that time clever Bhikkhus reproved the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus for an offence after having asked for leave. The *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus conceived anger (towards those Bhikkhus), conceived discontent, and threatened them with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are (not) to reprove (a Bhikkhu) for an offence, even if he has given leave, (without) having weighed (with your mind) the person (concerned).’

3. At that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus, who thought: ‘Otherwise clever Bhikkhus might ask us for leave (and reprove us for an offence),’ themselves asked beforehand pure Bhikkhus who had committed no offence, for leave without object and reason.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no pure Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, who have committed no offence, be asked for leave without object and reason. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you

are (not) to ask for leave (without) having weighed (with your mind) the person (concerned).'

4. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus performed an unlawful official act before the *Samgha*.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, perform unlawful acts before the *Samgha*. He who does, commits a dukkata offence.'

They performed an unlawful act nevertheless.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you should protest, if an unlawful act is being performed.'

5. At that time clever Bhikkhus protested at an unlawful act being performed by the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus. The *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus conceived anger, conceived discontent, and threatened (those Bhikkhus) with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to express your opinion only (instead of protesting formally).'

They expressed their opinion in the presence of the said (Bhikkhus). The *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus conceived anger, conceived discontent, and threatened (them) with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that four or five persons may protest, that two or three may express their opinion, and that one person may determine (in his mind): "I do not think this right."'

6. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, when reciting the *Pâtimokkha* before the *Samgha*, intentionally recited it so that it could not be heard.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let not him who is to recite the *Pâtimokkha*,

O Bhikkhus, intentionally recite it so that it cannot be heard. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

7. At that time the reverend Udāyi, who had a crow's voice, had the duty to recite the Pātimokkha before the Saṃgha. Now the reverend Udāyi thought: 'It has been prescribed by the Blessed One that he who is to recite the Pātimokkha, ought to recite it so that it may be heard; but I have a crow's voice. Well, how am I to act?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who is to recite the Pātimokkha may endeavour to make it audible. If he endeavours (to do so), he is free from offence.'

8. At that time Devadatta recited the Pātimokkha before an assembly in which laymen were present.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pātimokkha before an assembly in which laymen are present. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

9. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus recited the Pātimokkha before the Saṃgha without being called upon (by the Thera).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pātimokkha before the Saṃgha without being called upon. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is master of the Pātimokkha¹.'

End of the Bhānavāra of the Aññatitthiyas².

¹ I. e. of reciting the Pātimokkha himself or causing another Bhikkhu to do so.

² I. e. Samanas belonging to other schools. See chap. 1.

17.

1. Then the Blessed One, after having dwelt near Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth on his pilgrimage to Kodanâvatthu. Going from place to place on his pilgrimage, he came to Kodanâvatthu. At that time there dwelt in a certain residence many Bhikkhus, the eldest of whom was an ignorant, unlearned person: he neither knew Uposatha, nor the Uposatha service, nor the Pâtimokkha, nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha.

2. Now those Bhikkhus thought: 'It has been prescribed by the Blessed One that the eldest Bhikkhu is master of the Pâtimokkha, and here the eldest of us is an ignorant, unlearned person: he neither knows Uposatha . . . nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha. Well, how are we to act?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (in such a case) that Bhikkhu who is (most) learned and competent, is to be made master of the Pâtimokkha.'

3. At that time there dwelt in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus: they neither knew Uposatha . . . nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha. They called upon the Thera: 'May it please the Thera, reverend Sir, to recite the Pâtimokkha.' He replied: 'I am not competent to do so.' They called upon the next eldest, &c. He also replied, &c. They called upon the third eldest, &c. In this manner they called upon (all Bhikkhus) down to the youngest one: 'May it please the reverend brother to recite the Pâtimokkha.' He also replied: 'I am not competent, venerable Sirs, to do so.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

4, 5. 'When, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence, &c.¹; in that case, O Bhikkhus, these Bhikkhus are instantly to send one Bhikkhu to the neighbouring residence (of Bhikkhus): "Go, friend, and come back when you have learnt the Pâtimokkha abridged or in its full extent."'

6. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'By whom is (this Bhikkhu) to be sent?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is to give order to a young Bhikkhu.'

The young Bhikkhus, having received that order from the Thera, did not go.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one who has been ordered by the Thera forbear to go, unless he be sick. He who does not go, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

18.

1. Then the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Kodaṇāvatthu as long as he thought fit, went back again to Râgagaha. At that time the people asked the Bhikkhus who went about for alms: 'What day of the half month is this, reverend Sirs?' The Bhikkhus replied: 'We do not know, friends.' The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'Those Sakyaputtiya Samanas do not even know how to count (the days of) the half month; what good things else will they know?'

¹ Here follows an exact repetition of the story told in § 3, which is given here, of course, in the present tense.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you learn how to count (the days of) the half month.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Who ought to learn to count (the days of) the half month?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you learn all of you to count (the days of) the half month.’

3. At that time the people asked the Bhikkhus who went about for alms: ‘How many Bhikkhus are there, reverend Sirs?’ The Bhikkhus replied: ‘We do not know, friends.’ The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘Those Sakyaputtiya Samanas do not even know each other; what good things else will they know?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you count the Bhikkhus.’

4. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘At what time ought we to count the Bhikkhus?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you count (the Bhikkhus) on the day of Uposatha, either by way of (counting the single) troops (of which the assembly is composed)¹, or that you take (each of you) a ticket (and count those tickets).’

19.

At that time Bhikkhus who did not know that it was Uposatha day, went for alms to a distant village.

¹ This appears to be the meaning of *ganamaggena ganetum*; Buddhaghosa has no note on this passage.

They came back when the Pâtimokkha was being recited, or when it just had been recited.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you proclaim: “To-day is Uposatha.”’

Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Who is to proclaim so?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is to proclaim (the day of Uposatha) in due time.’

At that time a certain Thera did not think of it in due time.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to proclaim it also at meal time.’

(The Thera) did not think of it at meal time either.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, to proclaim it whenever (the Thera) thinks of it.’

20.

1. At that time the Uposatha hall in a certain residence was full of sweepings. The Bhikkhus who arrived there were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘How can the Bhikkhus neglect to sweep the Uposatha hall?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you sweep the Uposatha hall.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Well, who is to sweep the Uposatha hall?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is to order a young Bhikkhu (to sweep the Uposatha hall).’

The young Bhikkhus, having received that order from the Thera, did not sweep it.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘He who has been ordered by the Thera, ought not to forbear to sweep it, unless he be sick. He who does not sweep it, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

3. At that time there were no seats prepared in the Uposatha hall. The Bhikkhus sat down on the ground. Their bodies and their robes became full of dust.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you prepare seats in the Uposatha hall.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought, &c. (see § 2).

‘He who does not prepare (seats), commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

4. At that time there was no lamp in the Uposatha hall. The Bhikkhus in the darkness trod upon (each other’s) bodies and robes.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you light a lamp in the Uposatha hall.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought, &c. (see § 2).

‘He who does not light (the lamp), commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

5. At that time the resident Bhikkhus in a certain residence did not provide drink (i.e. water), nor did they provide food. The incoming Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘How can the resident Bhikkhus neglect to provide for drink and to provide for food?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you provide drink and food.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought, &c. (see § 2).

‘He who does not provide for it, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

21.

1. At that time many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who travelled to the (four) quarters (of the world) did not ask leave of their āḷariyas and upagghāyas (when going away).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there are many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who travel to the (four) quarters without asking leave of their āḷariyas and upagghāyas; such Bhikkhus ought to be asked by their āḷariyas and upagghāyas: “Where will you go? with whom will you go?” If those ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus name other ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus, their āḷariyas and upagghāyas ought not to allow them (to go); if they allow them, they commit a dukkaṭa offence. If those ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus go without the permission of their āḷariyas and upagghāyas, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

2. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there dwell in a certain residence many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who neither know Uposatha, nor the Uposatha service, nor the Pātimokkha, nor the recital of the Pātimokkha: now there arrives (at that place) another Bhikkhu who is erudite, who has studied the āgamas (i. e. the collections of Suttas), who knows

the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the *mâtikâ*¹, who is wise, learned, intelligent, modest, conscientious², anxious for training; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, kindly receive that Bhikkhu, let them show attention to him, exchange (friendly) words with him, provide him with powder, clay³, a tooth-cleanser, and water to rinse his mouth with. If they do not receive him kindly, or show no attention to him, or do not exchange (friendly) words with him, or do not provide him with powder, clay, a tooth-cleanser, and water to rinse his mouth with, they commit a *dukkaṭa* offence.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there dwell in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who neither know Uposatha . . . nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, instantly send one Bhikkhu to the neighbouring residence (of Bhikkhus, saying), "Go, friend, and come back when you have learnt the Pâtimokkha abridged or in its full extent." If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought all to go to a residence where they (the Bhikkhus there) know Uposatha or the Uposatha service or the Pâtimokkha or the recital of the Pâtimokkha.

¹ Enumerations of terms indicating the different cases that come under a Vinaya rule or a dogmatical proposition are called *mâtikâ*; for instance, in discussing the first *pârâgika* rule the Vibhaṅga gives the following *mâtikâpadâni*: *tisso itthiyo manussitthi amanussitthi tirakkhânagatiṭṭhi, tayo ubhatovyañṅanakâ manussubhatovyañṅanako amanussubh. tirakkhânagatubh., &c.* Most of the works belonging to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka are based on and opened by such *mâtikâ* lists.

² Or 'scrupulous,' in good sense.

³ See I, 25, 12, with our note.

If they do not go, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus keep vassa¹ in a certain residence who neither know, &c.² If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, they ought to send away one Bhikkhu for seven days' time (saying), "Go, friend, and come back when you have learnt the Pātimokkha abridged or in its full extent." If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought not to keep vassa in that residence. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.'

22.

1. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the Saṃgha will hold Uposatha.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a sick Bhikkhu, Lord, who is not present.'

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a sick Bhikkhu is to declare (lit. to give) his pārisuddhi³. And let it be declared, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let that sick Bhikkhu go to one Bhikkhu, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I declare my pārisuddhi, take my pārisuddhi, proclaim my pārisuddhi (before the fraternity)." Whether he

¹ See III, 1 seq.

² See § 3.

³ Pārisuddhi, literally, means purity. He declares that he is pure from the offences specified in the Pātimokkha, and charges another Bhikkhu with proclaiming his declaration before the assembled chapter.

express this by gesture (lit. by his body), or by word, or by gesture and word, the pârisuddhi has been declared. If he does not express this by gesture, &c., the pârisuddhi has not been declared.

2. 'If (the sick Bhikkhu) succeeds in doing so, well and good. If he does not succeed, let them take that sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, on his bed or his chair to the assembly, and (then) let them hold Uposatha. If, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who are nursing the sick, think: "If we move this sick person from his place, the sickness will increase, or he will die," let them not move the sick, O Bhikkhus, from his place; let the Saṃgha go there and hold there Uposatha. But in no case are they to hold Uposatha with an incomplete congregation. If (a Bhikkhu) does so, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.

3. 'If he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi, O Bhikkhus, leaves the place at once¹, after the pârisuddhi has been entrusted (to him), the pârisuddhi ought to be declared to another. If he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi, O Bhikkhus, after the pârisuddhi has been entrusted to him, returns to the world² at once¹; or dies; or admits that he is a sâmaṇera; or that he has abandoned the precepts³; or that he has become

¹ Literally, on the spot, i. e. without setting out on his way to the assembly.

² We have no doubt that this is the correct translation of vibbhamati (see I, 39, 5). The difference between vibbhamati (he returns to the world) and sikkham paṭṭakkhâti (he abandons the precepts) seems to be that the former is an informal, and the latter a formal, renunciation of the Order.

³ The precepts are abandoned (sikkhâ paṭṭakkhâtâ hoti) by declaring that one abandons the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the

guilty of an extreme offence¹; or that he is mad; or that his mind is unhinged; or that he suffers (bodily) pain; or that expulsion has been pronounced against him for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself); or to atone for such an offence; or to renounce a false doctrine; or that he is a eunuch; or that he has furtively attached himself (to the *Samgha*); or that he is gone over to the *Titthiyas*; or that he is an animal²; or that he is guilty of matricide; or that he is guilty of parricide; or that he has murdered an *Arahat*; or that he has violated a *Bhikkhant*; or that he has caused a schism among the *Samgha*; or that he has shed (a Buddha's) blood; or that he is a hermaphrodite: (in these cases) the *pârisuddhi* ought to be entrusted to another one.

4. 'If he who has been charged with the *pârisuddhi*, O *Bhikkhus*, after the *pârisuddhi* has been entrusted to him, and whilst he is on his way (to the assembly), leaves the place, or returns to the world, or dies, or admits that he is a *sāmanera*, &c., or admits that he is a hermaphrodite, the *pârisuddhi* has not been conveyed (to the *Samgha*). If he who has been charged with the *pârisuddhi*, O *Bhikkhus*, after the *pârisuddhi* has been entrusted to him, having arrived with the fraternity, leaves the place, or dies, &c., the *pârisuddhi* has

Samgha, or the *Vinaya*, &c. By such a declaration a *Bhikkhu* who wishes to return to a layman's life, or to go over to a *Titthiya* sect, gives up his character as a member of the Buddhist fraternity. The rules about the *sikkhâpakkakkhâna* are given in the *Vibhaṅga*, in the explanation of the first *pârâgika* rule (chap. 8, § 2).

¹ Most probably *antimavattthu* refers to the *pârâgika* offences which require excommunication.

² See the story given in I, 63.

been conveyed. If he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi, O Bhikkhus, after the pârisuddhi has been entrusted to him, though he reaches the assembly, does not proclaim (the pârisuddhi he is charged with) because he falls asleep, or by carelessness, or because he attains (meditation), the pârisuddhi has been conveyed, and there is no offence on the part of him who has been charged with the pârisuddhi. If he who has been charged, &c., intentionally omits to proclaim (the pârisuddhi), the pârisuddhi has been conveyed, but he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

23.

Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the Saṃgha will perform an (official) act.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a sick Bhikkhu, Lord, who is not present.'

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a sick Bhikkhu is to declare (lit. to give) his consent (to the act to be performed), &c.¹ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that on the day of Uposatha he who declares his pârisuddhi is to declare his consent (to official acts to be performed eventually) also, for (both declarations) are required for the Saṃgha (and for the validity of its acts).

¹ The rules given here regarding the *kāṇḍa* (declaration of consent of an absentee) that is required for the performance of official acts are word for word the same as those set out in chap. 22. 1-4, regarding the pârisuddhi required at the Uposatha service.

24.

1. At that time relations of a certain Bhikkhu seized him on the day of Uposatha.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu is seized on the day of Uposatha by relations of his, let the Bhikkhus say to those relations: “Pray, friends, let this Bhikkhu free for a moment until this Bhikkhu has held Uposatha.”

2. ‘If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, let the Bhikkhus say to those relations: “Pray, friends, stand apart for a moment, until this Bhikkhu has declared his pârissuddhi.” If they succeed, well and good. If they do not succeed, let the Bhikkhus say to those relations: “Pray, friends, take this Bhikkhu for a moment outside the boundary, until the Samgha has held Uposatha.” If they succeed, well and good. If they do not succeed, in no case is Uposatha to be held by an assembly that is incomplete. Should it be so held, (each Bhikkhu in the assembly) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu is seized on the day of Uposatha by kings, by robbers, by rascals, by hostile Bhikkhus, &c.¹

25.

1. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the Samgha

¹ See §§ 1, 2.

has duties (official acts) to perform.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a mad Bhikkhu, Lord, called Gagga, who is not present.' 'There are, O Bhikkhus, two sorts of madmen: There is one mad Bhikkhu who now remembers the Uposatha, now does not remember it, who now remembers official acts (of the Order), now does not remember them, (and) there is (another mad Bhikkhu) who does not remember them; one who now goes to Uposatha, now does not go, who now goes to official acts, now does not go, (and another) who does not go.

2. 'Now, O Bhikkhus, that madman that now remembers, &c., that now goes to, &c., to such a madman I prescribe that you grant ummattakasammuti (i. e. the madman's leave).

3. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to grant it in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Gagga, a mad Bhikkhu, now remembers the Uposatha, now does not remember, &c., now goes to, &c.; if the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* grant ummattakasammuti to the mad Bhikkhu Gagga: let the Bhikkhu Gagga remember or not remember Uposatha, remember or not remember official acts (of the Order), let him go to Uposatha or not go, let him go to official acts or not go: (in every case) it may be free to the *Samgha* to hold Uposatha and to perform official acts with Gagga as well as without Gagga. This is the *ñatti*.

4. "'Let the *Samgha*, &c. Gagga, a mad Bhikkhu, &c.; the *Samgha* grants, &c. Thus I understand.'"

26.

1. At that time four Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) on the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed the holding of Uposatha, and we are (only) four persons¹. Well, how are we to hold Uposatha?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that four (Bhikkhus) may recite the Pâtimokkha.'

2. At that time three Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) at the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed to four (Bhikkhus) the reciting of the Pâtimokkha, and we are (only) three persons,' &c.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that three Bhikkhus may hold pârisuddhi-uposatha².

3. 'And it ought to be held in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before those Bhikkhus: "Let the reverend brethren hear me. To-day is Uposatha, the fifteenth (day of the half month). If the reverend brethren are ready, let us hold pârisuddhi-uposatha with each other." Let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say to those Bhikkhus: "I am pure, friends, understand that I am pure, &c."³

4. 'Let (each) younger Bhikkhu (in his turn) adjust

¹ The quorum for several official acts of the Order was five or more Bhikkhus; see IX, 4.

² Uposatha by mutual declaration of purity from the offences specified in the Pâtimokkha; see § 3 seq.

³ The same phrase is repeated twice more.

his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say to those Bhikkhus: "I am pure, reverend Sirs, &c."

5. At that time two Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed to four (Bhikkhus) the reciting of the Pâtimokkha, to three (Bhikkhus) the holding of pârisuddhi-uposatha, and we are (only) two persons,' &c.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that two persons may hold pârisuddhi-uposatha.'

6, 7. 'And it ought to be held in this way: Let the senior Bhikkhu, &c.¹'

8. At that time there dwelt a single Bhikkhu in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha. Now this Bhikkhu thought, &c.

9. 'In case there dwell, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha a single Bhikkhu; let that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, sweep the place which the Bhikkhus used to frequent, the refectory, or hall, or place at the foot of a tree; let him (then) provide water and food, prepare seats, put a lamp there, and sit down. If other Bhikkhus come, let him hold Uposatha with them; if they do not come, let him fix his mind upon the thought: "To-day is my Uposatha." If he does not fix his mind upon this thought, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.

10. 'Now, O Bhikkhus, where four Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the pârisuddhi² of one (to their assembly), and recite the

¹ See §§ 3, 4. The ñatti prescribed in the preceding case does not apply to this case.

² See chap. 22.

Pâtimokkha by three. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where three Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the pârisuddhi of one (to their assembly), and hold pârisuddhi-uposatha by two. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where two Bhikkhus dwell, one of them must not convey the pârisuddhi of the other one, and fix (only) his thoughts (upon the Uposatha). If he does, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

27.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu was guilty of an offence on the day of Uposatha. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed: “Uposatha is not to be held by a Bhikkhu who is guilty of an offence¹.” Now I am guilty of an offence. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu be guilty of an offence on the day of Uposatha; let that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, go to one Bhikkhu, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: “I have committed, friend, such and such an offence; I confess that offence.” Let the other say: “Do you see it?” “Yes, I see it.” “Refrain from it in future.”

2. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a Bhikkhu on the day of Uposatha who feels doubt with regard

¹ See Kullavagga IX, 2.

to an offence; let this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, go to one Bhikkhu, &c. (§ 1), and say: "I feel doubt, friend, with regard to such and such an offence. When I shall feel no doubt, then I will atone for that offence." Having spoken thus, let him hold Uposatha and hear the Pâtimokkha. But in no case must there be any hindrance to holding Uposatha from such a cause.'

3. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus confessed in common an offence (shared by them all).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to confess an offence in common. He who does so, commits a *dukkata* offence.'

At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus accepted the common confession of an offence (shared by several Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to accept the common confession of an offence. He who does so, commits a *dukkata* offence.'

4. At that time a certain Bhikkhu remembered an offence, while Pâtimokkha was being recited. Now this Bhikkhu thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed: "Uposatha is not to be held by (a Bhikkhu) who is guilty of an offence." Now I am guilty of an offence. What am I to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a Bhikkhu who remembers an offence, while Pâtimokkha is being recited; let this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, say to his neighbour Bhikkhu: "I have committed such and such an offence, friend; when I have arisen from this (assembly), I will atone for that offence." Having spoken thus, &c. (§ 2).

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a Bhikkhu who feels doubt with regard to an offence, while Pâtimokkha is being recited, &c. (§§ 2, 4).'

6. At that time the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence was guilty of a common offence on the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed that offences (shared by many Bhikkhus) are not to be confessed in common, and that the common confession of such offences is not to be accepted. Now this whole *Samgha* is guilty of a common offence. What are we to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence is guilty of a common offence on the day of Uposatha; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, send instantly one Bhikkhu to the neighbouring residence of Bhikkhus (saying), "Go, friend, and come back when you have atoned for that offence (for yourself); we will (then) atone for the offence before you."

7. 'If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This whole *Samgha* is guilty of a common offence. When it shall see another pure, guiltless Bhikkhu, it will atone for the offence before him." (One of the Bhikkhus) having spoken thus, let them hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha. But in no case must there be any hindrance to holding Uposatha from such a cause.

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence feels doubt with regard to a

common offence on the day of Uposatha; (in this case) let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This whole *Samgha* feels doubt with regard to a common offence. When it will feel no doubt, it will atone for that offence." (One of the Bhikkhus) having spoken thus, &c.

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence the *Samgha* that has entered (there) upon vassa is guilty of a common offence. Those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are instantly, &c. (§§ 6, 7). If they do not succeed, let them send away one Bhikkhu for seven days' time: "Go, friend, and come back when you have atoned for that offence (for yourself); we will (then) atone for the offence before you."'

10. At that time the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence was guilty of a common offence, and did not know the name nor the class to which that offence belonged. Now there arrived (at that place) another Bhikkhu, &c. (see chap. 21. 2), anxious for training. To that Bhikkhu one of the Bhikkhus went, and having gone to him, he said to him: 'He who does such and such a thing, friend, what sort of offence does he commit?'

11. He replied: 'He who does such and such a thing, friend, commits such and such an offence. If you have committed such an offence, friend, atone for that offence.' The other replied: 'Not I myself alone, friend, am guilty of that offence; this whole *Samgha* is guilty of that offence.' He said: 'What is it to you, friend, whether another is guilty or guiltless? Come, friend, atone for your own offence.'

12. Now this Bhikkhu, after having atoned for

that offence by the advice of that Bhikkhu, went to those Bhikkhus (to his brethren who shared in the same offence); having gone to them, he said to those Bhikkhus: 'He who does such and such a thing, friends, commits such and such an offence. As you have committed such an offence, friends, atone for that offence.' Now those Bhikkhus refused to atone for that offence by that Bhikkhu's advice.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

13, 14. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence is guilty of a common offence, &c. (§§ 10, 11)—

15. 'If this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, after having atoned for that offence by the advice of that Bhikkhu, goes to those Bhikkhus, and having gone to them, says to those Bhikkhus: "He who does, &c.," and if those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, atone for that offence by that Bhikkhu's advice, well and good; if they do not atone for it, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, need not say anything (further) to those Bhikkhus, if he does not like.'

End of the *Bhâṇavâra* on *Kodanâvatthu*.

28.

1. At that time there assembled in a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) at the day of Uposatha a number of resident Bhikkhus, four or more. They did not know that there were other resident Bhikkhus absent. Intending to act according to Dhamma and Vinaya, thinking themselves to be complete while (really) incomplete, they held Uposatha and

recited the Pâtimokkha. While they were reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number (than the first ones), arrived.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble in a certain residence at the day of Uposatha, &c. (§ 1); while they are reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number, arrive; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha again; they who have recited it, are free from guilt.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; while they are reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, exactly the same number (as the first ones), arrive; in that case (the part of the Pâtimokkha) that has been recited, has been correctly recited; let those (who have arrived late), hear the rest; they who have recited it, are free from guilt.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; while they are reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, a smaller number, arrive, &c.¹

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, &c.²

¹ The decision given for the case of a smaller number of Bhikkhus arriving late, is here, and invariably throughout the following exposition, identical with the decision of the case of the number of Bhikkhus being equal on the two sides.

² The same three cases are distinguished here as in §§ 2, 3, according as the number of Bhikkhus who are late, is greater, the same, or smaller than that of the other Bhikkhus. The first case is decided by Buddha as above; in the decision of the second and third cases, instead of 'let those (who have arrived late) hear the rest,' read: 'let those (who have arrived late) proclaim their pârissuddhi in the presence (of the other brethren).'

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, and the assembly has not yet risen, other resident Bhikkhus, &c.¹

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, and a part of the assembly has risen, &c.¹

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, and the whole assembly has risen, &c.¹

End of the fifteen cases in which there is no offence.

29.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha a number of resident Bhikkhus, four or more; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent; intending to act according to Dhamma and Vinaya, incomplete, conscious of their incompleteness, they hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.²

End of the fifteen cases of the incompletely assembled Bhikkhus who are conscious of their incompleteness.

¹ The three triads of §§ 5, 6, 7 agree exactly with the triad of § 4.

² Here follow fifteen cases which are arranged exactly as in chap. 28. Instead of 'they who have recited it, are free from guilt,' read: 'they who have recited it, have committed a dukkaṭṭa offence.'

30.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent. Feeling doubt as to whether they are competent to hold Uposatha or not competent, they hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.’¹

End of the fifteen cases of the Bhikkhus who
feel doubt.

31.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent. (Thinking): “We are competent to hold Uposatha, we are not incompetent,” they abandon themselves to misbehaviour, hold Uposatha, and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.’¹

End of the fifteen cases of the Bhikkhus abandoning
themselves to misbehaviour.

32.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent. They perish and become ruined², saying, “What are those people to us?” and risking a schism

¹ The decision of these fifteen cases is the same as in chap. 29.

² I. e. they destroy their own welfare by their wickedness.

(among the fraternity), they hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.¹

End of the fifteen cases of the Bhikkhus risking
a schism.

End of the seventy-five² cases.

33.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha a number of resident Bhikkhus, four or more; they know that other resident Bhikkhus are about to enter the boundary. They know that other resident Bhikkhus have entered within the boundary. They see other resident Bhikkhus who are about to enter, &c., who have entered within the boundary. They hear that other resident Bhikkhus are about to enter, &c., have entered within the boundary.’

Thus³ a hundred and seventy-five systems of triads are produced which refer to resident and resident

¹ The decisions as in chap. 29; only read instead of ‘dukka/a offence,’ ‘thullaṅkāya offence’ (grave sin).

² Five times fifteen cases, in chaps. 28–32.

³ Remarks like this, which indicate the rules for supplying abbreviated passages, do not belong, strictly speaking, to the text of the Vinaya itself, but form a posterior addition, as is shown also by grammatical peculiarities. In chaps. 28–32 we have seventy-five cases, or twenty-five triads; all of these triads contain the words: ‘They know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent.’ By successively varying these words six times, as is indicated in chap. 33, we obtain a hundred and seventy-five triads.

Bhikkhus¹. (Then follow the same cases with regard to) resident and incoming Bhikkhus, incoming and resident Bhikkhus, incoming and incoming Bhikkhus. By putting these words (successively) into the peyyâla², seven hundred triads are produced.

34.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the fourteenth (of the pakkha), the incoming Bhikkhus as the fifteenth³; if the number of the resident Bhikkhus is greater, the incoming Bhikkhus ought to accommodate themselves to the resident Bhikkhus. If their number is equal, the incoming Bhikkhus ought to accommodate themselves to the resident Bhikkhus. If the number of the incoming Bhikkhus is greater, the resident Bhikkhus ought to accommodate themselves to the incoming Bhikkhus.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the fifteenth, the incoming Bhikkhus as the fourteenth; if, &c. (§ 1).

¹ I. e. the assembled Bhikkhus as well as the incoming reside in the same âvâsa.

² 'Peyyâla' is identical in meaning and, we believe, etymologically with 'pariyâya.' See Childers s.v.; H. O.'s remarks in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. xxv, 324; Trenckner, *Pali Miscellany*, p. 66.

³ Buddhaghosa: 'They who count the day as the fifteenth, arrive from a distant kingdom, or they have held the preceding Uposatha on the fourteenth.' It seems to follow from this remark of Buddhaghosa that after an Uposatha on the fourteenth invariably an Uposatha on the fifteenth must follow, i. e. the Uposatha may not be held on the fourteenth *ad libitum*, but only in the second pakkha of the short months. Compare chap. 4 and the note on chap. I. 1.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the first (of the pakkha), the incoming Bhikkhus as the fifteenth (of the preceding pakkha); if the number of the resident Bhikkhus is greater, the resident Bhikkhus need not, if they do not like, admit the incoming ones to their communion; let the incoming Bhikkhus go outside the boundary and hold (there) Uposatha. If their number is equal, &c. (as in the preceding case). 'If the number of the incoming Bhikkhus is greater, let the resident Bhikkhus either admit the incoming ones to their communion or go outside the boundary.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the fifteenth, the incoming Bhikkhus as the first (of the following pakkha); if the number of the resident Bhikkhus is greater, let the incoming Bhikkhus either admit the resident Bhikkhus to their communion or go outside the boundary. If their number is equal, &c. (as in the preceding case). If the number of the incoming Bhikkhus is greater, the incoming Bhikkhus need not, if they do not like, admit the resident Bhikkhus to their communion; let the resident Bhikkhus go outside the boundary and hold Uposatha (there).

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus see the signs, the tokens, the marks, the characteristics of (the presence of) resident Bhikkhus, well prepared beds and chairs and mats and pillows, food and water well provided for, well swept cells; seeing this, they begin to doubt: "Are there here any resident Bhikkhus or are there not?"—

6. 'Being doubtful they do not search, having not searched they hold Uposatha: this is a dukkaṭa offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they

do not see them, not seeing them they hold Uposatha : (in this case) they are free from offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they see them, seeing them they hold Uposatha together : (in this case) they are free from offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they see them, seeing them they hold Uposatha apart : this is a dukkaṭṭa offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they see them, seeing them they perish and become ruined¹, saying, "What are those people to us?" and risking a schism, they hold Uposatha : this is a thullakkaya (grave) offence.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus hear the signs &c. of (the presence of) resident Bhikkhus, the sound of their footsteps when they are walking, the sound of their rehearsal (of the Dhamma), of their clearing the throat and sneezing; hearing this they begin to doubt, &c. (§§ 5, 6).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus see the signs &c. of (the presence of) incoming Bhikkhus, unknown bowls, unknown robes, unknown seats, (the traces of) foot-washing, water sprinkled about; seeing this they begin to doubt, &c.

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus hear the signs &c. of (the presence of) incoming Bhikkhus, the sound of their footsteps when they are arriving, the sound of their shaking out their shoes, clearing the throat, and sneezing; hearing this, &c.

10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus see resident Bhikkhus belonging to a different district; they take them as belonging to the same district; taking them as belonging to the same district

¹ See chap. 32.

they do not ask; having not asked, they hold Uposatha together: (in this case) they are free from offence. They ask; having asked, they do not go through the matter; having not gone through the matter, they hold Uposatha together: this is a dukkaṭa offence. They ask, &c. (as in the last case), they hold Uposatha apart: (in this case) they are free from offence.

11. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus see resident Bhikkhus belonging to the same district. They take them as belonging to a different district; taking them, &c. they do not ask; having not asked, they hold Uposatha together: this is a dukkaṭa offence. They ask; having asked, they go through the matter; having gone through the matter, they hold Uposatha apart: this is a dukkaṭa offence. They ask, &c. (as in the last case), they hold Uposatha together: (in this case) they are free from offence.

12. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus see incoming Bhikkhus belonging to a different district, &c. (see § 10).

13. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus see incoming Bhikkhus belonging to the same district, &c. (see § 11).'

35.

1. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except with a Saṃgha¹ or in a case of danger². You ought not,

¹ I.e. with a number of Bhikkhus sufficient for holding Uposatha.

² See chap. 15. 4.

O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a non-residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c. You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence or non-residence¹ in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c.

2. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a non-residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence, &c., to a non-residence, &c., to a residence or non-residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c.

3. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence or non-residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence, &c., to a non-residence, &c., to a residence or non-residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c.

4. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence in which Bhikkhus are, if these Bhikkhus belong to a different district, except, &c.²

5. 'You may go, O Bhikkhus, on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence in which Bhikkhus are, if these Bhikkhus belong to the same district, and if you know: "I can attain that place to-day." You may, &c.²'

36.

1. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a Bhikkhuni. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa

¹ Probably this means a place the quality of which, whether residence or non-residence, is doubtful.

² Nine cases are distinguished here quite as in §§ 1-3.

offence. Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a sikkhamânâ¹, a sâma~~n~~era, a sâma~~n~~erî, one who has abandoned the precepts², one who is guilty of an extreme offence². He who does, commits a dukka~~t~~a offence.

2. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a (Bhikkhu) against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself), before a (Bhikkhu) against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to atone for such an offence, or for his refusal to renounce a false doctrine. He who does, is to be treated according to the law³.

3. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a eunuch, before one who has furtively attached himself (to the Sa~~m~~gha), &c. (see chap. 22. 3), before a hermaphrodite. He who does, commits a dukka~~t~~a offence.

¹ In the Bhikkhunîkhandhaka (*Kullav. X, 1, 4*) we are told that Buddha, when admitting women to the Order of mendicants, prescribed for them a probationary course of instruction, which should last two years, after which time they were to ask for the upasa~~m~~padâ ordination. During these two years the candidates were called sikkhamânâs. Childers (*Dict. s.v. sikkhati*) has misunderstood the Mahâvamsa (p. 37), when he states that in the case of Asoka's daughter Sa~~m~~ghamittâ the training prescribed for the sikkhamânâs was absolved in a single day.

² See the note on chap. 22. 3.

³ The law alluded to most probably is the 69th Pâkittiya rule, which expressly treats only of the conduct towards Bhikkhus refusing to renounce false doctrines, but it may be extended by analogy also to the two other categories of Bhikkhus mentioned in our passage.

4. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Uposatha by (accepting) the pârisuddhi declaration¹ of a pâri-vâsika², except if the assembly has not yet risen (at the time when the pârisuddhi is declared). And let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Uposatha on another day than the Uposatha day, except for the sake of (declaring the re-establishment of) concord among the *Samgha* ³.'

End of the third Bhânavâra in the Uposatha-khandhaka.

¹ See chap. 22.

² I.e. a Bhikkhu subject to the penal discipline of parivâsa, the rules of which are discussed at length in the second and third books of the *Kullavagga*.

³ If a schism among the fraternity has been composed, the reconciled parties hold Uposatha together (X, 5, 14).

THIRD KHANDHAKA.

(RESIDENCE DURING THE RAINY SEASON, VASSA.)

1.

1. At that time the Blessed One dwelt at Râga-gaha, in the Veḷuvana, in the Kalandakanivâpa¹. At that time the retreat during the rainy season had not yet been instituted by the Blessed One for the Bhikkhus. Thus the Bhikkhus went on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season.

2. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season? They crush the green herbs, they hurt vegetable life², they destroy the life of many small living things. Shall the ascetics who belong to Titthiya schools, whose doctrine is ill preached, retire during the rainy season and arrange places for themselves to live in³? shall the birds make their nests on the summits of the trees, and retire during

¹ See the note on I, 22, 17. About the name of Kalandakanivâpa (seeds of Kalandaka? feeding ground for squirrels?), see the story related in Beal, *Romantic Legend*, &c., p. 315, where this place is said to be the gift of a merchant named Kalandaka. A different account is given by Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 194.

² Literally, living creatures which have but one organ of sense; that is, which have only the organ of feeling, viz. the outward form (kāya).

³ Samkâpayissanti = samkappayissanti? Buddhaghosa: appossukka-nibaddha-vâsam vasissanti.

the rainy season, and arrange themselves places to live in; and yet the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season, crushing the green herbs, hurting vegetable life, and destroying the life of many small things?’

3. Now some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry.

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you enter upon Vassa¹.’

2.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘When are we to enter upon Vassa?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you enter upon Vassa in the rainy season.’

2. Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How many periods are there for entering upon Vassa?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘There are two periods, O Bhikkhus, for entering upon Vassa, the earlier and the later. The earlier time for entering (upon Vassa) is the day after the

¹ I. e. enter upon the retreat prescribed for the rainy season. Buddhaghosa: ‘They are to look after their Vihâra (if it is in a proper state), to provide food and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as paying reverence to sacred shrines, &c., and to say loudly once, or twice, or thrice: ‘I enter upon Vassa in this Vihâra for these three months.’ Thus they are to enter upon Vassa.’

full moon of *Āsāḥa* (June–July); the later, a month after the full moon of *Āsāḥa*¹. These, O Bhikkhus, are the two periods for entering upon Vassa.’

3.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, having entered upon Vassa, went on their travels during the period of Vassa. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season, . . . (&c., as in chap. 1. 2, down to :) and destroy the life of many small living things?’

2. Now some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), ‘How can the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, having entered upon Vassa, go on their travels during the period of Vassa?’

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Very probably this double period stands in connection with the double period prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* for most of the Vedic festivals. Thus the sacrifice of the *varuṇapraghāsās*, with which the Brahmans began the rainy season, was to be held either on the full moon day of *Āshāḍha* or on the full moon day of the following month, *Srāvaṇa*, quite in accordance with the Buddhistical rules about the *vassupanāyikā*. The *Brāhmaṇa* texts begin the year with the full moon day of the (*uttarā*) *Phālgunī*; the *Sūtras* mention, besides the *Phālgunī*, another new-year’s day, the *Kaitrī paurnamāsī*, which falls one month later. It was in connection with this dislocation of the beginning of the year that the annual festivals could be postponed accordingly. See Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, II, p. 329 seq.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

‘ Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has entered upon Vassa, go on his travels before he has kept Vassa during the earlier or during the later three months. He who does so, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

4.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were not willing to enter upon Vassa.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ Let no one, O Bhikkhus, forbear to enter upon Vassa. He who does not enter upon Vassa, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, who were not willing to enter upon Vassa on the prescribed day, purposely left the district (where they were living).

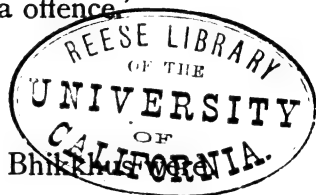
They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ Let no one, O Bhikkhus, purposely leave the district (where he is living), because he is not willing to enter upon Vassa on the prescribed day. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

3. At that time the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, who wished that the Vassa period might be postponed, sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus: ‘ What if their reverences were to enter upon Vassa on the next full moon day ?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you obey kings.’



5.

1. And the Blessed One, after having resided at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to Sāvatti. Wandering from place to place he came to Sāvatti. There, at Sāvatti, the Blessed One dwelt in the *Getavana*, the garden of *Anāthapindika*.

At that time an upāsaka (lay devotee) named Udena, in the Kosala country, had a Vihāra built for the *Samgha*. He sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), 'Might their reverences come hither; I desire to bestow gifts (on the *Samgha*) and to hear the Dhamma and to see the Bhikkhus.'

2. The Bhikkhus replied: 'The Blessed One has prescribed, friend, that no one who has entered upon Vassa, may go on a journey before he has kept Vassa during the earlier or during the later three months. Let the upāsaka Udena wait so long as the Bhikkhus keep their Vassa residence; when they have finished Vassa, they will go. But if there is any urgent necessity, let him dedicate the Vihāra in presence of the Bhikkhus who reside there.'

3. The upāsaka Udena was annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can their reverences, when I send for them, refuse to come? I am a giver and a doer (of good works), and do service to the fraternity.' Some Bhikkhus heard the upāsaka Udena, who was annoyed, &c.

These Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

4. In consequence of that the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go (even during

the rainy season), if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, and if you are sent for, but not if you are not sent for, by a person of one of the following seven classes: Bhikkhus, Bhikkhuns, sikkhamânâs¹, sâmañeras, sâmañeris, lay devotees, female lay devotees. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go, if the thing (you go for) can be accomplished in seven days, and if you are sent for, but not if you are not sent for, by a person of one of these seven classes. Within seven days you ought to return.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upâsaka has built a Vihâra for the Samgha. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "Might their reverences come hither; I desire to bestow gifts (on them) and to hear the Dhamma and to see the Bhikkhus," you ought to go, O Bhikkhus, if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, and if he sends for you, but not if he does not send for you. Within seven days you ought to return.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upâsaka has built for the Samgha an *addhayoga*², has built a storied house, has built an attic, has constructed a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a warehouse³, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well house, a *gantâghara*⁴, a *gantâghara* room⁵, a lotus-pond, a pavilion, a park, or

¹ See the note on II, 36, 1.

² See the note on I, 30, 4.

³ This translation of *kappiyaku/î* is merely conjectural; comp. *kappiyabhûmi* VI, 33.

⁴ See the note on I, 25, 12.

⁵ See *Kullavagga* V, 16, 1.

has prepared the site for a park. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus, (&c., as in § 5, down to the end of the section).

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upāsaka has built for a number of Bhikkhus an *addhayoga* (&c., as in § 6 to the end of the section), for one Bhikkhu a Vihāra, an *addhayoga*, a storied house (&c., as in § 6 to the end).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upāsaka has built for the sisterhood of Bhikkhunts, &c., for a number of Bhikkhunts, for one Bhikkhant, for a number of sikkhamānās, for one sikkhamānā, for a number of sāmāneras, for one sāmānera, for a number of sāmānerīs, for one sāmānerī a Vihāra, &c.¹ If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus, &c.

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upāsaka has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable², a tower, a one-peaked building³, a shop, a boutique, a storied house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well house, a *gantāghara*, a *gantāghara* room, a lotus-pond, a pavilion, a park, or has prepared the site for a park; or that his son is to choose a consort; or that his daughter is to choose a consort; or that he is sick; or that he knows how

¹ The enumeration of edifices is identical with that given in § 6, but in the cases beginning with that of the sisterhood of Bhikkhunts (according to Buddhaghosa; we believe that the two cases referring to sāmāneras ought to be excepted) three of the edifices are left out, viz. the privy, the *gantāghara*, and the *gantāghara* room, the use of which is forbidden to nuns; see *Kullavagga* X, 27, 3, 4.

² See *Abhidhānapp.* v. 213, and compare *assabhaṇḍa*, *hatthibhaṇḍa* (*Mahāvagga* I, 61, 1).

³ See *Abhidhānapp.* v. 209.

to recite a celebrated *suttanta*. If he sends a messenger to the *Bhikkhus* (saying), "Might their reverences come and learn this *suttanta*; otherwise this *suttanta* will fall into oblivion;"—or if he has any other business or any work to be done; and if he sends a messenger to the *Bhikkhus* (saying), "Might their reverences come hither" (&c.) then you ought to go (&c., as in § 5, down to:) you ought to return.

10-12. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, an *upâsikâ* has built a *Vihâra* for the *Samgha* (&c., as in §§ 5-9¹).

13. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* has built, &c., a *Bhikkhunî*, a *sikkhamânâ*, a *sâmanera*, a *sâmaneri* has built for the *Samgha*, for a number of *Bhikkhus*, for one *Bhikkhu*, for the sisterhood of *Bhikkhunis*, for one *sâmaneri*, for his own use, a *Vihâra* (&c., as in § 8).'

6.

1. At that time a certain *Bhikkhu* was sick. He sent a messenger to the *Bhikkhus* (saying), 'I am sick; might the *Bhikkhus* come to me; I long for the *Bhikkhus*' coming.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O *Bhikkhus*, to go (even during the rainy season), if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a

¹ Only it is said here of the *Bhikkhus*, *ayyâ*, 'the noble ones,' instead of *bhaddantâ*, 'their reverences.'

person of one of the following five classes: Bhikkhus, Bhikkhuns, sikkhamânâs, sâmaṇeras, and sâmaṇeris. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go, if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a person of one of these five classes. Within seven days you ought to return.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is sick. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "I am sick; might the Bhikkhus come to me; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go, O Bhikkhus, if the thing can be accomplished in seven days, even if he had not sent for you, much more when he has sent (saying to yourselves): "I will try to get food for the sick, or food for the tender of the sick, or medicine for the sick, or I will ask him (questions referring to the Dhamma), or nurse him." Within seven days you ought to return.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, inward struggles have befallen a Bhikkhu. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus: "Inward struggles have befallen me; might the Bhikkhus come to me; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go . . . (&c., as in § 2, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will try to appease those struggles, or cause them to be appeased (by another), or compose him by religious conversation." Within seven days you ought to return.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu in whose mind doubts of conscience have arisen sends . . . (&c., as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will try to dispel those doubts, or cause

them to be dispelled, or compose him by religious conversation." Within seven days you ought to return.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu takes to a false doctrine. If he sends . . . (&c., down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will discuss that false doctrine, or cause another to discuss it, or compose (that Bhikkhu) by religious conversation." Within seven days you ought to return.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a grave offence and ought to be sentenced to parivâsa discipline. If he sends . . . (&c., down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that he may be sentenced to parivâsa discipline, or I will propose the resolution (to the assembly), or I will help to complete the quorum (required for passing the sentence of parivâsa)." Within seven days you ought to return.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu ought to be sentenced to recommence penal discipline. If he sends . . . (&c., as in § 6, down to the end of the section).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu ought to have the mânatta discipline imposed upon him. If he sends . . . (&c., as in § 6, down to the end of the section).

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (having duly undergone penal discipline) ought to be rehabilitated. If he sends . . . (&c., as in § 6).

10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Samgha is going to proceed against a Bhikkhu by the tagganiyakamma, or the nissaya, or the pabbâganiyakamma, or the patisâranīyakamma, or the ukkhepanīyakamma. If that Bhikkhu sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "The Samgha

is going to proceed against me ; might the Bhikkhus come to me ; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go (&c., as in § 2, down to): (saying to yourselves): "What can be done in order that the *Samgha* may not proceed (against that Bhikkhu) or may mitigate the proceeding?" Within seven days you ought to return.

11. 'Or the *Samgha* has instituted a proceeding against him, the *tagganiyakamma* (&c., down to): or the *ukkhepaniyakamma* ; if he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus: "The *Samgha* has instituted a proceeding against me ; might the Bhikkhus come to me ; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go (&c., as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "What can be done in order that this Bhikkhu may behave himself properly, live modestly, and aspire to get clear of his penance, and that the *Samgha* may revoke its sentence?" Within seven days you ought to return.

12-15. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī is sick, &c.¹

16. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī is guilty of a grave offence and ought to be sentenced to *mānatta* discipline². If she sends (as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may be sentenced to *mānatta* discipline³." Within seven days you ought to return.

¹ See §§ 2-5. Read here and in all cases where the messenger is sent by a woman: 'Might the noble ones (*ayyā*) come to me ; I long for the noble ones' coming.'

² There is no *parivāsa* discipline for the Bhikkhunīs. When a Bhikkhunī has committed a *Samghādisesa* offence, no matter whether she has concealed it or not, she is sentenced to *mānatta* discipline for a fortnight. See *Kullavagga* X, 1, 4 ; 25, 3.

³ The phrases, 'Or I will propose the resolution to the assembly,

17. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī ought to be sentenced to recommence penal discipline . . . (&c., as in § 7).

18. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī who is to be rehabilitated . . . (&c., as in § 9).

19. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Saṃgha is going to proceed against a Bhikkhunī by the taggaṇi-yakamma . . . (&c., as in § 10).

20. 'Or the Saṃgha has instituted a proceeding against her . . . (&c., as in § 11).

21, 22. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sikkhamānā is sick (&c., see §§ 2-5).

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sikkhamānā has violated¹ the precepts (in which she is trained). If she sends . . . (&c., as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may take upon herself the precepts (again)." Within seven days you ought to return.

23. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sikkhamānā desires to receive the upasampadā ordination. If she sends, &c., . . . you ought to go (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may receive the upasampadā ordination, or I will proclaim the formula (of ordination before the assembly), or I will help to complete the quorum." Within seven days you ought to return.

24, 25. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sāmānera is sick (&c., as in §§ 2-5) . . . , a sāmānera desires

or I will help to complete the quorum' (see § 6 seq.), of course are omitted here, because, if the proceeding is directed against a Bhikkhunī, this is to be done by a Bhikkhunī and not by a Bhikkhu. See *Kullavagga* X, 6, 3.

¹ This translation of sikkhā kupitā hoti is merely conjectural; Buddhaghosa has no note here. Comp. *kuppa* and *akuppa*.

to ask concerning Vassa¹. If he sends (saying to yourselves): "I will ask him or I will tell it to him." Within seven days you ought to return.

26. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a *sāmaṇera* who desires to receive the upasampadā ordination (&c., see § 23).

27, 28. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a *sāmaṇerī* is sick (&c., see §§ 24-25).

29. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a *sāmaṇerī* desires to take upon herself the precepts. If she sends &c., you should go (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may take upon herself the precepts." Within seven days you ought to return.'

7.

1. At that time the mother of a Bhikkhu was sick. She sent a messenger to her son (saying), 'I am sick; might my son come to me; I long for my son's coming.' Now that Bhikkhu thought: 'The Blessed One has allowed (a Bhikkhu) to go, if the affair for which he goes can be accomplished within seven days, and if he is sent for, but not if he is not sent for, by a person of any one of the seven classes; (and he has also allowed to go), if the thing he goes for can be accomplished within seven days, even if he is not sent for, and much more if he is sent for, by a person of any one of the five classes. Now my mother is sick; she is not a lay-devotee (*upasikā*). What am I, therefore, to do?'

¹ The technical meaning of *vassam pukkhitum* (to ask after Vassa?) is unknown to us.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go (even during the rainy season), if the thing you go for can be accomplished within seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a person of any one of the following seven classes: Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, sikkhamânâs, sâmaṇeras, sâmaṇeris, the mother, and the father. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go, if the thing you go for can be accomplished within seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a person of any one of these seven classes. Within seven days you ought to return.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's mother is sick. If she sends a messenger to her son (saying), "I am sick; might my son come to me; I long for my son's coming (&c., see chap. 6. 2)."

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's father is sick (&c., as in § 3).

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's brother is sick. If he sends a messenger to his brother (saying), "I am sick; might my brother come to me; I long for my brother's coming," he ought to go, O Bhikkhus, if the affair can be accomplished within seven days, and if he sends for him, but not if he does not send for him. Within seven days he ought to return.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's sister is sick (&c., see § 5).

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a relation of a Bhikkhu is sick. If he sends a messenger to that Bhikkhu (saying), "I am sick; might his reverence come to me" (&c., as in § 5).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a person that used to

live with the Bhikkhus¹ is sick. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "I am sick; might the Bhikkhus come to me" . . . (&c., as in § 5).'

8.

At that time a Vihâra belonging to the Saṃgha went to ruin. A certain upâsaka had a quantity of wood cut in the forest. He sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), 'If their reverences will fetch that wood, I will give it to them.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go out on the Saṃgha's business. Within seven days you ought to return.'

End of the first Bhāṇavâra about the Vassa residence.

9.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus of a certain district in the Kosala country who had entered upon Vassa, were troubled² by beasts of prey; the beasts carried them off and killed them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are troubled by beasts of prey, and the beasts carry them off and kill them: this is

¹ Buddhaghosa: bhikkhugatika is a person that dwells in the same Vihâra with the Bhikkhus.

² Compare *Gâtaka* I, 300.

to be considered as a case of danger, and they ought to leave that residence. They are not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are infested by snakes; they bite them and kill them. This is to be considered as a case of danger, . . . (&c., as in § 1 down to) . . . Vassa.

2. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are troubled by robbers; the robbers plunder them and beat them. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are troubled by demons; the demons enter into them and take their power from them. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the village near which the Bhikkhus have entered upon Vassa, is destroyed by fire; the Bhikkhus suffer from want of food. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the places of rest of the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are destroyed by fire; the Bhikkhus suffer from having no place of rest. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1), . . . Vassa.

4. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the village near which the Bhikkhus have entered upon Vassa, is destroyed by water; the Bhikkhus suffer from want of food, . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the places of rest of the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are destroyed by water; the Bhikkhus suffer from having no place of rest, . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.’

10.

At that time the village near which the Bhikkhus of a certain district had entered upon Vassa, was transferred to another place through (fear of) robbers.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you go where the village is.’

The village (people) divided themselves in two parts.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you go where the greater part is.’

The greater part were unbelieving, unconverted people.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you go where the believing, converted people are.’



11.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus of a certain district in the Kosala country who had entered upon Vassa, could get (there) neither coarse nor fine food sufficiently as required.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, can get neither coarse nor fine food sufficiently as required. This is to be considered as a case of danger, and they ought to leave that residence. They are not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, get food coarse or fine suffi-

ciently as required, but they cannot get sustaining food. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, get food coarse or fine sufficiently as required, they get sustaining food, but they cannot get proper medicine. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus . . . (&c., as § 1, down to) . . . sustaining food, and they can get profitable medicine, but they cannot find suitable laymen to do service to them. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, to a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, a woman makes an offer (in these words): "Come, venerable Sir, I give you gold, or I give you bullion¹, or I give you a field, or I give you a site (for a house or a garden), or I give you an ox, or I give you a cow, or I give you a slave, or I give you a female slave, or I give you my daughter as your wife, or I will be your wife, or I get another wife for you." In that case, if the Bhikkhu thinks: "The Blessed One has said that the mind of men is easily changeable; danger might arise to the purity of my life," he ought to go away from that place. He is not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, to a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, a harlot makes an offer, &c., an adult girl makes an offer, &c., a eunuch makes an offer, &c., relations make an offer, &c., kings make

¹ See Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 5 ('Numismata Orientalia,' vol. i).

an offer, &c., robbers make an offer, &c., rascals make an offer (in these words): "Come, venerable Sir, we give you gold, . . . (&c., down to) . . . or we give you our daughter as your wife, or we get another wife for you." In that case, . . . (&c., as in § 3) . . . Vassa.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, finds an ownerless treasure. In that case, . . . (&c., as in § 3, down to) . . . Vassa.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, sees a number of Bhikkhus who strive to cause divisions in the *Samgha*. In that case, if that Bhikkhu thinks: "The Blessed One has said that it is a grievous sin to cause divisions in the *Samgha*; may no division arise in the *Samgha* in my presence," let him go away. He is not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: "A number of Bhikkhus are striving to cause divisions in the *Samgha*." In that case, . . . (&c., as in § 5, down to) . . . Vassa.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: "In such and such a district a number of Bhikkhus are striving to cause divisions in the *Samgha*." If that Bhikkhu thinks: "Those Bhikkhus are friends of mine; I will say to them: 'The Blessed One, my friends, has said that it is a grievous sin to cause divisions in the *Samgha*; let not divisions in the *Samgha* please you, Sirs;' then they will do what I say, they will obey me and give ear," in that case let him go (to that place). He is not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: "In such and such a

district a number of Bhikkhus are striving to cause divisions in the *Samgha*.” If that Bhikkhu thinks: “Those Bhikkhus are not friends of mine, but their friends are friends of mine; to these I will say, and they will say to their friends: ‘The Blessed One, . . . (&c.,’ as in § 6, down to) . . . Vassa.

8. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: “In such and such a district divisions in the *Samgha* have been caused by a number of Bhikkhus.” If that Bhikkhu . . . (&c., as in § 6, down to) . . . Vassa.

9. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: “In such and such a district divisions in the *Samgha* have been caused by a number of Bhikkhus.” If that Bhikkhu . . . (&c., as in § 7) . . . Vassa.

10-13. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: “In such and such a district a number of Bhikkhuns strive to cause divisions in the *Samgha* . . . (&c.¹)”’

12.

1. At that time a Bhikkhu desired to enter upon Vassa in a cattle-pen.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enter upon Vassa in a cattle-pen.’

The cattle-pen was moved from its place.

¹ See §§ 6-9. Instead of ‘A number of Bhikkhus’ in these paragraphs, the subject is ‘A number of Bhikkhuns.’ Instead of ‘Friends’ or ‘Sirs,’ the address is ‘Sisters.’ In §§ 11, 13 read: ‘Those Bhikkhuns are not friends of mine, but their (female) friends are friends of mine, &c.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go with the cattle-pen.’

2. At that time a Bhikkhu, when the time for entering upon Vassa approached, desired to go on a journey with a caravan.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enter upon Vassa in a caravan.’

At that time a Bhikkhu, when the time for entering upon Vassa approached, desired to go on a journey in a ship.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enter upon Vassa in a ship.’

3. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa in a hollow tree. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘(These Bhikkhus behave) like goblins¹.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa in a hollow tree. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

4. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa on a branch of a tree. People were annoyed, &c.: ‘(These Bhikkhus behave) like huntsmen.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa on a branch of a tree. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

5. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa in the open air. When it began to rain,

¹ This must be about the sense of *pisāṭṭillika* (comp. *Kullavagga* V, 10, 2; 27, 5), although we are not sure how *-illika* ought to be explained.

they ran up to the foot of a tree, or to the hollow of a Nimba tree.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa in the open air. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

6. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa without having a place of rest. They suffered from coldness and heat.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa without having a place of rest. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

7. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa in a house for keeping dead bodies in. People were annoyed, &c. : ‘(These Bhikkhus are) like those who burn corpses.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa in a house for keeping dead bodies. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

8. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa under a sun-shade. People were annoyed, &c. : ‘Like cowherds.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa under a sun-shade. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

9. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa under an earthenware vessel. People were annoyed, &c. : ‘Like Tithiyas.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa under an earthenware vessel. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

13.

1. At that time the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi* had made an agreement that nobody should receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination during the rainy season. A grandson of *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ*¹ went to the *Bhikkhus* and asked them for the *pabbaggâ* ordination. The *Bhikkhus* said to him: 'The *Samgha*, friend, has made an agreement that nobody shall receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination during the rainy season. Wait, friend, as long as the *Bhikkhus* keep *Vassa*; when they have concluded the *Vassa* residence, they will confer on you the *pabbaggâ* ordination.'

When those *Bhikkhus* had concluded the *Vassa* residence, they said to the grandson of *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ*: 'Come now, friend, you may receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination.' He replied: 'If I had received the *pabbaggâ* ordination before, reverend *Sirs*, I should remain (in the religious life), but now, reverend *Sirs*, I will not receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination.'

2. *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ* was annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the noble ones make such an agreement that nobody shall receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination during the rainy season? At what time ought the duties of the *Dhamma* not to be performed?'

Some *Bhikkhus* heard *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ*, who was annoyed, murmured, and had become angry.

¹ *Visâkhâ* was the most distinguished among the *upâsikâs*, and occupied a place among them similar to that which *Anâthapindika*, with whom she is frequently mentioned together, did among the *upâsakas*. See *Dhammapada Aṭṭhak.* p. 78, &c.

Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘Such an agreement, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be made—that nobody shall receive the pabbaggâ ordination during the rainy season. He who makes (an agreement like this), commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

14.

1. At that time the venerable Upananda Sakyaputta had promised to king Pasenadi of Kosala to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the earlier period¹. When he was going to the district (where he had consented to go to), he saw on his way two districts in which there were plenty of robes, and he thought: ‘What if I were to keep Vassa in these two districts; thus shall I obtain many robes.’ And he kept Vassa in those two districts.

King Pasenadi of Kosala was annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), ‘How can the noble Upananda Sakyaputta, after he has promised us to take up his Vassa residence (with us), break his word? Has not falsehood been reproved, and abstinence from falsehood been praised by the Blessed One in many ways?’

2. Some Bhikkhus heard king Pasenadi of Kosala, who was annoyed, &c. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), ‘How can the venerable Upananda Sakyaputta, after he has promised to king Pasenadi of Kosala, &c.? Has not falsehood . . . (&c., as in § 1)?’

3. Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

¹ See chap. 2, § 2.

In consequence of that, the Blessed One, after having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, asked the venerable Upananda Sakyaputta : 'Is it true, Upananda, that you have broken your word, having promised to king Pasenadi of Kosala to take up your Vassa residence (with him)?'

'It is true, Lord?'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked him : 'How can you, O foolish one, break your word, having promised, &c.? Has not falsehood, O foolish one, been reproved, and abstinence from falsehood been praised by me in many ways? This will not do, O foolish one, for converting the unconverted, and for augmenting the number of the converted, but it will result, O foolish one, in the unconverted being repulsed (from the faith) and many of the converted being estranged.'

Having reproved him and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (to a lay-devotee) to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the earlier period, and when he goes to that district, he sees on his way two districts in which there are plenty of robes, and he thinks : "What if I were to keep Vassa in these two districts ; thus shall I obtain many robes ;" and he keeps Vassa in those two districts. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa), O Bhikkhus, (at the) earlier period is not valid, and as to his promise he has committed a dukkaṭa offence.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (to a lay-devotee) to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the earlier period, and when going to that district, he holds Uposatha outside (on the last

day of the half month), and on the first day (of the next half month) he goes to the Vihâra, prepares himself a place of rest, gets (water to) drink and food, sweeps the cell, and goes away that same day without having any business. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (&c., as in the preceding case, down to :) and goes away that same day having business. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and having resided there two or three days, he goes away without having any business, &c.; he goes away having business. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and having resided there two or three days, he goes away having a business which can be accomplished within seven days¹; he is absent above those seven days. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, &c., he returns within those seven days. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa), O Bhikkhus, (at the) earlier period is valid, and as to his promise he has committed no offence.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and goes away seven days before the Pavâra² having business. No matter, O Bhikkhus, whether that Bhikkhu comes back to that district or

¹ See chap. 5 seq.

² I. e. before the concluding ceremony of Vassa ; see IV, 1, 13.

does not come back, this Bhikkhu's entering, &c., is valid, and as to his promise he has committed no offence.

8-10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and having gone to that district, he holds Uposatha there (on the last day of the half month), and on the first day (of the next half month) he goes to the Vihāra, &c.¹

11. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (to a lay-devotee) to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the later period, and when going to that district, he holds Uposatha outside, &c.²'

End of the third Khandhaka, which treats of
entering upon Vassa.

¹ Here follows an exact repetition of all the cases given in §§ 5-7; the only difference is, that in the former cases it was said: 'When going to that district, he holds Uposatha outside,' instead of which it is said now: 'Having gone to that district, he holds Uposatha there.'

² The cases given in §§ 5-10 are repeated here; instead of 'Earlier period,' it is said here 'Later period;' instead of 'Before the Pavāraṇā' (§ 7), 'Before the komudî kâtumâsinî.' The komudî kâtumâsinî is the full moon day in the month Kattika, which is frequently called Kaumuda in the Epic literature; the epithet kâtumâsinî refers to the Vedic Kâturmâsya festival, which falls upon that day (Kâtyâyana, Srautasûtra V, 6, 1). For those who entered upon Vassa at the later period (in the Srāvana month), the end of Vassa fell on the Komudî day.

FOURTH KHANDHAKA.

(THE PAVÂRANÂ CEREMONY AT THE END OF THE
RAINY SEASON, VASSA).

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Sâvatthi, in the *Getavana*, the garden of *Anâthapindika*. At that time a number of *Bhikkhus*, companions and friends of each other, entered upon *Vassa* in a certain district of the *Kosala* country. Now those *Bhikkhus* thought: 'What shall we do in order that we may keep *Vassa* well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and that we may not suffer from want of food?'

2. Then those *Bhikkhus* thought: 'If we do not speak to or converse with each other, if he who comes back first from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, prepares seats, gets water for washing the feet, a foot-stool, and a towel¹, cleans the slop-basin and gets it ready, and puts there (water to) drink and food,—

3. 'And if he who comes back last from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, eats, if there is any food left (from the dinner of the other *Bhikkhus*) and if he desires to do so; and if he does not desire (to eat), throws it away at a place free from grass, or pours it away into water in which no living things are; puts away the water for washing the feet, the foot-stool, and the towel¹; cleans the slop-basin and

¹ See the note on I, 6, 11.

puts it away, puts the water and the food away, and sweeps the dining-room,—

4. 'And if he who sees a water-pot, or a bowl for food, or a vessel for evacuations, empty and void, puts it (into its proper place), and if he is not able to do so single-handed, calls some one else and puts it away with their united effort¹ without uttering a word on that account,—thus shall we keep Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and not suffer from want of food².'

5-7. And those Bhikkhus did not speak to or converse with each other. He who came back from the village from his alms-pilgrimage first, prepared seats (&c., as above, § 4, down to) . . . without uttering a word on that account.

8. Now it is the custom of the Bhikkhus who have finished their Vassa residence, to go to see the Blessed One. Thus those Bhikkhus, when they had finished their Vassa residence, and when the three months (of Vassa) had elapsed, set their places of rest in order, took their alms-bowls and robes, and went on their way to Sāvatti. Wandering from place to place, they came to Sāvatti, to the *Getavana*, the garden of *Anāthapindika*, to the Blessed One; having approached the Blessed One and respectfully saluted him, they sat down near him.

9. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas

¹ We are not quite sure of the meaning of the compounds *hattha-vikārena* and *hattha-vilaṅghakena*. *Buddhaghosa* says merely *hatthavilaṅghakenā* 'ti *hatthukkhepakena*.

² For this whole passage, compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 3. The single actions which these Bhikkhus do, are quite correct, except that they keep silence during the whole time of Vassa, and especially at the end of it, for which time Buddha, on this occasion, prescribes the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony.

to exchange greeting with incoming Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus : ‘ Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus ? Do you get enough to support yourselves with ? Have you kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel ? and have you not suffered from want of food ?’

‘ Things go tolerably well with us, Lord ; we get enough, Lord, wherewith to support ourselves ; we have kept Vassa well, in unity, in concord, and without quarrel ; and have not suffered from want of food.’

10. The Tathâgatas sometimes ask about what they know ; sometimes they do not ask about what they know. They understand the right time when to ask, and they understand the right time when not to ask. The Tathâgatas put questions full of sense, not void of sense ; to what is void of sense the bridge is pulled down for the Tathâgatas. For two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus, when they intend to preach the doctrine, or when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples.

11. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus : ‘ In what way, O Bhikkhus, have you kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and not suffered from want of food ?’

‘ We have entered upon Vassa, Lord, a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, in a certain district of the Kosala country. Now, Lord, we thought : “ What shall we do (&c., as in § 1) ?” Then we thought, Lord : “ If we do not speak (&c., as in §§ 2-4).” Thus, Lord, we did not speak to or converse with each other (&c., down to :) without uttering a word on that account. In that

way, Lord, we have kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel; and have not suffered from want of food.'

12. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Indeed, O Bhikkhus, these foolish men who profess to have kept Vassa well, have kept it badly; indeed, O Bhikkhus, these foolish men who profess to have kept Vassa well, have kept it like a herd of cattle; indeed . . . have kept it like a herd of rams; indeed . . . have kept it like a company of indolent people. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, take upon themselves the vow of silence, as the Titthiyas do?

13. 'This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted (&c., as in Book III, chapter 14, § 3).'

And when he had rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, take upon himself the vow of silence, as the Titthiyas do. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Bhikkhus, when they have finished their Vassa residence, hold *Pavāraṇā* with each other¹ in these three ways: by what has been seen, or by what has been heard, or by what is suspected. Hence it will result that you live in accord with each other, that you atone for the offences (you have committed), and that you keep the rules of discipline before your eyes.

14. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to hold *Pavāraṇā* in this way:

¹ Literally, invite each other; i. e. every Bhikkhu present invites his companions to tell him if they believe him guilty of an offence, having seen that offence, or having heard of it, or suspecting it.

‘Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. To-day is the Pavâranâ day. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâranâ.”

‘Then let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: “I pronounce my Pavâranâ, friends, before the *Samgha*, by what has been seen, or by what has been heard, or by what is suspected¹; may you speak to me, Sirs, out of compassion towards me; if I see (an offence), I will atone for it. And for the second time, &c. And for the third time I pronounce my Pavâranâ.... (&c., down to) . . . if I see (an offence), I will atone for it.”

‘Then let (each) younger Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe . . . (&c.)²’

2.

1. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, while the senior Bhikkhus were crouching down and were performing their Pavâranâ, remained on their seats. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus remain on their seats, while the senior

¹ I. e. I invite the *Samgha* to charge me with any offence they think me guilty of, which they have seen, or heard of, or which they suspect.

² As in the preceding sentence, except that the younger Bhikkhus do not address the *Samgha*, ‘Friends,’ but, ‘Reverend Sirs.’

Bhikkhus crouch down, and perform their Pavâranâ?’

Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus, &c.?’

‘It is true, O Lord.’

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked them: ‘How can these foolish men, O Bhikkhus, remain on their seats (&c., as above)? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted (&c., as in chap. 1, § 13).’

Having rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, remain on his seat, while the senior Bhikkhus crouch down, and perform their Pavâranâ. He who does, commits a dukkata offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that all of you crouch down while Pavâranâ is being performed.’

2. At that time a certain Bhikkhu weak from age, who waited crouching till all had finished their Pavâranâ, fell down fainting.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (every Bhikkhu) crouches down the whole while till he has performed his Pavâranâ, and sits down on his seat when he has performed it.’

3.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How many Pavâranâ (days) are there?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘There are the two following Pavâranâ (days),

O Bhikkhus: the fourteenth and the fifteenth (of the half month)¹; these are the two Pavâranâ (days), O Bhikkhus.'

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'How many Pavâranâ services are there?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are the four following Pavâranâ services, O Bhikkhus, &c.'²

3. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* will hold Pavâranâ.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a sick Bhikkhu, Lord, who is not present.'

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a sick Bhikkhu shall declare (lit. give) his Pavâranâ. And let him declare it, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let that sick Bhikkhu go to some Bhikkhu, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I declare my Pavâranâ, take my Pavâranâ, perform the Pavâranâ for me." If he expresses this by gesture, or by word, or by gesture and word, the Pavâranâ has been declared. If he does not express this by gesture, &c., the Pavâranâ has not been declared.

4-5. 'If (the sick Bhikkhu) succeeds in doing so, well and good. If he does not succeed, let them take that sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, on his bed or his chair to the assembly, &c.'³

¹ Comp. II, 14, 1, and the note on II, 34, 1.

² This passage is exactly identical with II, 14, 2. 3, replacing 'Upasatha service' by 'Pavâranâ service.'

³ This passage is a repetition of II, 22, 2-4, the words, 'Hold Upasatha,' 'Declare the Pârisuddhi,' &c., being replaced respectively by 'Hold Pavâranâ,' 'Declare the Pavâranâ,' &c.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that on the day of Pavâraṇā he who declares his Pavâraṇā, is to declare also his consent¹ (to acts to be performed eventually by the Order), for (both declarations) are required for the Saṃgha (and for the validity of its acts)².’

4.

At that time relations of a certain Bhikkhu kept him back on the day of Pavâraṇā, &c.³

5.

1. At that time five Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain district (or, in a certain residence of Bhikkhus) on the day of Pavâraṇā.

Now these Bhikkhus thought : ‘The Blessed One has prescribed the holding of Pavâraṇā by the Saṃgha, and we are (only) five persons⁴. Well, how are we to hold Pavâraṇā?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that five Bhikkhus should hold Pavâraṇā in a (regular) chapter⁵.’

2. At that time four Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain

¹ See II, 23.

² Comp. the finishing clause of II, 23.

³ This is a repetition of II, 24, but instead of ‘Uposatha’ and ‘Pârisuddhi’ read ‘Pavâraṇā.’

⁴ As a general rule five Bhikkhus were sufficient to form the quorum; but for the performance of several among the official acts of the Order the presence of more than five members was required; see IX, 4, 1 seq.

⁵ See IX, 4, 1.

district on the day of Pavâranâ. Now these Bhikkhus thought : ' The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus shall hold Pavâranâ in a (regular) chapter, and we are (only) four persons. Well, how are we to hold Pavâranâ ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that four Bhikkhus should hold Pavâranâ with each other.

3. ' And let them hold Pavâranâ, O Bhikkhus, in this way : Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before those Bhikkhus : " Hear me, Sirs. To-day is Pavâranâ day. If you are ready, Sirs, let us hold Pavâranâ with each other."

' Then let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe, &c., and say to those Bhikkhus : " I pronounce my Pavâranâ, friends, before you, by what has been seen, or by what has been heard, or by what is suspected ; may you speak to me, Sirs, out of compassion towards me ; if I see (an offence), I will atone for it. And for the second time, &c.; and for the third time, &c."

' Then let each younger Bhikkhu, &c.'

4. At that time three Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain district on the day of Pavâranâ. Now these Bhikkhus thought : ' The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus shall hold Pavâranâ in a (regular) chapter, that four Bhikkhus shall hold Pavâranâ with each other, and we are (only) three persons. Well, how are we to hold Pavâranâ ?'

' I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that three Bhikkhus should hold Pavâranâ with each other. And let them hold Pavâranâ (&c., see § 3).'

5. At that time two Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain

district on the day of Pavâraṇā. Now these Bhikkhus thought : ‘ The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus, &c., that four Bhikkhus, &c., that three Bhikkhus, &c., and we are (only) two persons. Well, how are we to hold Pavâraṇā ?’

‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that two Bhikkhus should hold Pavâraṇā with each other.

6. ‘ And let them hold Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, in this way : Let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe, &c., and say to the junior Bhikkhu : “ I pronounce my Pavâraṇā, friend, &c.”

‘ Then let the junior Bhikkhu, &c.’

7. At that time there dwelt a single Bhikkhu in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā. Now this Bhikkhu thought : ‘ The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus, &c., &c., and I am only one person. Well, how am I to hold Pavâraṇā ?’

8. ‘ In case there dwell, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā, a single Bhikkhu : Let that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, sweep the place which the Bhikkhus use to frequent,—the refectory, or hall, or place at the foot of a tree ; let him (then) provide water and food, prepare seats, put a lamp there, and sit down. If other Bhikkhus come, let him hold Pavâraṇā with them ; if they do not come, let him fix his mind upon the thought : “ To-day is my Pavâraṇā.” If he does not fix his mind upon this thought, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.

9. ‘ Now, O Bhikkhus, where five Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the Pavâraṇā¹ of one (to their assembly) and hold Pavâraṇā by

¹ See chap. 3, § 3. Compare II, chap. 22, and chap. 26, § 10.

four (as) in a (regular) chapter. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where four Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the Pavâranâ of one (to their assembly) and hold Pavâranâ with each other by three. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where three Bhikkhus (&c., as in the last clause).

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where two Bhikkhus dwell, one of them must not convey the Pavâranâ of the other one, and fix (only) his thoughts (upon the Pavâranâ). If he does, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

6.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu was guilty of an offence on the day of Pavâranâ. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed: “Pavâranâ is not to be held by a Bhikkhu who is guilty of an offence¹.” Now I am guilty of an offence. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu be guilty of an offence on the day of Pavâranâ (&c., as in II, 27. 1, 2, down to:): “When I shall feel no doubt, then I will atone for that offence.” Having spoken thus, let him hold Pavâranâ. But in no case must there any hindrance arise to holding Pavâranâ from such a cause.’

2-3. At that time a certain Bhikkhu remembered

¹ See chap. 16, § 1.

an offence, while Pavâranâ was being held (&c., see II, 27. 4-8).

End of the first Bhānavāra.

7-13.

7. 1. At that time there assembled in a certain residence (or district) on the day of Pavâranâ a number of resident Bhikkhus, five or more. They did not know that there were other resident Bhikkhus absent. Intending to act according to Dhamma and Vinaya, thinking themselves to be complete while (really) incomplete, they held Pavâranâ. While they were holding Pavâranâ, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number (than the first ones), arrived.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case there assemble, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence on the day of Pavâranâ (&c., as in § 1, down to) they hold Pavâranâ. While they are holding Pavâranâ, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number, arrive. Let (all) those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ again; they who have held Pavâranâ, are free from guilt.

3. 'In case there assemble, &c. . . . While they are holding Pavâranâ, other resident Bhikkhus, exactly the same number (as the first ones), arrive. Those who have held Pavâranâ, have held it correctly; let the other ones hold Pavâranâ; they who have held Pavâranâ, are free from guilt.'

.

¹

¹ The following paragraphs and chapters exactly follow the course indicated by II, 28-35. The alterations to be made are

14.

1-3. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a Bhikkhunî, . . . (&c.¹)

4. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ by (accepting) the Pavâranâ declaration of a pârivâsika², except if the assembly has not yet risen (at the time when the Pavâranâ is declared). And let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ on another day than the Pavâranâ day, except for the sake of (preserving) concord among the Samgha³.'

15.

1. At that time a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) in the Kosala country was menaced on the day of Pavâranâ by savage people. The Bhikkhus were not able to perform Pavâranâ with the threefold formula.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

obvious and sufficiently indicated by §§ 1-3; instead of, 'Let them proclaim their Pârisuddhi' (II, 28, 4, &c.), read here, 'Let them pronounce their Pavâranâ.'

¹ See II, 36, 1-3.

² Comp. II, 36, 4, with the note.

³ See, for instance, the cases in chap. 17. Buddhaghosa's explanation is different; he says: 'Concord among the Samgha is to be understood of such cases as that of Kosambî.' It is said in the account of the schism of Kosambî that, if concord has been re-established, the reconciled parties hold Uposatha together (X, 5, 14; comp. II, 36, 4); Buddhaghosa apparently extends this to holding Pavâranâ also.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to perform Pavâraṇā with the twofold formula¹.’

The danger from savage people became still more urgent. The Bhikkhus were not able to perform Pavâraṇā with the twofold formula.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to perform Pavâraṇā with the onefold formula¹.’

The danger from savage people became still more urgent. The Bhikkhus were not able to perform Pavâraṇā with the onefold formula.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, that all the Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together, perform Pavâraṇā (by one common declaration).’

2. At that time in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā the greater part of the night had passed away while (lay-)people were offering gifts (to the Bhikkhus). Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘The greater part of the night has passed away while the people were offering gifts. If the Saṃgha performs Pavâraṇā with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the Pavâraṇā when day breaks. Well, what are we to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā the greater part of the night has passed away while people were offering gifts (to the Bhikkhus). Now if those Bhikkhus think: “The greater part (&c., down to :) when day breaks,”

¹ This means apparently that the Bhikkhus were not obliged to pronounce the formula of Pavâraṇā (chap. 1, 14) thrice, but twice or once respectively.

let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. While people were offering gifts, the greater part of the night has passed away. If the *Samgha* performs Pavâranâ with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the Pavâranâ when day breaks. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâranâ with the twofold formula, or with the onefold formula, or by common declaration of all the Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together."

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of Pavâranâ the greater part of the night has passed away while the Bhikkhus were in confusion: the Bhikkhus were reciting the Dhamma, those versed in the Suttantas were propounding the Suttantas, those versed in the Vinaya were discussing the Vinaya, the Dhamma preachers were talking about the Dhamma. Now if those Bhikkhus think: "The greater part of the night has passed away while the Bhikkhus were in confusion. If the *Samgha* performs Pavâranâ with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the Pavâranâ when day breaks," let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, &c. The greater part of the night has passed away while the Bhikkhus were in confusion. If the *Samgha* performs Pavâranâ (&c. as in § 3)."

5. At that time in a certain district in the Kosala country a great assembly of Bhikkhus had come together on the day of Pavâranâ, and there was but a small place protected from rain, and a great cloud was in the sky. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'A great assembly of Bhikkhus has come together

here, and there is but a small place protected from rain, and a great cloud is in the sky. If the *Samgha* performs *Pavâraṇā* with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the *Pavâraṇā* when this cloud will begin to rain. Well, what are we to do ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district a great assembly of Bhikkhus has come together on the day of *Pavâraṇā*, and there is but a small place protected from rain, and a great cloud is in the sky. Now if those Bhikkhus think (&c., as in § 3 to the end).

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of *Pavâraṇā* danger arises from kings, danger from robbers, danger from fire, danger from water, danger from human beings, danger from non-human beings, danger from beasts of prey, danger from creeping things, danger of life, danger against chastity. Now if those Bhikkhus think : "Here is danger for our chastity. If the *Samgha* performs *Pavâraṇā* with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the *Pavâraṇā* when this danger for chastity will arise," let a learned, competent Bhikkhu' (&c., as in § 3 to the end).

16.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus held *Pavâraṇā* being guilty of an offence.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavâraṇā* who is guilty of an offence. He who does, commits a

dukkatā offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you ask a Bhikkhu who holds Pavâranâ being guilty of an offence, for his leave¹ and reprove him for that offence.'

2. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, when asked for leave, were not willing to give leave (to Bhikkhus who were going to reprove them for an offence).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you inhibit the Pavâranâ of a Bhikkhu who does not give leave. And you ought to inhibit it, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let (a Bhikkhu) say on the day of Pavâranâ, on the fourteenth or on the fifteenth day (of the half month), in presence of that person, before the assembled *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Such and such a person is guilty of an offence; I inhibit his Pavâranâ; Pavâranâ must not be held in his presence." Thus his Pavâranâ is inhibited.'

3. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, who thought: 'Otherwise good Bhikkhus might inhibit our Pavâranâ,' themselves inhibited beforehand, without object and reason, the Pavâranâ of pure Bhikkhus who had committed no offence, and they also inhibited the Pavâranâ of Bhikkhus who had already performed their Pavâranâ.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, inhibit, without object and reason, the Pavâranâ of pure Bhikkhus who have committed no offence. He who does, commits a dukkatā offence. And further, O Bhikkhus, let no

¹ Comp. II, 16, 1.

one inhibit the Pavâraṇā of Bhikkhus who have already performed their Pavâraṇā. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.

4. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, (you may discern whether) the Pavâraṇā is (duly) inhibited or not inhibited.

'In what cases is the Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, not inhibited? When Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, is pronounced, declared, and finished with the threefold formula, and if (a Bhikkhu then) inhibits the Pavâraṇā (of another Bhikkhu), the Pavâraṇā is not inhibited. When Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, is pronounced, declared, and finished with the twofold formula, with the onefold formula, by common declaration of all Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together, and if (a Bhikkhu then) inhibits, . . . (&c., as before). In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the Pavâraṇā is not inhibited.

5. 'And in what cases, O Bhikkhus, is the Pavâraṇā inhibited? When Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, is pronounced, declared, but not finished¹ with the threefold formula, and if (a Bhikkhu then) inhibits the Pavâraṇā (of another Bhikkhu), the Pavâraṇā is inhibited, . . . (&c.²). In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the Pavâraṇā is inhibited.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, one Bhikkhu, on the day of Pavâraṇā, inhibits the Pavâraṇā of another Bhikkhu: then if the other Bhikkhus know with regard to that (inhibiting) Bhikkhu: "This vene-

¹ Correct in the Pāli text *pariyositāya* into *apariyositāya*.

² The paragraph is repeated with the phrases, 'With the twofold formula,' 'with the onefold formula,' and 'by common declaration of all the Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together,' respectively, instead of 'with the threefold formula.'

rable brother is not of a pure conduct in his deeds, nor in his words, nor as regards his means of livelihood, he is ignorant, unlearned, unable to give explanation when he is questioned," (let them say to him): "Nay, friend, let not quarrel arise, nor strife, nor discord, nor dispute," and having thus put him to silence, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâranâ.

7-9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, &c.¹

10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, one Bhikkhu on the day of Pavâranâ inhibits the Pavâranâ of another Bhikkhu: then if the other Bhikkhus know with regard to that (inhibiting) Bhikkhu: "This venerable brother is of a pure conduct in his deeds and in his words and with regard to his means of livelihood, he is clever, learned, and able to give explanation when he is questioned," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu, on what account do you inhibit it, on account of a moral transgression, or on account of a transgression against the rules of conduct, or on account of heresy?"

11. 'If he replies: "I inhibit it on account of a moral transgression, I inhibit it on account of a transgression against the rules of conduct, I inhibit it on account of heresy," let them say to him: "Well, do you know, Sir, what a moral transgression is, what a transgression against the rules of conduct is, what heresy is?" If he replies, "I

¹ As in § 6. But instead of 'Not of a pure conduct in his deeds, nor in his words, nor as regards his means of livelihood,' read respectively, 'Of a pure conduct in his deeds, but not in his words, nor as regards his means of livelihood' (§ 7); 'Of a pure conduct in his deeds and in his words, but not with regard to his means of livelihood' (§ 8); 'Of a pure conduct in his deeds and in his words and with regard to his means of livelihood' (§ 9).

know, friends, what a moral transgression is, &c.," let them say to him: "And what is, friend, a moral transgression, &c.?"

12. 'If he replies: "The four *pârâgika* offences and the thirteen *saṃghâdisesa* offences are the moral transgressions; *thullakkaya* offences, *pâkittiya* offences, *pâtidesanīya* offences, *dukkata* offences, and wicked language are the transgressions against the rules of conduct; false doctrine and . . . doctrine¹ are heresy," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the *Pavâraṇâ* of this *Bhikkhu*, do you inhibit it on account of what you have seen, or of what you have heard, or of what you suspect?"

13. 'If he replies: "I inhibit it on account of what I have seen, or on account of what I have heard, or on account of what I suspect," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the *Pavâraṇâ* of this *Bhikkhu* on account of what you have seen, what have you seen? What is it that you have seen? When have you seen it? Where have you seen it? Have you seen him committing a *pârâgika* offence? Have you seen him committing a *saṃghâdisesa* offence? Have you seen him committing a *thullakkaya* offence, a *pâkittiya* offence, a *pâtidesanīya* offence, a *dukkata* offence, or making himself guilty of wicked language? And where were you? And where was this *Bhikkhu*? And what did you do? And what did this *Bhikkhu* do?"

¹ The meaning of *antaggâhikâ diṭṭhi* (Sanskrit *ântagrahikâ drishṭi?* *ântagrahikâ drishṭi?*) is unknown to us; *Buddhaghosa* gives no explanation. Perhaps it may mean doctrine partly false and partly correct (eclectic).

14. 'If he then replies: "I do not inhibit, friends, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what I have seen, but I inhibit it on account of what I have heard," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what you have heard, what have you heard? What is it that you have heard? When have you heard it? Where have you heard it? Have you heard that he has committed a pâ râgika offence, . . . (&c., down to) . . . or that he has made himself guilty of wicked language? Have you heard it from a Bhikkhu? Have you heard it from a Bhikkhunî? Have you heard it from a sikkhamânâ, from a sâmanera, from a sâmaneri, from an upâsaka, from an upâsikâ, from kings, from royal officers, from Tithiyas, from Tithiya disciples?"

15. 'If he then replies: "I do not inhibit, friends, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what I have heard, but I inhibit it on account of what I suspect," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what you suspect, what do you suspect? What is it that you suspect? When do you suspect it? Where do you suspect it? Do you suspect that he has committed a pâ râgika offence, . . . (&c., down to) . . . wicked language? Does your suspicion come from what you have heard from a Bhikkhu, . . . (&c., down to) . . . from Tithiya disciples?"

16. 'If he then replies: "I do not inhibit, friends, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what I suspect; I do not know the reason why I inhibit the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu," and if that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (the other one), being questioned by intelligent fellow Bhikkhus, is not able

to convince their minds, you are right in saying that in such case the Bhikkhu who has been reproved is blameless. But if that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (the other one), being questioned by intelligent fellow Bhikkhus, is able to convince their minds, you are right in saying that in such case the Bhikkhu who has been reproved is blamable.

17. 'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (another one), admits that he has charged him unfoundedly with a *pârâgika* offence, let the *Samgha* enter upon the *saṃghâdisesa* proceedings¹ (against the accuser) and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (another one), admits that he has charged him unfoundedly with a *saṃghâdisesa* offence, let the *Samgha* treat (the accuser) according to the law² and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (another one), admits that he has charged him unfoundedly with a *thullaṅkaya* offence, or with a *pâkittiya* offence, or with a *pâtidesanīya* offence, or with a *dukkaṭa* offence, or with having used wicked language, let the *Samgha* treat (the accuser) according to the law³ and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

18. 'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who has been reproved, admits that he has committed a *pârâgika* offence, let the *Samgha* expel him and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

'If that Bhikkhu, &c., admits that he has com-

¹ See the 8th *Samghâdisesa* rule.

² See the 76th *Pâkittiya* rule.

³ According to Buddhaghosa, the Bhikkhu who brings such an unfounded charge against a fellow Bhikkhu, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.

mitted a *samghâdisesa* offence, let the *Samgha* enter upon the *samghâdisesa* proceedings (against him) and then hold *Pavâranâ*.

‘If that *Bhikkhu*, &c., admits that he has committed a *thullakkaya* offence, or a *pâkittiya* offence, . . . (&c., down to) . . . wicked language, let the *Samgha* treat him according to the law and then hold *Pavâranâ*.

19. ‘In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* on the day of *Pavâranâ* is guilty of a *thullakkaya* offence. Some *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *thullakkaya* offence, other *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *samghâdisesa* offence. In that case, O *Bhikkhus*, let those *Bhikkhus* who take it for a *thullakkaya* offence, take that *Bhikkhu*, O *Bhikkhus*, aside, treat him according to the law, go back to the *Samgha*, and say: “The offence, friends, which this *Bhikkhu* has committed, he has atoned for according to the law. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold *Pavâranâ*.”

20. ‘In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* on the day of *Pavâranâ* is guilty of a *thullakkaya* offence. Some *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *thullakkaya* offence, other *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *pâkittiya* offence. Some *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *thullakkaya* offence, other *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *pâtidesanīya* offence; a *thullakkaya* offence; a *dukkata* offence; a *thullakkaya* offence, an offence by wicked language. In that case (&c., as in § 19, down to the end).

21, 22. ‘In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* on the day of *Pavâranâ* is guilty of a *pâkittiya* offence, of a *pâtidesanīya* offence, of a *dukkata* offence, of an offence by wicked language. Some *Bhikkhus* believe

that it is an offence by wicked language, other Bhikkhus believe that it is a *saṃghādisesa* offence, &c. Some Bhikkhus believe that it is an offence by wicked language, other Bhikkhus believe that it is a *dukkaṭṭa* offence. In that case, O Bhikkhus, let those Bhikkhus who take it for an offence by wicked language, take that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, aside (&c., see § 19).

23. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu speaks thus before the assembly on the day of Pavāraṇā: "Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. Here this deed is known (to me), but not the (guilty) person. If the Saṃgha is ready, let the Saṃgha hold Pavāraṇā excluding this deed," (the Bhikkhus) ought to reply: "The Blessed One, friend, has prescribed that they who hold Pavāraṇā, ought to be pure. If a deed is known, but not the (guilty) person, report it (to us) now."

24. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu speaks thus before the assembly on the day of Pavāraṇā: "Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. Here a person is known (to me as guilty), but not his deed. If the Saṃgha is ready, let the Saṃgha hold Pavāraṇā excluding this person," (the Bhikkhus) ought to reply: "The Blessed One, friend, has prescribed that they who hold Pavāraṇā, ought to be complete. If a person is known to you (as guilty), but not his deed, report it (to us) now."

25. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu speaks thus before the assembly on the day of Pavāraṇā: "Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. Here a deed is known (to me) as well as the (guilty) person. If the Saṃgha is ready, let the Saṃgha hold Pavāraṇā excluding this deed and this person," (the

Bhikkhus) ought to reply: "The Blessed One, friend, has prescribed that they who hold Pavâranâ, ought to be pure as well as complete. If the deed and the (guilty) person are known to you, report it (to us) now."

26. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a deed becomes known before the Pavâranâ, and the (guilty) person afterwards (i. e. after the Pavâranâ), it is right to bring it forward (then)¹.

'If, O Bhikkhus, the (guilty) person becomes known before the Pavâranâ, and his deed afterwards, it is right to bring it forward (then).

'If, O Bhikkhus, the deed as well as the (guilty) person becomes known before the Pavâranâ, and if (a Bhikkhu) raises up that matter again after the Pavâranâ, he makes himself guilty of a pâkittiya offence for raising up (a matter that has been settled)².'

17.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, entered upon Vassa in a certain district of the Kosala country. In their neighbourhood other Bhikkhus, litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious persons, who used to raise questions before the Samgha, entered upon Vassa with the intention of inhibiting, on the Pavâranâ day, the Pavâranâ of those Bhikkhus when

¹ 'Because it had not been possible to decide the matter at the Pavâranâ' (Buddhaghosa).

² See the 63rd Pâkittiya rule.

they should have finished their Vassa residence. Now those Bhikkhus heard: 'In our neighbourhood other Bhikkhus, &c. Well, what are we to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, enter upon Vassa in a certain district. In their neighbourhood other Bhikkhus, . . . (&c., § 1). I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that those Bhikkhus hold Uposatha twice or thrice on the fourteenth day (of the half-month)¹ in order that they may be able to hold Pavâraṇâ before those (other) Bhikkhus. If those litigious, contentious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus approach that district, let the resident Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, quickly assemble and hold Pavâraṇâ; having held Pavâraṇâ, let them say to them: "We have held our Pavâraṇâ, friends; do you do, Sirs, as you think fit."

3. 'If those litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus come to that residence unexpectedly, let the resident Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, prepare seats (for them), get water for the washing of their feet, foot-stools, and towels², then let them go to meet them, take their bowls and their robes, and offer them (water) to drink; having thus looked after those Bhikkhus, let them go outside the boundary and hold Pavâraṇâ; having held Pavâraṇâ, let

¹ In this way, when the inimical Bhikkhus are arriving about the time of Pavâraṇâ, the resident Bhikkhus count the day which is the thirteenth or fourteenth to the other Bhikkhus, as the fifteenth, and thus they are enabled to finish their Pavâraṇâ before they can be prevented.

² See I, 6, 11.

them say: "We have held our Pavâranâ, friends, do you do, Sirs, as you think fit."

4. 'If they succeed in this way, well and good; if they do not succeed, let a learned, competent, resident Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the resident Bhikkhus: "Let the resident Bhikkhus hear me, Sirs. If you are ready, Sirs, let us now hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, and let us hold Pavâranâ on the next new-moon day." If, O Bhikkhus, the litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus say to those Bhikkhus: "Well, friends, hold Pavâranâ with us now," let them reply: "You are not masters, friends, of our Pavâranâ; we will not hold Pavâranâ now."

5. 'If, O Bhikkhus, those litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus stay there till that new-moon day, let a learned, competent, resident Bhikkhu, . . .¹

6. 'If, O Bhikkhus, those litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus stay there still till that full-moon day, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought to hold Pavâranâ all of them, no matter whether they like it or not, on the next full-moon day, on the day of the komudî kâtumâsini².

7. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ, and a sick Bhikkhu inhibits the Pavâranâ of a healthy Bhikkhu, let them say (to the inhibiting Bhikkhu): "You are sick, Sir, and the Blessed One has said that a sick person cannot endure being questioned. Wait, friend, until you have recovered;

¹ As in § 4, down to the end of the paragraph; instead of, 'On the next new-moon day,' it is to be read here, 'On the next full-moon day.'

² See the note on III, 14, 11.

having recovered, you may reprove him, if you like." If they speak to him thus, and he reproves (that Bhikkhu) notwithstanding, he makes himself guilty of the *pāṭittiya* offence of disregard¹.

8. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavāranā*, and a healthy Bhikkhu inhibits the *Pavāranā* of a sick Bhikkhu, let them say (to the inhibiting Bhikkhu): "This Bhikkhu is sick, friend, and the Blessed One has said that a sick person cannot endure being questioned. Wait, friend, until this Bhikkhu has recovered; when he has recovered you may reprove him, if you like." If they speak to him thus, . . . (&c., as in § 7).

9. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavāranā*, and a sick Bhikkhu inhibits the *Pavāranā* of another sick Bhikkhu, let them say (to the inhibiting Bhikkhu): "You are sick, Sirs, and the Blessed One has said that a sick person cannot endure being questioned. Wait, friend, until you have recovered; when he has recovered² you may reprove him, if you like." If they speak to him thus, . . . (&c., as in § 7).

10. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavāranā*, and a healthy Bhikkhu inhibits the *Pavāranā* of another healthy Bhikkhu, let the *Samgha* question and examine them both and treat them according to the law, and then hold *Pavāranā*.'

¹ See the 54th *Pāṭittiya* rule.

² Probably we should read in the Pāli text, '*ārogo ārogam ākaṅkhamāno kodessasīti*.' Then the translation would be: 'When you have recovered and he has recovered, &c.'

18.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, entered upon Vassa in a certain district of the Kosala country. These Bhikkhus, living in unity, and concord, and without quarrel, had found a comfortable place to dwell in. Now those Bhikkhus thought: 'Living in unity, &c., we have found a comfortable place to dwell in. If we hold Pavâranâ now, (other Bhikkhus) might come on a journey, having held their Pavâranâ, (and might occupy this place); thus we should lose this place which is comfortable to dwell in. Well, what are we to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, have entered upon Vassa in a certain district. These Bhikkhus, . . . (&c., § 1).

'If these Bhikkhus think: "Living in unity, . . . (&c., § 1, down to:) thus we should lose this place which is comfortable to dwell in," I allow, O Bhikkhus, these Bhikkhus to agree upon pavâranâ-samgaha¹.

3. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to agree upon it in this way: Let them all assemble together. When

¹ Literally this word means, we believe, 'Keeping back one's own Pavâranâ.' Buddhaghosa says: 'When the decree of pavâranâsamgaha has been issued, the Bhikkhus (who have issued it) ought to live as in the rainy season. Incoming Bhikkhus are not allowed to take possession of their places of rest. On the other side, they ought not to interrupt their Vassa residence.'

they have assembled, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Living in unity, . . . (&c., § 1, down to :) thus we should lose this place which is comfortable to dwell in. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* agree upon *pavâraṇâsamgaha*; let it now hold *Upasatha* and recite the *Pâtimokkha*, and let the *Samgha* hold *Pavâraṇâ* on the next *komudî kâtumâsini* day. This is the *ñatti*."

4. "Let the *Samgha*, &c.¹"

5. 'If, O Bhikkhus, after those Bhikkhus have agreed upon *pavâraṇâsamgaha*, a Bhikkhu should say: "I wish, friends, to go on my travels through the country; I have a business in the country," let them reply to him: "Good, friend, hold *Pavâraṇâ* and go." If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, when holding *Pavâraṇâ* inhibits the *Pavâraṇâ* of another Bhikkhu, let (that other Bhikkhu) say to him: "You are not master of my *Pavâraṇâ*, friend; I will not hold *Pavâraṇâ* now."

'If, O Bhikkhus, when that Bhikkhu holds *Pavâraṇâ*, another Bhikkhu inhibits his *Pavâraṇâ*, let the *Samgha* question and examine them both and treat them according to the law.

6. 'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, has finished that business in the country and comes back to that district before the day of *komudî kâtumâsini*, and if a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus hold *Pavâraṇâ*, inhibits the *Pavâraṇâ* of that Bhikkhu (who has been absent), let him say (to the

¹ Here follows the usual formula of a *ñattidutiya kamma* as in Book II, chap. 6. Comp. the note on Book I, chap. 28, § 3.

inhibiting Bhikkhu): "You are not master of my Pavâraṇâ, friend; I have held my Pavâraṇâ."

‘If, O Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus hold Pavâranâ, this Bhikkhu inhibits the Pavâranâ of another Bhikkhu, let the Samgha question and examine them both and treat them according to the law, and then hold Pavâranâ.’

End of the Pavâraṇâ-Khandhaka.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.										
	II Class.	III Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ک	𐤀	k
2 " aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	کھ	کھ	𐤁	kh
3 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬕𐬎	𐬕𐬎	گ	گ	𐤂	...
4 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬕𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬎𐬌	گھ	گھ	𐤃	...
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	...	...	ङ	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	ق	ق	𐤄	...
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	...	...	ङ	{ 𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎 } { 𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎 }	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	...	ह	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	ه	ه	𐤅	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	...	...	...	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	...	...	...	...
9 " asper faucalis	'h	...	...	...	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	...	...	...	...
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	...	...	...	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	...	...	...	...
11 " asper fricatus	'h	...	...	...	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	...	...	...	...
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	...	...	...	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	...	...	...	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	...	...	च	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	چ	چ	𐤆	k
14 " aspirata	kh	...	...	छ	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	چھ	چھ	𐤇	kh
15 Media	g	...	...	ज	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	ج	ج	𐤈	...
16 " aspirata	gh	...	...	झ	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	چھ	چھ	𐤉	...
17 " Nasalis	ñ	...	...	ञ	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	𐬕𐬎𐬌𐬎	...	...	...	...

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y				य	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)									
20 " lenis		(y)									
21 " asper assibilatus		s			श	𐬯	𐬯	𐬯	ش	ש	
22 " lenis assibilatus		z									z
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t				त	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th				थ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	تھ	תה	th
25 " assibilata				TH							
26 Media	d				द	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	د	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh										
28 " assibilata				DH							
29 Nasalis	n				न	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l				ल	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l									
32 " mollis 2			L								
33 Spiritus asper 1	s				स	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2		s (ʃ)									
35 " lenis	z										
36 " asperimus 1		z (ʒ)									z
37 " asperimus 2		z (ʒ)									z

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)	
38 Tenuis	t
39 " aspirata	th
40 Media	d
41 " aspirata	dh
42 Nasalis	n
43 Semivocalis	r
44 " fricata	f
45 " diacritica	r
46 Spiritus asper	sh
47 " lenis	zh
Labiales.	
48 Tenuis	p
49 " aspirata	ph
50 Media	b
51 " aspirata	bh
52 Tenuissima.	p
53 Nasalis	m
54 Semivocalis	w
55 " aspirata	hw
56 Spiritus asper	f
57 " lenis	v
58 Anusvāra.	m
59 Visarga.	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ā
3 " labialis	ō	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ā
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	.	.	अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)	.	आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i	.	.	इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)	.	ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	י	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ē	.	.	ए	.	.	.	ه	.	.
9 " longa	ā	.	.	ऐ	.	.	.	ه	.	.
10 Lingualis brevis	ri	.	.	र	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " longa	rī	.	.	र	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 Labialis brevis	u	.	.	उ	.	.	.	و	.	u
13 " longa	ū	(u)	.	ऊ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	و	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	.	.	ए	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	ه	.	e
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)	.	ऐ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	ه	.	āi
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	.	आ	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	ه	.	āi
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)	.	.	इ	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	ه	.	ei, ēi
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)	.	.	उ	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	و	.	o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	.	.	ओ	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	و	ו	āu
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)	.	आ	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	و	.	āu
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	.	आ	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	و	.	āu
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)	.	.	इ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	و	.	.
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)	.	.	उ	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	و	.	.
24 Gutturals fracta	ā	.	.	अ
25 Palatalis fracta	ī	.	.	इ
26 Labialis fracta	ū	.	.	उ	ū
27 " " " "	ō	.	.	ओ

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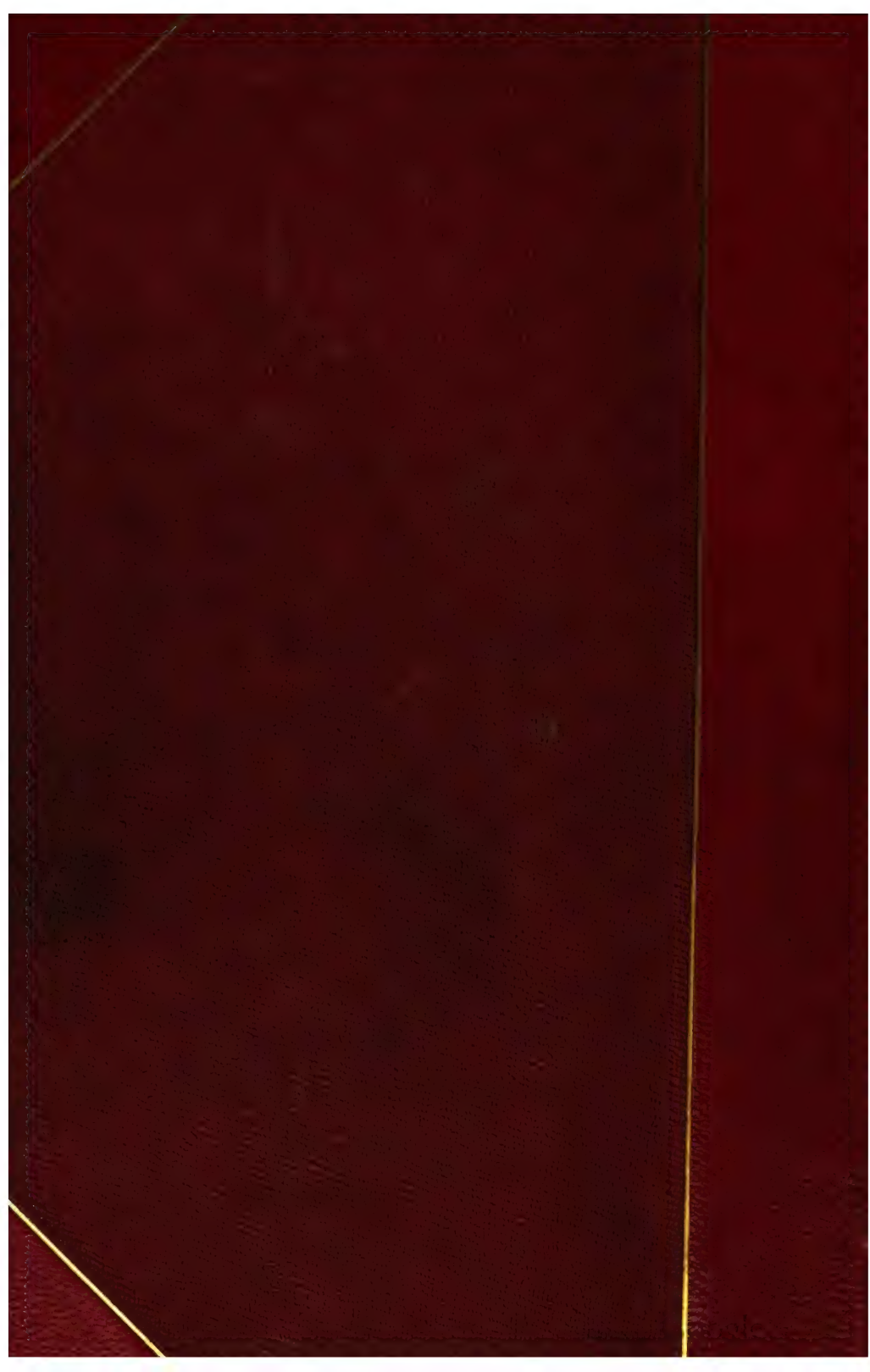
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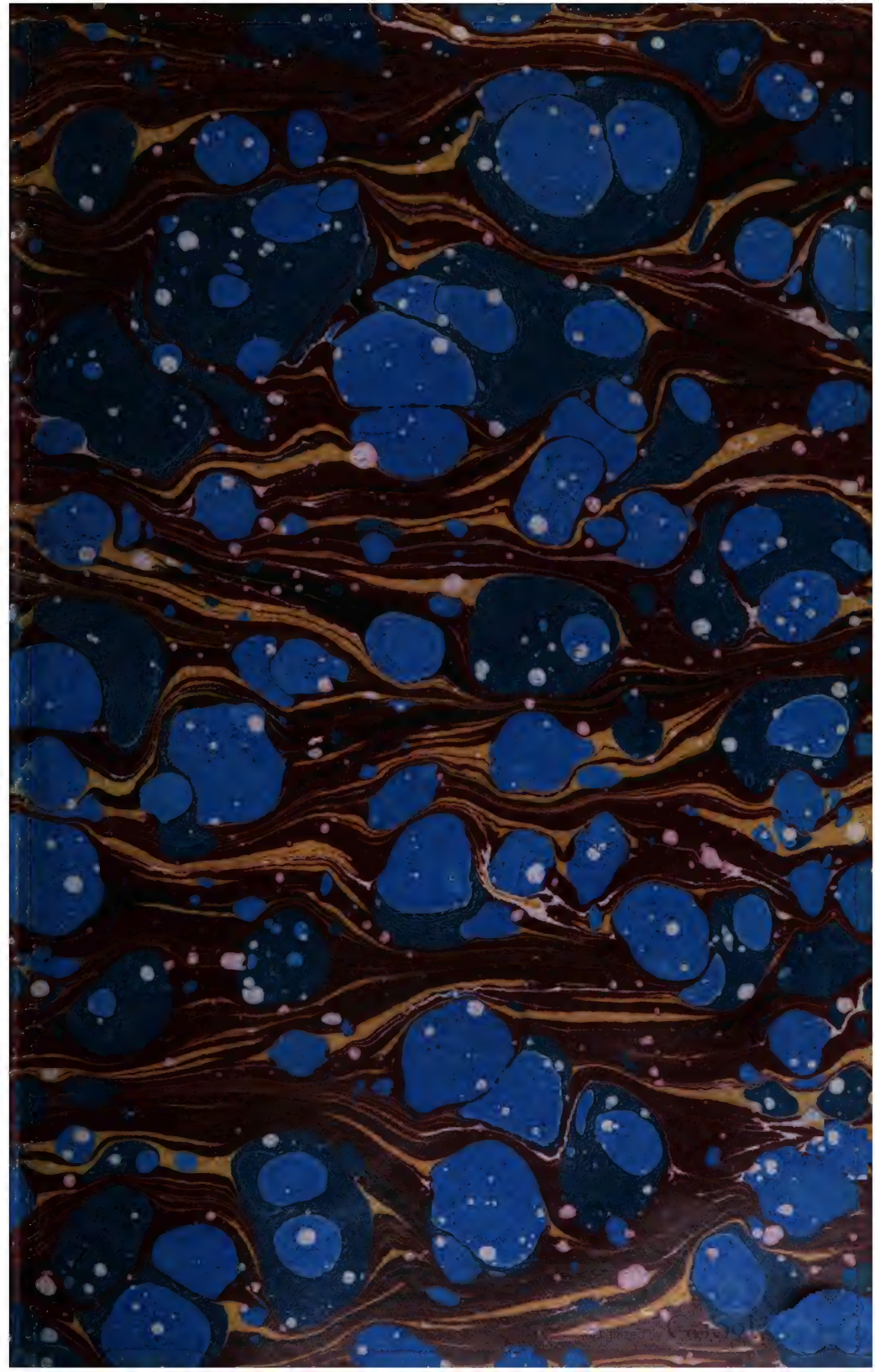
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BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

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VOL. XIV

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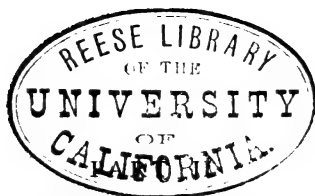
THE
SACRED LAWS OF THE ÂRYAS

AS TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOLS OF

ÂPASTAMBA, GAUTAMA, VÂSISHTHA,
AND BAUDHÂYANA

TRANSLATED BY

GEORG BÜHLER



VASISHTHA AND BAUDHÂYANA

Oxford

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INTRODUCTION

TO

VASISHTHA.

THE *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra is, like that of Gautama, the last remnant of the *Sūtras* of a Vedic school, which, as far as our knowledge goes at present, has perished, together with the greater part of its writings. We owe the preservation of its Dharma-sūtra probably to the special law schools of India, which, attracted as it would seem by its title and the legend connecting it with *Vasishtha* Maitrāvaruṇi, one of the most famous *Rishis* of the *Rig-veda* and a redoubtable champion of Brāhmanism, made it one of their standard authorities. The early existence of a legend according to which the *Vāsishtha* Dharma-sūtra was considered either to be a work composed by the *Rishi* *Vasishtha*, or at least to contain the sum of his teaching on the duty of man, is indicated by several passages of the work itself. For the Dharma-sūtra names *Vasishtha*, or appeals to his authority on no less than three occasions. First, we find a rule on lawful interest, which is emphatically ascribed to *Vasishtha*¹. 'Learn the interest for a money lender,' the *Sūtra* says, 'declared by the word of *Vasishtha*; five māshas (may be taken) for twenty (*kārshāpanas* every month).' Again, at the end of a long string of rules² which contain the observances to be kept by sinners who undergo *Krikkhra* penances, *Vasishtha*'s name is brought forward as the authority for them, and the last words are, 'Thus speaks the divine *Vasishtha*.' Finally, the concluding *Sūtra* of the whole work³ gives

¹ *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra II, 51.

² *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra XXIV, 5.

³ *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra XXX, 11. Similar invocations of teachers at the end of *Sūtras* occur frequently, e.g. *Āsvalāyana* *Srauta-sūtra* XII, 15, 14; *Rig-vidhāna* V, 3, 4; *Yāska*, *Nirukta*, Roth, p. 216.

expression to the devotion felt by the author for the *Rīshi*, 'Adoration to Vasishṭha, Satayātu, the son of Mitra and Varuṇa and of Urvasī.' The epithets used in this last passage conclusively show that the Vasishṭha after whom the Dharma-sūtra is named, is the individual who, according to the Brāhmanical tradition, is the *Rīshi* of a large portion of the seventh *Mandala* of the Rig-veda and the progenitor of the Vāsishṭha clan of Brāhmins, and who in some hymns of the Rig-veda appears as the purohita or domestic priest of king Sudās and the rival of Viśvāmitra, and in other Sūktas as a half mythical being. For the verses Rig-veda VII, 33, 11–14 trace the origin of this Vasishṭha to the two sons of Aditi, Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Apsaras Urvasī, and contain the outline of the curious, but disgusting story of his marvellous birth, which Sāyana narrates more circumstantially in the commentary on verse 11. Moreover, the word Satayātu, which in the Dharma-sūtra is used as an epithet of Vasishṭha, occurs Rig-veda VII, 18, 21 in close connexion with the *Rīshi*'s name. Sāyana explains it in his commentary on the latter passage as 'the destroyer of many demons,' or, 'he whom many demons seek to destroy,' and takes it as an epithet of the sage Parāśara, who is named together with Vasishṭha. It would, however, seem that, if the verse is construed on strictly philological principles, neither Sāyana's interpretation, nor that suggested by the Dharma-sūtra can be accepted, and that Satayātu has to be taken as a proper name¹. But, however that may be, it is not doubtful that we may safely infer from the expressions used in the last sentence of the Dharma-sūtra, that the Vasishṭha to whom the invocation is addressed and the composition of the work is ascribed, either immediately or through the medium of pupils, is the individual named in the Rig-veda. The connexion of the Dharma-sūtra with one of the *Rīshis* of the Rig-veda which is thus established, possesses a particular interest and importance, because it corroborates the statement of Govindasvāmin, the commentator of Baudhāyana, that the Institutes of Vasishṭha were

¹ See Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. satayātu.

originally studied by and authoritative for the *Bahvrikas*, the *Rigvedins* alone, and afterwards became an authority for all *Brāhmins*¹. In the introduction to *Gautama* it has been shown that a similar assertion which *Govinda* makes with regard to the *Gautama Dharma-sūtra* can be corroborated by a considerable amount of external and internal evidence. It has been pointed out that not only the fact that the spiritual pedigrees of the *Khandoga* schools enumerate several *Gautamas*, but also the partiality for texts of the *Sāma-veda*, which the *Institutes of Gautama* show on several occasions, strongly support the tradition that the *Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra* originally was the exclusive property of a school of *Sāmavedins*. In the case of the *Vāsishtā Dharmaśāstra* indications of the latter kind are, if not entirely wanting, at least very faint. The number of Vedic passages quoted is, no doubt, large; but few among them belong to the class of *Mantras* which are recited during the performance of *gr̥hya* rites, and must be taken from the particular recension of the *Veda* to which the performer belongs. Besides, the texts of this description which actually occur, do not bear the mark of a particular *Veda* or *Sākhā*. The numerous texts, on the other hand, which are quoted in support or explanation of the rules, are taken impartially from all the three ancient *Vedas*. For this reason it would be dangerous to use the references to a dozen *Rikas* in chapters XVII and XXVI, as well as to the legend of *Sunaśepa*, which is told only in works belonging to the *Rig-*

¹ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xlix, note 2. As *Govindasvāmin's* statements possess a considerable importance, I give here the whole commentary on *Baudhāyana I, 1, 2, 6*, according to my two MSS., C. I. and C. T. : ननु किमिति व्यवस्था यावता मूलश्रुतिरेषामविशेषेण कल्प्यते यथा होलिक्कादीनां यथा वा बोधायनीयं धर्मशास्त्रं कैश्चिदेव पठ्यमानं सर्वोधिकारं भवति तथा गोतमीयगोभिलीये छन्दोगैरेव पठ्यते [पठ्यते C. I.; पठ्यते C. T.] वासिष्ठं तु बह्वचैः [1] अथ च सर्वोधिकाराणि [1] यथा वा गृह्यशास्त्राणि सर्वोधिकाराणि तद्वदनुपनीतेन सह भोजनादीन्यपि समानानि [असमानि C. I.; असमानि C. T.] भवन्तीत्याशङ्क्याह ॥ तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् ॥ ६ ॥ एवं व्यवस्थितविषयैव मूलश्रुतिः । किं त्विदमनुपपत्तिं न कल्पयतीत्यभिप्रायः । तस्माद् व्यवस्थितविषयमेवानुष्ठानं तद्वर्जनं च ॥

veda, as a proof that the *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra is the work of a *Rigvedin*. Under these circumstances the three passages, mentioning *Vasishtha*'s name, and especially the last which identifies him with the *Rishi* of the *Rig-veda*, have a particularly great importance, as they are the only pieces of internal evidence which can be brought forward in favour of Govindasvāmin's valuable statement. But the latter is, even without any further corroboration, credible enough, because no reason is apparent why Govinda should have invented such a story, and because his assertion fully agrees with the well-established facts known about the other existing Dharma-sūtras, which all were composed not for the benefit of the *Āryans* in general, but in order to regulate the conduct of particular sections of the Brāhmanical community.

There is, however, one point in Govindasvāmin's statement which requires further elucidation. He says that the *Bahvrikas*, i.e. the *Rigvedins* in general, formerly studied the *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra. It might, therefore, be inferred that the work possessed equal authority among the *Āsvalāyanīyas*, the *Sāṅkhāyanīyas*, the *Māṇḍūkāyanas*, and all the other schools of the *Rig-veda*, and that it belonged to the most ancient heirlooms of its adherents. That is, however, improbable for several reasons. For, first, neither the *Āsvalāyanīyas* nor the *Sāṅkhāyanīyas* of the present day study or attach any special importance to the *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra. Secondly, if the *Vāsishtha* Dharmaśāstra had ever been the common authority on Dharma in all the different schools of the *Rig-veda*, it would be necessary to ascribe to it an antiquity which it clearly does not possess. All Sūtras were originally composed for a single school only. Where we find that the same Sūtra is adopted by several *Karanas*, as is the case with the Dharma-sūtra, which both the *Āpastambīyas* and the *Hairanyakesas* study, and with the *Kayana-sūtra*, which the *Bhāradvāgas* and the *Hairanyakesas* have in common, it is evident that the later school did not care to compose a treatise of its own on a certain subject, but preferred to take over the composition of an earlier teacher. If, now, a Sūtra on a certain

subject were acknowledged by all the schools of one Veda, it would follow that it must belong to the most ancient books of that Veda, and must have been adopted successively by all its later schools. In such a case the Sûtra must certainly show signs of its great antiquity. But if we look for the latter in the *Vâsishṭha* Dharma-sûtra, the trouble will be in vain. Though that work contains a good deal that is archaic, yet, as will be shown presently, its numerous quotations from Vedic writings and older Dharma-sûtras clearly prove that it does not belong to the oldest productions of its class, but takes even among the still existing Institutes of the Sacred Law only a secondary rank. Under these circumstances the correct interpretation of Govindasvâmin's words will be, that according to the Brâhmanical tradition, known to him, some school of *Rîgvedins*, the name of which he did not know, or did not care to give, originally possessed the *Vâsishṭha* Dharma-sâstra as its exclusive property, and that the work later, through the action of the special law schools, acquired general authority for all Brâhmins. It is a pity that no authentic information regarding the name of that school of *Rîgvedins* has been handed down. But, considering the fact that Vedic schools are frequently named after Vedic *Rîshis*, it seems not improbable that it was called after the *Vasishṭha* whose authority the Dharma-sûtra invokes, and that we may assume the former existence of a *Vâsishṭha* school, a *Sûtra-karana*, of the *Rig-veda*¹, founded perhaps by a teacher of the *Vâsishṭha* gotra. This conjecture, which, it must be confessed, is not supported by any corroborative evidence from the Brâhmanical tradition, will explain why the title-pages of this and of the first part speak of a school of *Vâsishṭha*.

The position of the *Vâsishṭha* Dharma-sûtra in Vedic literature can be defined, to a certain extent, by an analysis

¹ A school of *Vâsishṭhas*, belonging to the *Sâma-veda*, certainly existed in ancient times. I have formerly put forward a conjecture that the *Vâsishṭha* Dharma-sâstra might belong to that school (*Digest of Hindu Law Cases*, p. xxii, first edition). But Govindasvâmin's explicit statement makes it evident that it has to be abandoned.

of its numerous quotations from the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and the older *Sūtras*. By this means it will become evident that the work belongs to a period when the chief schools of the three ancient Vedas had been formed and some of the still existing *Dharma-sūtras* had been composed. Faint indications will be found which make it probable that the home of the school to which it belonged, lay in the northern half of India, north of the Narmadā and of the Vindhya. As regards the quotations from the *Sruti*, the revealed texts of the Hindus, they are chiefly taken from the *Rig-veda* and from three recensions of the *Yagur-veda*. Passages from the *Rig-veda-samhitā* are quoted IV, 21; XVII, 3-4; and XXVI, 5-7. With respect to the quotations in the latter chapter it must, however, be noted that its genuineness is, as will be shown in the sequel, not above suspicion. A *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Rig-veda* seems to be referred to in XVII, 2, 32, 35. But the extracts, given there, agree only in part with the text of the *Aitareya*, and it is probable that they are taken from some lost composition of the same class. A curious *Sūtra*, II, 35, shows a great resemblance to the explanations of Vedic passages given by *Yāska* in the *Nirukta*¹. The passage points either to a connexion of the author with the school of the *Nairuktas* or, at least, to an acquaintance with its principles. Among the schools of the *Yagur-veda*, that of the *Kāthas* is twice referred to by name, XII, 29; XXX, 5. But Professor Weber, who kindly looked for the quotations in the Berlin MS. of the *Kāthaka*, has not been able to find them. A third passage, I, 37, said to be taken from the *Kāturmāsyas*, i.e. the portion of a *Samhitā* which treats of the *Kāturmāsyas* sacrifices, actually occurs in the *Kāthaka*. But, as it is likewise found in the *Kāturmāsyas-kāṇḍa* of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas*, it must remain uncertain from which of the two recensions of the Black *Yagur-veda* it has been quoted. The chapter on the duties of women, vers. 6-8, contains a

¹ This resemblance has not escaped *Krishnapandita*, who says in his commentary, निरुक्तमप्यस्य मन्त्रस्य दर्शयति ॥ लान्नलमितादि ॥ श्रुत्यनुक्तमपि निरुक्तकृतसंगृह्णाति ॥

long quotation which, in spite of some small discrepancies, seems to have been taken from the Taittirīya-saṃhitā of the Black Yagur-veda. Passages of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka are quoted or referred to X, 35 and XXIII, 23. The White Yagur-veda is mentioned several times as the Vāgasaneyi-sākhā or the Vāgasaneyaka. The former expression occurs III, 19 and XXIII, 13. The quotations, marked as taken from the Vāgasaneyaka, XII, 31, XIV, 46 are found in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, and another passage of the same work is quoted I, 45, without a specification of the source. A very clear proof that the author of the Dharma-sūtra knew the Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā is furnished by the Mantra, given II, 34. The text, quoted there, occurs in three different Sākhās, that of the Vāgasaneyins, that of the Taittirīyas and the Atharva-veda, and in each shows a few variae lectiones. Its wording in the Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā literally agrees with the version, given in the Sūtra. The Sāma-veda is referred to III, 19, and particular Sāmāns are mentioned in the borrowed chapter XXII, 9. A passage from the Nidāna, probably a work on Stomas and metres, which belonged to the Bhāllavins, an ancient school of Sāmavedins, occurs I, 14-16. An Upaniṣad, connected with the Atharva-veda, the Atharvasīras, is mentioned in the borrowed chapter XXII, 9, and the existence of the Atharva-veda is pre-supposed, also, by 'the vows called Siras,' which are alluded to in the suspicious chapter XXVI, 11, and are said to be peculiar to the Atharvavedins¹. The chapters, which are undoubtedly genuine, contain no allusion to the fourth Veda.

As regards the older works on Dharma, the author of the Institutes of Vasishṭha certainly knew and used a treatise, attributed to Yama, the Dharma-sūtras of Manu, Hārīta and Gautama, and perhaps that of Baudhāyana. With respect to two verses, which, as the Sūtra says, were proclaimed by Pragāpati, XIV, 24, 30, it is somewhat doubtful, if it is meant that they have been taken from a work, attributed to Pragāpati, or that they are merely utterances, supposed to have been made by that deity for the benefit

¹ See Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra II, 8, 14, 2, note.

of mankind. The latter view seems, however, the more likely one, as it is customary in the *Smṛitis* to ascribe the revelation of social institutions, ceremonies, and penances to Pragâpati, who, in the older works, occupies much the same position as Brahmâ, the creator, in the later religious systems. It is not impossible that some of the references to Yama, e. g. XI, 20, have to be explained in the same manner. But other passages, attributed to Yama, e. g. XVIII, 13-16, seem to have been taken from a work which was considered the production of the Dharmarâga. Of course, none of the *Yamasmṛitis*, which exist in the present day, can be meant. The quotations from Manu are numerous¹. They have all been taken from a book attributed to a Manu, and possess a very high interest for the history of the present metrical *Manusmṛiti*. For the prose passage from the *Mânava*, given IV, 5, furnishes the proof that the author of the *Vâsishtha Dharmasâstra* quotes from a *Dharma-sûtra* attributed to a Manu, while other quotations show that the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* contained, also, verses, some of which, e. g. XIX, 37, were *Trishubhs*, and that a large proportion of these verses has been embodied in *Bhṛigu's* version of the *Manusmṛiti*. Fifteen years ago² I first called attention to *Vasishtha's* prose quotation from the *Mânava*, and pointed out that, if the MSS. of the *Vâsishtha Dharmasâstra* were to be trusted, a small piece of the lost *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*, on which the present *Manusmṛiti* is based, had been found. The incorrectness and the defective state of the materials which I then had at my disposal did not allow me to go further. Since that time several, comparatively speaking, good MSS. of the Institutes of *Vasishtha* and many inferior ones have been found, and all, at least all those which I have examined, give the quotation in prose exactly in the same form. The fact that *Vasishtha* gives, in IV, 5, a prose quotation from Manu may, therefore, be considered as certain³. Moreover several of the best MSS.

¹ They occur *Vâsishtha Dharmasâstra* I, 17; III, 2; IV, 5-8; XI, 23; XII, 16; XIII, 16; XIX, 37; XX, 18; XXIII, 43; XXVI, 8.

² Digest of Hindu Law Cases, p. xxxi, note, first edition.

³ Such, I suppose, will be the opinion of all European scholars. Those Hindus

show, by adding the particle 'iti' at the end of Sûtra 8, that the quotation from the Mânava is not finished with Sûtra 5, but includes the two verses given in Sûtras 6 and 7 and the second prose passage in Sûtra 8. Among the verses the first is found entire in the metrical Manusmṛiti, and the second has likewise a representative in that work, though its concluding portion has been altered in such a manner that the permission to slaughter animals at sacrifices has been converted into an absolute prohibition to take animal life. Sûtra 8, which again is in prose, has no counterpart in the metrical Manusmṛiti, as might be expected from its allowing 'a full-grown ox' or 'a full-grown he-goat' to be killed in honour of a distinguished Brâhmana or Kshatriya guest. A closely corresponding passage is found in the Satapatha-brâhmana, and a verse expressing the same opinion in the Yâgñavalkya Smṛiti, the versification of a Dharma-sûtra of the White Yagur-veda. As the last part of the quotation resembles the text of the Brâhmana and its language is very archaic, it is quite possible that, though belonging to the passage from the Mânava-sûtra, it contains a Vedic text, taken from some hitherto unknown Brâhmana which Manu adduced in support of his opinion. On this supposition the arrangement of the whole quotation would be as follows. Sûtra 5 would give the original rule of the author of the Mânava in an aphoristic form; Sûtras 6-7 would repeat the same opinion in verse, the latter being probably Slokas current among the Brâhmanical community; and Sûtra 8 would give the Vedic authority for the preceding sentences. This arrangement would be in strict conformity with the plan usually followed by the authors of Dharma-sûtras. But whether Sûtra 8 contains a second original aphorism of the Mânava Dharma-sûtra or a Vedic passage, it seems indisputable that the author of the Vâsishtha Dharma-sûtra knew a treatise attributed to a teacher called Manu, which, like all other Dharma-sûtras, was partly written in apho-

who allow their religious convictions to get the better of their reason, will perhaps prefer *Krishnapandita's* ingenious, but unsound explanation of the words *iti mânavam*, by *iti manumatam*, 'such is the opinion of Manu.'

ristic prose and partly in verse. The passage furnishes, therefore, the proof for Professor Max Müller's conjecture that our metrical Manusmṛiti, like all the older works of the same class, is based on the Dharma-sûtra of a Vedic Sûtra-karana. In connexion with this subject it may be mentioned that the Institutes of Vasishṭha contain, besides the above-mentioned passages, no less than thirty-nine verses¹, which are not marked as quotations, but occur in Bhrigu's metrical Manusamhitâ. Some of them present more or less important variae lectiones. Moreover, there are four verses which, though Vasishṭha attributes them to Hârîta and Yama², are included in our Manusmṛiti and treated as utterances of the father of mankind. The bearing of both these facts on the history of the Manusmṛiti is obvious. But the frequency of the references to or quotations from Manu which Vasishṭha makes, teaches another important lesson. Like the fact that Manu is the only individual author to whom Gautama refers³, it shows that in ancient times Manu's name had as great a charm for the Brâhman teachers as it has for those of the present day, and that the old Mânava Dharma-sûtra was one of the leading works on the subject, or, perhaps, even held that dominant position which the metrical Manusmṛiti actually occupied in the Middle Ages and theoretically occupies in our days. It is interesting to observe that precisely the same inference can be drawn from the early Sanskrit inscriptions. If these speak of individual authors of Smṛitis, they invariably place Manu's name first⁴.

Vasishṭha gives only one quotation from Hârîta, II, 6. Hârîta was one of the ancient Sûtrakâras of the Black Yagur-veda, who is known also to Baudhâyana. From a passage which Krishnapandita quotes in elucidation of

¹ Vâsishṭha Dharmasâstra I, 22; II, 3, 10, 27, 48; III, 5, 11, 60; V, 2; VI, 6, 8, 11, 13, 19; VIII, 7, 15; X, 21-22; XI, 27-28, 32, 35; XIII, 48; XIV, 13, 16, 18; XVI, 18, 33-34; XVII, 5, 8; XVIII, 14, 15; XIX, 48; XX, 18; XXV, 4-5, 7; XXVII, 3.

² Vâsishṭha Dharmasâstra II, 6; XVIII, 14-15; XIX, 48.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. lvii.

⁴ See e.g. the grant of Dhruvasena I, dated Samvat, i.e. Guptasamvat 207, Pl. i, l. 7; Ind. Ant., vol. iv, p. 105.

Vasishtha XXIV, 6, I conclude that Hârîta was a Maitrâyaṇīya¹. The relation of the Vâsishtha Dharma-sûtra to Gautama and Baudhâyaṇa has already been discussed in the introduction to the translation of the former work². To the remarks on its connexion with Baudhâyaṇa it must be added that the third Prasna of the Baudhâyaṇa Dharma-sûtra, from which Vasishtha's twenty-second chapter seems to have been borrowed, perhaps does not belong to the original work, but is a later, though presumably a very ancient, addition to the composition of the founder of the Baudhâyaṇa school. The reasons for this opinion will be given below. If Baudhâyaṇa's third Prasna is not genuine, but has been added by a later teacher of that school, the interval between Baudhâyaṇa and the author of the Vâsishtha Dharma-sâstra must be a very considerable one. I have, however, to point out that the inference regarding the priority of Baudhâyaṇa to Vasishtha is permissible only on the supposition that Vasishtha's twenty-second chapter is not a later addition to the latter work, and that, though it is found in all our MSS., this fact is not sufficient to silence all doubts which might be raised with respect to its genuineness; for we shall see presently that other chapters in the section on penances have been tampered with by a later hand. It will, therefore, be advisable not to insist too strongly on the certainty of the conclusion that Vasishtha knew and used Baudhâyaṇa's work.

In the introduction to his translation of the Vishnusmṛiti³, Professor Jolly has pointed out two passages of Vasishtha which, as he thinks, have been borrowed from Vishnu, and prove the posteriority of the Vâsishtha Dharma-sâstra, if not to the Vishnusmṛiti, at least to its original, the Kâthaka Dharma-sûtra. He contends that the passage Vasishtha XXVIII, 10-15 is a versification of the Sûtras of Vishnu LVI, which, besides being clumsy, shows a number of

¹ He says: तथा च हारीतः। तदेतद्वाक्यः पुत्राय [°] नो नापुत्राय [°] नाशिष्याय नासमाप्तिकाय नासंवत्सरोषिताय नाविदितकुलशीलाचाराय दद्यादित्याह भगवानयोनिजो रश्मिसंभवो मित्पुत्रो [°] मैत्रायणिरिति ॥

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, pp. liii-lv.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. vii, p. xviii.

corruptions and grammatical mistakes, and that *Vasishṭha* XXVIII, 18–22 has been borrowed from *Vishṇu* LXXXVII. Professor Jolly's assertion regarding the second passage involves, however, a little mistake. For the first two Slokas, *Vasishṭha* XXVIII, 18–19, describe not the gift of the skin of a black antelope, which is mentioned in the first six Sūtras of *Vishṇu* LXXXVII, but the rite of feeding Brāhmins with honey and sesamum grains, which occurs *Vishṇu* XC, 10. The three verses, *Vasishṭha* XXVIII, 20–22, on the other hand, really are the same as those given by *Vishṇu* LXXXVII, 8–10. It is, however, expressly stated in the *Vishṇusmṛiti* that they contain a quotation, and are not the original composition of the author of the Dharma-sūtra. Hence no inference can be drawn from the recurrence of the same stanzas in the *Vāsisṭha* Dharma-sūtra. As regards the other passage, *Vasishṭha* XXVIII, 10–15, Professor Jolly is quite right in saying that it is a clumsy versification of *Vishṇu*'s Sūtras, and it is not at all improbable that *Vasishṭha*'s verses may have been immediately derived from the *Kāthaka*. The further inference as to the priority of the ancient *Kāthaka*-sūtra to *Vasishṭha*, which Professor Jolly draws from the comparison of the two passages, would also be unimpeachable, if the genuineness of *Vasishṭha*'s twenty-eighth chapter were certain. But that is unfortunately not the case. Not only that chapter, but the preceding ones, XXV–XXVII, in fact the whole section on secret penances, are, in my opinion, not only suspicious, but certainly betray the hand of a later restorer and corrector. Everybody who carefully reads the Sanskrit text of the Dharma-sūtra will be struck by the change of the style and the difference in the language which the four chapters on secret penances show, as compared with the preceding and following sections. Throughout the whole of the first twenty-four chapters and in the last two chapters we find a mixture of prose and verse. With one exception in the sixth chapter, where thirty-one verses form the beginning of the section on the rule of conduct, the author follows always one and the same plan in arranging his materials. His own rules are given first in the form of aphorisms, and after

these follow the authorities for his doctrines, which consist either of Vedic passages or of verses, the latter being partly quotations taken from individual authors or works, partly specimens of the versified maxims current among the Brāhmins, and sometimes memorial verses composed by the author himself. But chapters XXV–XXVIII contain not a single Sūtra. They are made up entirely of Anushūbh Slokas, and the phrases¹ ‘I will now declare,’ ‘Listen to my words,’ which are so characteristic of the style of the later metrical Smṛitis and of the Purāṇas, occur more frequently than is absolutely necessary. Again, in the first twenty-four and the last two chapters the language is archaic Sanskrit, interspersed here and there with Vedic anomalous forms. But in the four chapters on secret penances we have the common Sanskrit of the metrical Smṛitis and Purāṇas, with its incorrect forms, adopted in order to fit inconvenient words into the metre. Nor is this all. The contents of a portion of this suspicious section are merely useless repetitions of matters dealt with already in the preceding chapters, while some verses contain fragmentary rules on a subject which is treated more fully further on. Thus the description of the *Krikkhṛa* and *Kāndrāyana* penances, which has been given XXI, 20 and XXIV, 45, is repeated XXVII, 16, 21. Further, the enumeration of the purificatory texts XXVIII, 10–15 is merely an enlargement of XXII, 9. Finally, the verses XXVIII, 16–22 contain detached rules on gifts, and in the next chapter, XXIX, the subject is begun once more and treated at considerable length. Though it would be unwise to assume that all genuine productions of the old Sūtrakāras must, throughout, show regularity and consistency, the differences between the four chapters and the remainder of the work, just pointed out, are, it seems to me, sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they do not belong to the author of the Institutes. Under these circumstances it might be assumed that the whole section is simply an interpolation. But that would be going too far. For, as other Dharma-sūtras show, one or even several chapters on secret penances belonged to such works.

¹ See XXV, 1; XXVII, 10; XXVIII, 10, 20.

Moreover, in the section on women, *Vasishṭha* V, 3-4, the author makes a cross-reference to the *rahasyas*, the section on secret penances, and quotes by anticipation half a Sloka which is actually found in chapter XXVIII. The inference to be drawn from these facts is, that the section on secret penances is not simply a later addition intended to supply an omission of the first writer, but that, for some reason or other, it has been remodelled. The answer to the question why this was done is suggested, it seems to me, partly by the state of the MSS. of the *Vāsishṭha* Dharmasāstra, and partly by the facts connected with the treatment of ancient works by the *Pandīts*, which my examination of the libraries of Northern India has brought to light¹. MSS. of the *Vāsishṭha* Dharmasāstra are very rare, and among those found only three are complete. Some stop with chapter X, others with chapter XXI, and a few in the middle of the thirtieth Adhyāya. Moreover, most of them are very corrupt, and even the best exhibit some *Sūtras* which are hopeless. These circumstances show clearly that after the extinction of the Vedic school, with which the work originated, the *Sūtra* was for some time neglected, and existed in a few copies only, perhaps even in a single MS. The materials on which the ancient Hindus wrote, the birch bark and the palm leaves, are so frail that especially the first and last leaves of a *Pothī* are easily lost or badly damaged. Instances of this kind are common enough in the *Gaina* and *Kasmīr* libraries, where the beginning and still more frequently the end of many works have been irretrievably lost. The fate of the *Vāsishṭha* Dharmasāstra, it would seem, has been similar. The facts related above make it probable that the MS. or MSS. which came into the hands of the *Pandīts* of the special law schools, who revived the study of the work, was defective. Pieces of the last leaves which remained, probably showed the extent of the damage done, and the *Pandīts* set to work at the restoration of the lost portions, just as the *Kasmīrian* *Sāhebrām* *Pandīt* restored the *Nīlamata-purāna* for *Mahārāga Ranavīrasimha*. They,

¹ See Report on a Tour in *Kasmīr*, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xii, p. 33.

of course, used the verses which they still found on the fragments, and cleverly supplied the remainder from their knowledge of Manu and other *Smṛitis*, of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. This theory, I think, explains all the difficulties which the present state of the section on secret penances raises. Perhaps it may be used also to account for some incongruities observable in chapter XXX. The last two verses, XXX, 9-10, are common-places which are frequently quoted in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃsa*, the *Pañkatantra*, and modern anthologies. With their baldness of expression and sentiment they present a strong contrast to the preceding solemn passages from the *Veda*, and look very much like an unlucky attempt at filling up a break at the end of the MS. In connexion with this subject it ought, however, to be mentioned that this restoration of the last part of the *Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra* must have happened in early times, at least more than a thousand years ago. For the oldest commentators and compilers of digests on law, such as *Vigñāneśvara*¹, who lived at the end of the eleventh century A. D., quote passages from the section on secret penances as the genuine utterances of *Vasishṭha*. These details will suffice to show why I differ from Professor Jolly with respect to his conclusion from the agreement of the verses of *Vasishṭha* XXVIII, 10-15 with the *Sūtras* of *Vishṇu* LVI.

With the exception of the quotations, the *Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra* contains no data which could be used either to define its relative position in Sanskrit literature or to connect it with the historical period of India. The occurrence of the word *Romaka*, XVIII, 4, in some MSS., as the name of a degraded caste of mixed origin, proves nothing, as other MSS. read *Rāmaka*, and tribes called *Rāma* and *Rāmatha* are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. It would be wrong to assert on such evidence that the *Sūtra* belonged to the time when the Romans, or rather the Byzantines (*Rōmaioi*), had political relations with India. Nor will it be advisable to adduce the fact that *Vasishṭha*

¹ Thus *Vasishṭha* XXVIII, 7 is quoted in the *Mitāksharā* on *Yāgñavalkya* III, 298; XXVIII, 10-15 on *Yāgñavalkya* III, 309; and XXVIII, 18-19, 22 on *Yāgñavalkya* III, 310.

XVI, 10, 14, 15 mentions written documents as a means of legal proof, in order to establish the 'comparatively late' date of the Sûtra. For though the other Dharma-sûtras do not give any hint that the art of writing was known or in common use in their times, still the state of society which they describe is so advanced that people could not have got on without writing, and the proofs for the antiquity of the Indian alphabets are now much stronger than they were even a short time ago. The silence of Âpastamba and the other Sûtrakâras regarding written documents is probably due to their strict adherence to a general principle underlying the composition of the Dharma-sûtras. Those points only fall primarily within the scope of the Dharma-sûtras which have some immediate, close connexion with the Dharma, the acquisition of spiritual merit. Hence it sufficed for them to give some general maxims for the fulfilment of the *gunadharmas* of kings, the impartial administration of justice, and to give fuller rules regarding the half-religious ceremony of the swearing in and the examination of witnesses. Judicial technicalities, like the determination of the legal value of written documents, had less importance in their eyes, and were left either to the *desakâra*, the custom of the country, or to the *Niti* and *Artha-sâstras*, the Institutes of Polity and of the Arts of common life. It would, also, be easy to rebut attempts at assigning the Vâsishtha Dharma-sûtra to what is usually 'a comparatively late period' by other pieces of so-called internal evidence tending to show that it is an ancient work. Some of the doctrines of the Sûtra undoubtedly belong to an ancient order of ideas. This is particularly observable in the rules regarding the subsidiary sons, which place the offspring even of illicit unions in the class of heirs and members of the family, while adopted sons are relegated to the division of members of the family excluded from inheritance. The same remark applies to the exclusion of all females, with the exception of putrikâs or appointed daughters, from the succession to the property of males, to the permission to re-marry infant widows, and to the law of the *Niyoga* or the appointment of adult



widows, which Vasiṣṭha allows without hesitation, and even extends to the wives of emigrants. But as most of these opinions occur also in some of the decidedly later metrical Smṛitis, and disputes on these subjects seem to have existed among the various Brāhmanical schools down to a late period, it would be hazardous to use them as arguments for the antiquity of the Sūtra.

The following points bear on the question where the original home of the Vedic school, which produced the Dharma-sūtra, was situated. First, the author declares India north of the Vindhya, and especially those portions now included in the North-western Provinces, to be the country where holy men and pure customs are to be found, I, 8-16. Secondly, he shows a predilection for those redactions of the Veda and those Sūtras which belong to the northern half of India, viz. for the Kāthaka, the Vāgasaneyi-sākhā, and the Sūtras of Manu and Hārīta. Faint as these indications are, I think, they permit us to conclude that the Sūtra belongs to a *Karana* settled in the north.

As regards the materials on which the subjoined translation is based, I have chiefly relied on the Benares edition of the text, with the commentary of *Kṛishnapandita* Dharmādhikārī, and on a rough edition with the *varietas lectionum* from the two MSS. of the Bombay Government Collection of 1874-75¹, B. no. 29 and Bh. no. 30, a MS. of the Elphinstone College Collection of 1867-68, E. no. 23 of Class VI, and an imperfect apograph F. in my own collection, which was made in 1864 at Bombay. The rough edition was prepared under my superintendence by Vāmanākārya Ghalkikar, now teacher of Sanskrit in the Dekhan College, Pune. When I wrote the translation, the Bombay Government MSS. were not accessible to me. I could only use my own MS. and, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Rost, Colebrooke's MS., I. O. no. 913, from which the now worthless Calcutta editions have been derived either immediately or mediately. These materials belong to two groups. The Bombay MS. B., which comes from Benares, closely agrees with *Kṛishnapandita*'s text; and E., though

¹ See Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1874-75, p. 11.

purchased at Puna, does not differ much from the two. Bh., which comes from Bhuj in *Kakh*, and my own MS. F. form a second group, towards which Colebrooke's MS., I. O. no. 913, also leans. Ultimately both groups are derived from one codex archetypus.

The first group of MSS. gives a fuller and in general a correcter text than the second. But it seems to me that the text of B., and still more *Krishnapandita's*, has in many places been conjecturally restored, and that the real difficulties have been rather veiled than solved. I have, therefore, frequently preferred the readings offered by the second group, or based on them my conjectural emendations, which have all been given in the notes. To give a translation without having recourse to conjectural emendations was impossible, as a European philologist is unable to avail himself of those wonderful tricks of interpretation which permit an Indian *Pandit* to extract some kind of meaning from the most desperate passages. In a few cases, where even the best MSS. contain nothing but a conglomerate of meaningless syllables or unconnected words, I have thought it advisable to refrain from all attempts at a restoration of the text, and at a translation. A critical edition of the *Vāsishtā Dharmaśāstra* is very desirable, and I trust that Dr. A. Führer, of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, will soon supply this want. *Krishnapandita's* commentary, for which he had not the aid of older *vr̥ttis*, shows considerable learning, and has been of great value to me. I have followed him mostly in the division of the *Sūtras*, and have frequently given his opinions in the notes, both in cases where I agree with him and in those where I differ from him, but think his opinion worthy of consideration.

In conclusion, I have to thank Professors R. von Roth, Weber, and Jolly, as well as Dr. L. von Schröder, for the verification of a number of Vedic quotations, which they kindly undertook for me, as I was unable to use my own books of reference during the translation of the work.

INTRODUCTION

TO

BAUDHÂYANA.

THE case of the Baudhâyana Dharma-sûtra is in many respects analogous to that of the Institutes of the Sacred Law, current in the schools of Âpastamba and Hiranyakesin. Like the latter, it is the work of a teacher of the Black Yagur-veda, who composed manuals on all the various subdivisions of the Kalpa, and founded a Sûtra-karana, which is said to exist to the present day¹. The Brâhmanical tradition, too, acknowledges these facts, and, instead of surrounding Baudhâyana's work with a halo of myths, simply states that it was originally studied by and authoritative for the followers of the Taittirîya-veda alone, and later only became one of the sources of the Sacred Law for all Brâhmans². Moreover, the position of Baudhâyana among the teachers of the Yagur-veda is well defined, and his home, or at least the home of his school, is known. But here the resemblance stops. For while the Sûtras of Âpastamba and Hiranyakesin have been preserved in carefully and methodically arranged collections, where a certain place is assigned to each section of the Kalpa, no complete set of the Sûtras of Baudhâyana's school has, as yet, been found, and the original position of the detached portions which are obtainable is not quite certain. Again, while the works of Âpastamba and Hiranyakesin seem to have been kept free from extensive interpolations, several parts of

¹ I must here state that during my residence in India I have never met with a follower of Baudhâyana's school, and cannot personally vouch for its existence. But many Pandits have assured me that many Baudhâyantyas are to be found among the Telingana and Karnâṭaka Brâhmans.

² See Govinda's statement, quoted above, p. xiii.

Baudhāyana's Sūtras have clearly received considerable additions from later hands.

According to the researches of Dr. A. Burnell¹, whose long residence in Southern India and intimate acquaintance with its Brāhmanical libraries have made him the first authority on the literature of the schools of the Taittirīya-veda, the Sūtras of Baudhāyana consist of six sections, viz. 1. the Srauta-sūtras, probably in nineteen Prasnas; 2. The Karmānta-sūtra in twenty Adhyāyas; 3. The Dvaidha-sūtra in four Prasnas; 4. The Grīhya-sūtra in four Prasnas; 5. The Dharma-sūtra in four Prasnas; 6. The Sulva-sūtra in three Adhyāyas. The results of the search for Sanskrit MSS. in other parts of India, and especially in Western India, do not differ materially from those obtained by Dr. Burnell. The Grīhya-sūtra, which in Western India occasionally bears the title Smārta-sūtra², contains, however, nine instead of four Prasnas. The MSS. of the Baudhāyana-sūtras, which contain the text alone, are all incomplete, mostly very corrupt and in bad order, and rarely give more than a small number of Prasnas on detached subjects. The copies in which the text is accompanied by a commentary are in a better condition. Thus the Kalpavivarana of Bhavasvāmin³ extends over the whole of the Srauta-sūtra, and over the Karmānta and the Dvaidha-sūtras. It shows the proper sequence of the Prasnas on Srauta sacrifices, and that probably the Karmānta and the Dvaidha immediately followed the Srauta-sūtra. But there is no hint in the MSS. or in the commentaries how the Grīhya, Dharma, and Sulva-sūtras were originally placed. With respect to these sections, it is only possible to judge from the analogy of the other extant sets of Kalpa-sūtras

¹ See Burnell, Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MS., pp. 24-26, 28, 34-35, and Tanjore Catalogue, pp. 18a-20b, and especially his remarks at pp. 18b and 20a.

² This title is found in the best copy known to me, Elphinstone College Collection of 1867-68, Class B. I, no. 5, which has been prepared from the MS. of Mr. Limaye at Ash'te. The other copies of the work, found in Western India, e. g. no. 4 of the same collection and my own copy, are in a bad state, as they are derived from a MS. the leaves of which were out of order.

³ Burnell, Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS., no. LXXXVIII, and Tanjore Catalogue, no. CXVII.

and from internal evidence. On these grounds it may be shown that the order, adopted by Dr. Burnell, is probably the correct one. For the beginning of the *Gṛīhya-sūtra*¹ shows by its wording that it was not a separate treatise, but was immediately connected with some preceding *Prasna*. The analogy of the collections of the *Āpastambīyas*, the *Hairanyakesas*, the *Kāthas*, and other schools permits us to infer that it stood after the *Srauta-sūtra*. It is further clear that, in its turn, it was succeeded by the *Dharma-sūtra*. For two passages of the latter work, I, 2, 3, 15, and II, 8, 15, 9, clearly contain references to the *Gṛīhya-sūtra*. In the former, the author gives the rule regarding the length of the staff to be carried by a student, as well as the general principle that the staff must be cut from a tree fit for sacrificial purposes. With respect to the latter clause he adds that 'the details have been given above.' As the *Dharma-sūtra* contains nothing more on this subject, it follows that the expression 'above' must refer to *Gṛīhya-sūtra* II, 7, where the usual detailed rules regarding the employment of particular woods for the several *varṇas* are given. In the second passage *Baudhāyana* says that the rules for the performance of funeral sacrifices have been fully explained in the section on the *Ashṭakāhoma*, which occurs *Gṛīhya-sūtra* II, 17-18. It is, therefore, perfectly certain that *Baudhāyana*, just like *Āpastamba*, placed the *Prasnas* on the Sacred Law after those on the domestic ceremonies, and that the *Dharma-sūtra* was not a separate work. Under these circumstances it becomes highly probable that the *Sulva-sūtra* formed, as is the case in other sets of *Kalpa-sūtras*, the conclusion of the whole. Thus the only treatise, whose position remains doubtful, is the *Pravarakhanda*, the list of the *Brāhmanical* gotras and of their deified ancestors². Possibly it may have stood at the end of the *Srauta-sūtra*.

¹ According to the Elph. Coll. MS., Cl. I, B. 5, and my copy, it runs thus:
यथो यतद्धुतः प्रहुत आहुतः शूलगवो बलिहरणं प्रत्यवरोहणमष्टकाहोम इति
सप्त पाकयज्ञसंस्था इति ॥१॥ ता अनुव्याख्यास्यामः ॥२॥

² Burnell, Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS., no. CXVIII.

The destruction of the continuity of Baudhāyana's Kalpa-sūtra has had the consequence which is commonly observable in other dismembered works, that several of its detached portions have received considerable additions from later and, as it would seem, from several hands. There can be no doubt that a small portion only of the nine Prasnas, found in the Western copies of the *Gṛihya-sūtra*, really belongs to Baudhāyana. For the description of the *Gṛihya* rites, which strictly follows the general plan laid down in the first Sūtra, is completed in two or three Prasnas¹. Next follows a Prasna on the *anukṛitis*, rites resembling those comprised in the subdivisions treated before, and then a Prasna on *prāyaścittas*, or expiations of mistakes committed during, and of the neglect of, the performance of the *Gṛihya-karmāṇi*. The remaining Prasnas are filled with a medley of *paribhāṣās*, general rules, and of full descriptions of ceremonies, some of which have been given before, while others are added afresh. Many of the newly-added rites do not belong to the ancient Brāhmanical worship, but to the Paurāṇic religions, the service of Siva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, and other deities, and some show an admixture of Tāntric elements. In some of the later Prasnas, especially IV and V, the language closely resembles that of the first three, and shows the same stereotyped phrases and the same Vedic anomalous forms. But in other sections, particularly VI–IX, we find, instead of Sūtras, the common Anuṣṭubh Sloka throughout, and expressions peculiar to the metrical *Smṛitis* and the *Purāṇas*. At the end of most Adhyāyas we read the phrase, *ity āha Baudhāyanaḥ*, or *bhagavān Baudhāyanaḥ*, 'thus speaks Baudhāyana, or the divine Baudhāyana.' Finally, while the first three Prasnas are divided into *Kandikās* or *Khandas*, the following ones consist of Adhyāyas or chapters. These differences, as well as the fact that the most important *Gṛihya* rites, arranged according to a special plan, are done with in the

¹ Elphinstone College Collection, no. 5, according to which all quotations have been made, gives three Prasnas, my own MS. two Prasnas. The number of the *Khandas* is, however, the same.

first three Prasnas, necessarily lead to the conclusion that the whole remainder does not belong to Baudhâya, but consists of so-called Parisishṭas, which were composed by the adherents of his school. Further, the fact that the last six Prasnas do not show everywhere the same style and language, makes it probable that the additions were made at different times and by different persons.

The Dharma-sūtra seems to have undergone exactly the same fate as the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*. It will be obvious even to the readers of the translation that its fourth Prasna is a later addition. It consists of two parts. The first, which ends with the fourth Adhyâya, treats of penances, both public and secret ones. The second, Adhyâyas 5-8, describes the means of obtaining siddhi, the fulfilment of one's desires, and recommends for this purpose the offering of the *Gaṇahomas* after a previous sanctification of the worshipper by means of a course of austerities. The first part is perfectly superfluous, as the subject of penances has already been discussed in the first sections of the second Prasna, and again in chapters 4-10 of the third Prasna. Its rules sometimes contradict those given before, and in other cases, e.g. IV, 2, 10-12, are mere repetitions of previous statements. The introduction of the means of gaining siddhi, on the other hand, is without a parallel in other Dharma-sūtras, and the subject is entirely foreign to the scope of such works. Its treatment, too, shows that chapters 5-8 do not belong to the author of the bulk of the Dharma-sūtra. For the description of the preparatory 'restraints' or austerities contains somewhat more detailed rules for a number of penances, e.g. the *Kṛikkhras* and the *Kândrâyana*, which have already been described in the preceding Prasnas. Moreover, the style and the language of the whole fourth Prasna are very different from those of the three preceding ones, and the differences observable are exactly the same as those between the first five and the last four Prasnas of the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*. The epic Sloka nearly throughout replaces the aphoristic prose, and the common slipshod Sanskrit of the *Purāṇas* appears instead of the archaic forms. Finally, the fourth Prasna is divided into

Adhyāyas, not into the *Kandīkās* or *Khandas* and Adhyāyas which are found in the first two *Prasnas*.

This latter peculiarity is also observable in the third *Prasna*, and raises a suspicion against the genuineness of that part also. For, though the third *Prasna* in style and language resembles the first two, it is hard to believe that the author should, for no apparent reason, suddenly have changed the manner of dividing his work towards its end. This suspicion is further strengthened by two other circumstances. First, *Prasnas* I–II really exhaust the discussion of the whole *Dharma*, and the third offers supplementary information only on some points which have been touched upon previously. Secondly, several Adhyāyas of *Prasna* III seem to have been borrowed from other works, or to be abstracts from them. Thus the tenth chapter has certainly been taken from the *Gautamīya Dharmaśāstra*, the sixth bears a very close and suspicious resemblance to *Vishnu XLVIII*¹, and the third looks very much like a short summary of the doctrine of *Vikhanas*, whose lost *Sūtra* contained the original rule of the order of the *Vaikhānasas* or hermits, living in the forest. These circumstances justify, it seems to me, the assumption that *Baudhāyana's* original *Dharma-sūtra* consisted, like *Āpastamba's*, of two *Prasnas* only, and that it received, through followers of his school, two separate additions, first in very ancient times *Prasna* III, where the style of the master is strictly followed, and later *Prasna* IV, where the language and phraseology of the metrical *Smṛitis* are adopted. It ought to be noted that *Govindasvāmin*, too, does not take the whole of the four *Prasnas* for *Baudhāyana's* composition. With respect to several passages² where *Baudhāyana's* name is introduced in order to give weight to the rules, he says that the *Sūtras* may belong to 'a pupil.' I do not think that the criterion which he uses can be relied on in every case, because oriental authors without doubt occasionally speak of themselves as of third

¹ See also Jolly, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii, p. xix.

² E. g. *Dharma-sūtra* III, 5, 7.

persons. But the fact that the commentator, though an orthodox Hindu, had misgivings as to the genuineness of portions of the work, is not without significance. It seems also that even the first two *Prasnas* are not quite free from interpolations. Thus the *Kaṇḍikās* on the *Tarpana*¹ are certainly much enlarged by additions, the verse at I, 5, 11, 36, a repetition of I, 5, 9, 5, and some prose quotations which are introduced by the words *athāpy udāharanti*, 'now they quote also,' standing usually before verses only, are at least suspicious. That the genuineness of many single passages should be doubtful, is no more than might be expected, not only on account of the separation of the *Dharma-sūtra* from the other parts of the *Kalpa*, but also because the work, as we shall see further on, remained for a long time without the protection of a commentary. The practical conclusion to be drawn from this state of things is that the greatest caution must be observed in using the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra* for historical purposes, and that it will be advisable to draw no inferences regarding *Baudhāyana's* relation to other teachers and schools from the last two *Prasnas*, and not to trust too much to historical inferences drawn from single passages of the first two.

The position which *Baudhāyana* occupies among the teachers of the *Taittirīya-veda* has already been discussed in the Introduction to *Āpastamba*. It has been shown that according to the *Brāhmanical* tradition preserved by *Mahādeva*, the commentator of the *Hiranyakesi-sūtras*, he composed the first *Sūtra* for the followers of his *Sākhā*. Internal and external evidence has also been adduced, proving that he certainly was more ancient than *Āpastamba* and *Hiranyakesin*. It is now possible to bring forward some further facts bearing on these points. First, in the section on the *Tarpana*, the libations of water offered to various deities, *Rīshis*, and the manes, II, 5, 9, 14, *Kāṇva Baudhāyana* receives his share immediately after the *Rīshis* of the *Veda* and before *Āpastamba*, the *Sūtrakāra*, and

¹ *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra* II, 5, 8-9.

Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin. The same order is observed in the distribution of the offerings at the Sarpabali, described in the *Grihya-sûtra*¹, where the following teachers of the Yagur-veda are specially named, viz. Vaisampâyaṇa, Phulīṅgu, Tittiri, Ukha, Aukhya, Âtreya the author of the Pada-text, Kaundînya the author of the commentary, Kâṇva Baudhâyana the author of the *Pravakana*, Âpastamba the author of the *Sûtra*, and Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin. Neither of these two passages belongs to Baudhâyana. They are both clearly interpolations. But they show that Mahâdeva's statement, which makes Baudhâyana the first expounder of the Kalpa among the Taittirîyavedins, agrees with the tradition of the Baudhâyanîyas themselves. For not only the place allotted to Baudhâyana's name, but still more the title *Pravakanakâra* which he receives, show that the followers of his school placed him before and above all other teachers of the ritual. The term *pravakana*, which literally means 'proclaiming or recitation,' has frequently the technical sense of 'oral instruction,' and is applied both to the traditional lore contained in the *Brâhmanas*, and to the more systematic teaching of the *Ângas*². If, therefore, a teacher is called the author of the *Pravakana* of a *Sâkhâ*, that can only mean that he is something more than a common *Sûtrakâra*, and is considered to be the originator of the whole system of instruction among its followers. The epithet *Kâṇva*, which Baudhâyana receives in both the passages quoted above, indicates that he belonged to the Vedic Gotra of the *Kaṇvas*. It deserves to be noted that Govindasvâmin, too, on I, 3, 5, 13, explains the name Baudhâyana by *Kâṇvâyana*³.

¹ Baudhâyana *Grihya-sûtra* IV, 8 (fol. 29, B. 5, Elph. Coll. copy, no. 5), दक्षिणतः प्राचीनाधीतो नो (?) वैशंपायनाय पुलिङ्गवे तित्तिरय उखायौख्याया-
स्त्रेयाय पदकाराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय काण्वाय चौधायनाय प्रवचनकारा-
यापस्तम्बाय सूत्रकाराय सत्याषाढाय हिरण्यकेशाय (?) आचार्येभ्य ऊर्ध्वरेतोभ्यो
वैश्वस्येभ्य एकपत्नीभ्यः कल्पयामीति ॥ See also Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 91
note; Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 223; Burnell, *Catalogue of a
Collection of Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 14, no. LIII.

² See Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 109.

³ The discovery that Baudhâyana bore also the name *Kâṇva* makes it possible

The style of Baudhâyana's works furnishes, as Dr. Burnell has pointed out¹, another argument for their high antiquity. Compared with the Sûtras of Âpastamba and Hiraṇyakesin they are much simpler in their arrangement, and the complete absence of that anxiety to save 'half a vowel' which characterises the fully developed Sûtra-style is very remarkable. The last point has been noticed by Govindasvâmin also. In commenting on I, 2, 3, 17-18, where Baudhâyana first permits students to beg food of men of all castes, and afterwards explains that he means Âryans who follow their lawful occupations, he says², '(If anybody should ask), "Why give two Sûtras, while one Sûtra, ('A student shall ask) Âryans who follow their lawful occupations,' would have sufficed?" (his objection will be) correct. For this teacher is not particularly anxious to make his book short.' In other cases we find a certain awkwardness in the distribution of the subject matter, which probably finds its explanation through the fact that Baudhâyana first attempted to bring the teaching of the Taittirîyas on the Dharma into a systematic form. Thus the rules on the law of inheritance are given without any apparent necessity and against the custom of the other Sûtrakâras in two different chapters, I, 5, 11, 9-16 and II, 2, 3, 1-44. The section on purification, too, is divided into two separate portions, I, 4, 6-10 and I, 6, 13-15, and the second, which treats of the purification of the vessels at sacrifices, properly ought to have been placed into the Srauta-sûtra, not into the Dharma-sûtra. Again, the discussion of several topics is repeatedly interrupted by the introduction of rules belonging to different subjects, and Govindasvâmin's ingenuity is often taxed to the utmost in order to find the reason why certain Sûtras which appa-

to refer Âpastamba's quotation of an opinion of a Kâṇva, I, 6, 19, 7, to Baudhâyana, instead of to a teacher of the White Yagur-veda, Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxvi.

¹ Tanjore Catalogue, p. 20 b.

² ननु द्विजातिषु स्वकर्मस्येष्विति सूत्रयितव्ये किमिति सूत्रद्वयारम्भः । सत्यम् ।
अयं स्नाचार्यो नातीव ग्रन्थलाघवाभिप्रायो भवति ॥

rently are unconnected with the main subject have been inserted. A third argument for the great antiquity of Baudhāyana's Sūtras, derived from the archaic character of some of his doctrines, has been discussed in the Introduction to Āpastamba¹. The number of instances where Baudhāyana's rules are based on a more ancient order of ideas than Āpastamba's might be increased very considerably. But, as now the comparison of the two works is open to all students, I omit the cases contained in the two Dharma-sūtras, and content myself with adducing one more from the less accessible *Gṛihya-sūtras*. It is a well-known fact that the ancient Vedic ritual in certain cases admitted Sūdras, and particularly the Rathakāra or carpenter, who, according to all accounts, has Sūdra blood in his veins, to a participation in the Srauta rites. The Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa even gives certain Mantras to be recited by the Rathakāra at the Agnyādhāna sacrifice². Now Baudhāyana, who, Dh. S. I, 9, 17, 6, derives the origin of the Rathakāras from a Vaisya male and Sūdra female, apparently reckons him amongst the twice-born, and explicitly allows him to receive the sacrament of the initiation. He says, *Gṛihya-sūtra* II, 5, 8-9, 'Let him initiate a Brāhmaṇa in spring, a Kshatriya in summer, a Vaisya in autumn, a Rathakāra in the rainy season; or all of them in spring³.' But Āpastamba, who shows great hostility against the mixed castes, and emphatically denies the right of Sūdras to be initiated, gives the same rule regarding the seasons for the initiation both in his *Gṛihya* and *Dharma-sūtras*⁴. He, however, omits the Rathakāra in both cases. There can be no doubt that Āpastamba's exclusion of the carpenter, which agrees with the sentiments prevailing in modern Brāhmanical society, is an offshoot of a later doctrine, and as both he and Baudhāyana

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, pp. xviii-xx.

² See Weber, Indische Studien X, 12.

³ वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयति ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वषासु रथकारमिति ॥८॥
सर्वानेव वा वसन्ते ॥९॥

⁴ *Gṛihya-sūtra* II, 4, 10, 5; *Dharma-sūtra* I, 1, 1, 18.

belong to the same *vidyāvamsa*, or spiritual family, this difference may be used as an argument for his posteriority to Baudhâyana. In connexion with this rule of Baudhâyana's it ought to be mentioned that even in the present day certain subdivisions of the modern *Sutârs* or carpenters actually wear the Brâhmanical thread, and, in spite of the adverse teaching of the *Sâstras*, find Brâhmins willing to perform the ceremony of investiture for them.

While it thus appears not incredible that Baudhâyana really was the first *Sûtrakâra* of the *Taittirîyas*, the numerous quotations which his works contain, permit us to form an idea of the extent of the Vedic and profane literature known to him. Among the Vedic works which he adduces as authorities, or otherwise refers to, the three sections of the *Taittirîya-veda*, the *Samhitâ*, the *Brâhmaṇa*, and the *Âranyaka*, naturally take the first place. For the *Âranyaka* he seems to have used the *Ândhra* version, as Dh. S. II, 10, 18, 7, 11 references to the seventy-first *Anuvâka* of the tenth *Prapâthaka* occur. Two long passages, Dh. S. I, 2, 4, 3-8; II, 6, 11, 1-8, which apparently have been taken from the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, testify to his acquaintance with the *White Yagur-veda*. Baudhâyana does not say expressly that he quotes from the *Brâhmaṇa* of the *Vâgasaneyins*, but Govinda has no hesitation in pointing to the *Satapatha* as their source. It is remarkable that the fact noticeable in *Âpastamba's* quotation from the *Satapatha* reappears here, and that the wording of the two quotations does not fully agree with the printed text of the *Brâhmaṇa*. The differences in the first passage are, no doubt, partly owing to corruptions and interpolations in Baudhâyana's text; but that cannot be said of the second¹. References to the *Sâma-veda* and the *Sâmans* occur repeatedly, and the passage from the *Nidâna* of *Bhâllavins* regarding the geographical extent of true Brâh-

¹ Professor Eggeling has lately discussed the question of the discrepancies between *Âpastamba's* quotations from the *Brâhmaṇa* of the *Vâgasaneyins* and the existing text. I can only agree with him that we must wait for a comparison of all those quoted, with both the recensions of the *Satapatha*, before we draw further inferences from the fact. See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii, p. xl.

manical learning, which Vasishṭha adduces, is given I, 1, 2, 11-12. From the Rig-veda a few expiatory hymns and verses, such as the Aghamarshaṇa and the Taratsamandis, are quoted. The Atharva-veda is not referred to by name, but the existence of Ātharvāna schools may be inferred from the mention made of the vows called Siras, II, 8, 14, 2. Among the authorities on the Sacred Law, mentioned in the Dharma-sūtra, Kātya I, 2, 3, 46, Maudgalya II, 2, 4, 8, and Aupagandhani II, 2, 3, 33, do not occur in other works of the same class¹. Hārīta, who is mentioned II, 1, 2, 21, and who probably was a teacher of the Maitrāyaṇīya school, is named by Vasishṭha and Āpastamba also. The Gautama who is quoted I, 1, 2, 7 and II, 2, 4, 17, is, as has been shown in the Introduction to Gautama, most probably the author of the still existing Institutes of Gautama. To the arguments for the latter view, adduced there, I may add that two other passages of the Dharma-sūtra, II, 6, 11, 15 and 26, point to a close connexion between Baudhāyana's and Gautama's works. The former of the two Sūtras contains, with the exception of one small clause in the beginning, exactly the same description of the duties of a hermit in the forest as that given by Gautama III, 26-35. The second Sūtra states, just as Gautama's rule III, 36, that the venerable teacher (Ātāryāṭ) prescribes one order only, that of the householders. The reason given for this opinion differs, however, according to Baudhāyana, from that adduced in Gautama's text. The almost literal identity of the first long passage makes it not improbable that Baudhāyana borrowed in this instance also from Gautama without noting the source from which he drew. On the other hand, the argument drawn from the fact that the tenth Adhyāya of Prasna III has been taken from Gautama's Sūtra loses its force since, as I have shown above, it is improbable that the third Prasna formed part of Baudhā-

¹ Possibly Kāśyapa, whose name occurs in a Sloka, I, 11, 21, 2, may also be an ancient teacher to whom Baudhāyana refers. In the Grihya-sūtra a teacher called Sālīki is repeatedly quoted, and once, I, 11 (end), his opinion is contrasted with that of Baudhāyana and of Ātārya, i.e. Baudhāyana's teacher. The Grihya-sūtra refers also to Ātreya, Kāsakritsna, and Bādari.

yana's original work. A metrical work on the Sacred Law seems to be quoted II, 2, 4, 14-15. For, as the second verse, adduced there, says that the penance for one who violated his Guru's bed has been declared above, it seems impossible to assume that the two Slokas belonged to the versified maxims of the Dharma current among the learned Brāhmans. If this quotation is not an interpolation, it proves that, side by side with the Dharma-sûtras, metrical treatises on the Sacred Law existed in very early times¹. One quotation, finally, which gives a verse from the dialogue of the daughters of Usanas and Vṛishaparvan seems to have been taken from an epic poem. The verse is actually found in the Mahābhārata I, 78, 10, and again 34, where the altercation between Sarmishthā and Devayānī forms part of the Yayātyupākhyāna. Considering what has been said above regarding the state of the text of the Dharma-sûtra, and our imperfect knowledge of the history of the Mahābhārata, it would be hazardous to assert that the verse proves Baudhāyana's acquaintance with Vyāsa's great epic. It will be safer to wait for further proofs that it was known to the Sûtrakāras, before one bases far-going speculations on this hitherto solitary quotation.

The arguments which may be brought forward to show that Baudhāyana's home lay in Southern India are not as strong as those which permit us to determine the native country of Āpastamba. The portions of the Sûtras, known to me, contain no direct mention of the south except in the *desa-nirṇaya* or disquisition on the countries, Dharma-sûtra I, 1, 2, where certain peculiar customs of the southern Brāhmans are enumerated, and some districts of Southern India, e.g. Kalinga, are referred to as barbarous countries which must not be visited by Āryans. These utterances show an acquaintance with the south, but by no means prove that Baudhāyana lived there. A more significant fact is that Baudhāyana declares, I, 1, 2, 4, 'going to sea' to be a custom prevailing among the northern Brāhmans, and afterwards, II, 1, 22, places that act at the head of the Pata-

¹ See also West and Bühler, Digest of Hindu Law Cases, p. xxvii, 2nd ed.

nīyas, the more serious offences causing loss of caste. It is probable that by the latter rule he wished to show his standpoint as a southerner. But the most conclusive argument in favour of the southern origin of the Baudhāyanīyas is that they, like the Āpastambīyas and all other adherents of the Taittirīya schools, are entirely confined to the Dekhan, and are not found among the indigenous subdivisions of the Brāhmanas in Central and Northern India. This fact is, if not explicitly stated, at least implied by the passage of the Mahārṇava quoted in the Introduction to Āpastamba¹. It is proved by the present state of things, and by the evidence of the land grants of the southern dynasties, several of which have been made in favour of Baudhāyanīyas. Thus we find a grant of Bukkarāya, the well-known ruler of Viṅḡayana-gara², dated Sakasamvat 1276 or 1354-5 A.D., in which a Brāhmaṇa, studying the Baudhāyanīya-sūtra, is mentioned as the donee of a village in Maisūr. Again, in an inscription of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, which its editor, the Rev. Mr. Foulkes, places in the ninth century A.D.³, a considerable number of Brāhmaṇas of the Pravaṇana-sūtra are named as recipients of the royal bounty, together with some followers of the Āpastambha⁴ school. As we have seen that Baudhāyana is called in the Grihya-sūtra the Pravaṇanakāra, it is not doubtful that the Pravaṇana-sūtra of this inscription is the Sūtra of his school. The villages which the grantees received from Nandivarman were situated on the Pālār river in the Kittūr districts of the Madras Presidency. Besides, the interesting tradition which asserts that Mādhava-Sāyana, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a Baudhāyanīya⁵ is another point which may be brought forward as evidence for the location of the school in Southern India. Further,

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxx; see also L. von Schröder, *Maitrāyanīya Samhitā*, p. xxvii.

² Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 349-351.

³ Indian Antiquary, VIII, 273-284.

⁴ As all the older inscriptions hitherto published give Āpastambha instead of Āpastamba, I am now inclined to consider the former as the original form of the name.

⁵ Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 20 b, remarks on no. CCXXVI.

it must not be forgotten that most and the best MSS. of Baudhâyana's Sûtras are found in Southern India. There are also some faint indications that the Āndhra country is the particular district to which Baudhâyana belonged. For his repeated references to voyages by sea and his rule regarding the duty payable on goods imported by sea show that he must have lived in a coast district where sea-borne trade flourished, and the fact that he uses the Āndhra recension of the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka makes it probable that he was an inhabitant of the eastern coast.

My estimate of the distance between Baudhâyana and Âpastamba and of that between the latter and the historical period of India has been given in the Introduction to Âpastamba, pp. xxii and xliii, and I have nothing further to add on that subject. The oldest witness for the existence of the Srauta-sûtra of Baudhâyana is its commentator Bhavasvâmin, whom Dr. Burnell places in the eighth century A. D. The Dharma-sûtra is first quoted by Vignânesvara, circiter 1080–1100 A. D. Several of the passages adduced by him are, however, not traceable in the MSS.

As regards the materials on which the translation is based, I had at my disposal six MSS. of the text and two copies of Govindasvâmin's commentary, the Bodhâyanîya-dharmavivaraṇa¹, one of which (C. I.) gives the text also. These MSS. belong to two chief groups, a northern and a southern one. The northern group contains two subdivisions. The first comprises (1) D., a MS. bought by me for the Government of Bombay at Ahmadâbâd (no. 6 of the Dekhan College collection of 1868–69), and about one hundred or one hundred and fifty years old; (2) P., an old MS. of my own collection, bought in 1865 at Puna; (3, 4) B. and Bh., two modern transcripts, made for me in Baroda and Bombay. Among these, D. alone is of real value, as P., B., and Bh. faithfully reproduce all its clerical errors and add a good many new ones. The second subdivision of the northern group is represented by K., a modern transcript, made for

¹ It ought to be noted that in the south of India the forms Bodhâyana and Bodhâyanîya are invariably used for Baudhâyana and Baudhâyanîya. But it seems to me that the southerners are in error, as the affix âyana requires *vridhhi* in the first syllable.

the Government of Bombay at Kolhâpur in the southern Marâṭha country (Elphinstone College collection of 1867-68, Class VI, no. 2). The MSS. of the northern group, which give the vulgata current since the times of Nīlakanṭha (1650 A.D.) and Mitramisra (c. 1700 A.D.) in Western and Central India, can be easily recognised by the omission of the third Adhyâya of Prasna IV, and by their placing IV, 5, 1 b-25 after IV, 7, 7. One of the chief differences between K. and the other MSS. of the northern group is the omission of II, 5, 8, 4-II, 6, 11, 15 in the latter. The southern group of MSS. is formed by M., a slovenly Devanâgarī transcript of a Grantha MS., no. $\frac{610}{1928}$ of the Madras Government collection¹, and by the text of C. I., a Devanâgarī copy of the MS. of Govindasvâmin's commentary, presented by Dr. Burnell to the India Office library². The second copy of the commentary, C. T., a Telugu paper MS. from Tanjore, I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burnell.

As might be expected, on account of the southern origin of the Baudhâyanīya school, M. gives on the whole the best form of the text. It also carefully marks the *Kandikâs*³ in the first two Prasnas, ignoring the Adhyâyas altogether, and contains at the end of each Prasna the first words of each *Kandikâ*, beginning with the last and ending with the first, after the fashion which prevails in the MSS. of the Taittirīya Samhitâ, Brâhmaṇa, and Âranyaka. Very close to M. comes Govinda's copy, where, however, as in most northern MSS., the Adhyâyas alone are marked. It is, however, perfectly certain that in some very difficult passages, which are disfigured by ancient corruptions, he corrected the text conjecturally⁴. In a certain number of cases the northern MSS. present better and older readings than M. and C. I.⁵ Under these

¹ Taylor, Catalogue Raisonné (I), I, p. 190. The clerical errors in my transcript are exceedingly numerous, and mostly owing to the faulty rendering of the value of the Grantha characters, which seem not to have been familiar to the copyist. There are also some small lacunae, and the last leaf has been lost.

² See Burnell, Catalogue of a Collection of MSS., p. 35, no. CXVII.

³ I alone am responsible for the title *Kandikâ*, given to the small sections. M. marks only the figures. D. and the better northern MSS. show only breaks at the end of the *Kandikâs* and their first words at the end of the Prasnas.

⁴ See e.g. Dharma-sûtra I, 2, 3, 35, note.

⁵ See e.g. Dharma-sûtra I, 5, 11, 35; II, 1, 2, 36; II, 2, 3, 3; II, 2, 4, 10; II, 3, 6, 3; II, 7, 12, 5; III, 9, 2.

circumstances it has not been possible to follow the commentary or M. throughout. Though they had to be made the basis, they had in many passages to be set aside in favour of readings of the northern group. In some cases I have also been obliged to make conjectural emendations, which have all been mentioned in the notes. Three Sûtras, I, 8, 16, 13-15, have been left untranslated, because the MSS. offer no safe basis for a conjectural restoration, and the commentary is defective.

Govinda, who, as Dr. Burnell informs me, is said to be a modern writer, seems to have composed his *vivarana* without the aid of older *vṛttis*. Though he apparently was well acquainted with the writings belonging to the *Taittirīya-veda*, with the ritual and with the common law-books, he has not succeeded in explaining all the really difficult passages. Sometimes he is clearly mistaken, and frequently he passes by in silence words or whole Sûtras, the sense or the general bearing of which is by no means certain. Though it would be ungrateful on my part to underrate the importance of his work for my translation, I cannot place him in the same rank with Haradatta, the commentator of *Āpastamba* and *Gautama*, and can only regret that no older commentary based on the living tradition of the *Baudhāyānīyas* has been available. If such a work were found, better readings and better explanations of many difficult passages would probably come to light. With the materials at my disposal the translation has been a work of some difficulty, and in trying to settle the text I have often experienced the feeling of insecurity which comes over the decipherer of a difficult inscription when the facsimiles are bad. The short *Adhyāya* on adoption, given in the appendix to the *Dharma-sûtra*, has been taken from the *Smārta* or *Gr̥hya-sûtra*. It does not belong to *Baudhāyana*, but is frequently quoted by the writers on civil law, who wrote in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of our era.

VASISHTHA.

VAŚISHṬHA.

CHAPTER I.

1. Now, therefore, the desire to know the sacred law for their welfare (should arise) in (initiated) men.
 2. He who knows and follows the (sacred law is called) a righteous man.
 3. He becomes most worthy of praise in this world and after death gains heaven.
 4. The sacred law has been settled by the revealed texts and by the tradition (of the sages).
 5. On failure of (rules given in) these (two sources) the practice of the Śishṭas (has) authority.
 6. But he whose heart is free from desire (is called) a Śishṭa.
 7. (Acts sanctioned by) the sacred law (are those) for which no (worldly) cause is perceptible.
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I. 1. The word 'now' serves, in this as in analogous cases, various purposes. It marks the beginning of the book, serves as an auspicious invocation (*maṅgala*), and indicates that something else, the initiation, must precede the study of the sacred law. 'Therefore' means 'because, after initiation, the neophyte is to be taught the prescribed rules regarding personal purification.'—*Kṛishṇapandita*. For the wording of the Sūtra compare the beginning of Gaimini's *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*.

3-6. Gautama I, 1-4; XXVIII, 48.

7. The Sūtra contains a limitation of Sūtra 5. It indicates that the customs of the Śishṭas, for which worldly motives are perceptible, have no authority, and are not to be followed. The principle enunciated is one inculcated by the *Mīmāṃsakas* (P. M. S.).

8. The country of the Âryas (Âryāvarta) lies to the east of the region where (the river Sarasvatî) disappears, to the west of the Black-forest, to the north of the Pâripâtra (mountains), to the south of the Himâlaya.

9. (According to others it lies to the south of the Himâlaya) and to the north of the Vindhya range (being limited east and west by the two oceans).

10. Acts productive of spiritual merit, and customs which (are approved of) in that country, must be everywhere acknowledged (as authoritative);

11. But not different ones, (i.e. those) of (countries where) laws opposed (to those of Âryāvarta prevail).

I, 3, 3-4). See also Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 5-10; I, 4, 12, 8; and Introduction, p. xxvii. *Krishnapandita* has misunderstood the Sûtra. He reads, against the MSS., *agrihyamânakârano 'dharmaḥ*, 'unlawful acts are those for which no motive, i.e. no sacred source such as the Vedas, is perceptible.'

8. The region where the river Sarasvatî disappears is the Pat-tiâlâ district in the Pañgâb. The Pâripâtra mountains belong to the great Vindhya range, and are probably the hills in Mâlva. The position of the Kâlakavana or Black-forest is not accurately known. But it must probably be sought in Bihâr. All the MSS. as well as *Krishnapandita* read in this Sûtra *prâgâdarsanât* instead of *prâ-gadarsanât*, 'to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatî disappears.' This circumstance gains some importance by the fact that the *Mahâbhâshya* on *Pânini* II, 4, 10, quotes the same definition of the Âryāvarta, giving, however, instead of *adarsanât* *prâ-gâdarsât*, 'to the east of Âdarsa, i.e. the Âdarsa mountains.' It seems to me not improbable that our Sûtra, too, had originally *prâgâdarsât*, and that some Pandit who knew nothing about the Âdarsa hills, but remembered *Manu* II, 21, and *Baudhâyana* I, 1, 25, where the word *vinasanât*, 'the disappearance of the Sarasvatî,' undoubtedly occurs, added the syllable *na* and forgot to correct the *â*, after *prâg*.

9. The translation follows *Krishnapandita*'s commentary, which recommends itself on account of the analogous definition of Âryāvarta given by *Manu* II, 22.

11. My translation follows the text given by *Krishnapandita* and

12. Some (declare the country of the Âryas to be situated) between the (rivers) Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ.

13. Others (state as) an alternative, that spiritual pre-eminence (is found) as far as the black antelope grazes.

14. Now the Bhâllavins quote also (the following) verse in the Nidâna :

15. 'In the west the boundary-river, in the east

B., and the explanation of the former, because it seems to me that the general sense which they give, is the correct one. I feel, however, not certain that the word *pratilomakadharmânâm*, 'of those countries where opposite laws prevail,' is more than a careless correction. The majority of the MSS. read *pratilomakakshadharmânâh* (*kalpadharmânâh*), which by itself is difficult of explanation. But, as the text of the next Sûtra contains an apparently superfluous phrase, I fear, we shall have to admit that the text is here disfigured by corruptions, which with our present MSS. it is impossible to remove with certainty.

12. *Kṛishnapandita* reads this Sûtra 'etad âryâvartam ityâkashate gaṅgâyamunayor antaretyeke,' and takes it as one sentence, the subject of which is 'eke.' I feel no doubt that this explanation is utterly untenable, and that the first four words have nothing to do with this Sûtra, the second part of which occurs also in the *Bauddhâyana Dharma-sûtra* I, 1, 27. My opinion is that they originally belonged to Sûtra 11, though the state of the MSS. at my disposal does not allow me to say how Sûtra 11 has to be corrected. The general sense of Sûtra 12 is, however, perfectly certain.

13. *Manu* II, 23; *Yâgyñavalkya* I, 2. It deserves to be noted that the black antelope (black-buck), *Oryx cervicapra*, selects for its home the well-cultivated, rich plains of India only, and is entirely wanting in the sandy, mountainous or forest districts, which are now, just as in ancient times, the portion of the aboriginal tribes.

14. Regarding the Bhâllavins, see Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 193, 364. *Kṛishnapandita* thinks that Nidâna means *desanirnaya*, 'the disquisition on the countries,' which is the title of a section which occurs in most modern compilations on law. But it will be safer to take it as the name of a Vedic work, identical with or similar to that quoted in *Saunaka's Brâhaddevatâ*, Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 81.

15. *Sindhur vidhârâni* or *vidharâni*, as B. reads, cannot be

the region where the sun rises,—as far as the black antelope wanders (between these two limits), so far spiritual pre-eminence (is found).’

16. ‘Those religious acts which men, deeply versed in the knowledge of the three Vedas and acquainted with the sacred law, declare to be lawful, (are efficient) for purifying oneself and others.’

17. Manu has declared that the (peculiar) laws of countries, castes, and families (may be followed) in the absence of (rules of) the revealed texts.

18. Sinful men are, he who sleeps at sunrise or at sunset, he who has deformed nails or black teeth, he whose younger brother was married first, he who married before his elder brother, the husband of a younger sister married before the elder, the husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married first, he who extinguishes the sacred fires, (and) he who forgets the Veda through neglect of the daily recitation.

taken with *Kṛishṇapandita*, as ‘the ocean,’ because in the latter sense *sindhu* is a masculine. It must be a boundary-river, probably the *Sarasvatī*. By *sūryasyodana*, ‘the region where the sun rises,’ the *udayagiri* or ‘mountain of the east’ may possibly be meant.

16. This verse, too, is marked as a quotation by the concluding word *iti*, though it is not necessary that it should be taken as a quotation from the *Nidāna*. Here, and in the sequel verses ending in *iti* are marked as quotations by hyphens.

17. Manu VII, 203 ; VIII, 41 ; Gautama XI, 20. *Gāti*, ‘castes,’ which sometimes, and perhaps as appropriately, has been translated by ‘tribes,’ denotes in my opinion those numerous subdivisions of the four great *varṇas*, which we now find all over India, and which can be shown to have existed for a very long time. Usually the word ‘caste’ is also applied to them.

18. *Kṛishṇapandita* explains *virahā*, ‘he who extinguishes the sacred fires,’ by ‘the destroyer of his sons or of his spiritual clients’

19. They state that there are five mortal sins (mahâpâtaka),

20. (Viz. violating) a Guru's bed, drinking (the spirituous liquor called) surâ, slaying a learned Brâhmana, stealing the gold of a Brâhmana, and associating with outcasts,

21. Either by (entering into) spiritual or matrimonial (connexion with them).

22. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He who during a year associates with an outcast becomes (likewise) an outcast; not by sacrificing for him, by teaching him or by (forming) a matrimonial (alliance with him), but by using the same carriage or seat.'

23. A minor offence causing loss of caste (upa-pâtaka, is committed by him) who (after beginning an Agnihotra sacrifice) forsakes the sacred fires, and by him who offends a Guru, by an atheist, by him who takes his livelihood from atheists, and by him who sells the Soma (plant).

24. Three wives (are permitted) to a Brâhmana according to the order of the castes, two to a Kshatriya, one to a Vaisya and to a Sûdra.

(yagamâna); but the rules given below, XX, 11, and XXI, 27, in the section on penances, confirm the explanation given above.

20. Vishnu XXXV, 1-2. Guru means here the father, see below, XX, 15.

21. Vishnu XXXV, 3-5. Spiritual connexion, i.e. becoming the teacher or priest of an outcast, or his pupil or spiritual client (yagamâna).

22. Identical with Manu XI, 181. It must be understood that spiritual or matrimonial connexion with an outcast causes immediate degradation, as Vishnu states expressly.

23. Vishnu XXXVII, 6, 31; Gautama XXI, 11. Regarding the precise meaning of pratigahnuyât, 'offends,' see below, XXI, 27.

24-25. Manu III, 13; Yâgñavalkya I, 57; Pâraskara Grîhyasûtra I, 4, 8-11.

25. Some declare (that twice-born men may marry) even a female of the Sûdra caste, like those (other wives), without (the recitation of) Vedic texts.

26. Let him not act thus.

27. For in consequence of such (a marriage) the degradation of the family certainly ensues, and after death the loss of heaven.

28. There are six marriage-rites,

29. (Viz.) that of Brahman (brâhma), that of the gods (daiva), that of the Rishis (ârsha), that of the Gandharvas (gândharva), that of the Kshatriyas (kshâtra), and that of men (mânusha).

30. If the father, pouring out a libation of water, gives his (daughter) to a suitor, that (is called) the Brâhma-rite.

31. If (the father) gives his daughter, decking her with ornaments, to an officiating priest, whilst a sacrifice is being performed, that is called the Daiva-rite.

32. And (if the father gives his daughter) for a cow and a bull, (that is called) the Ârsha-rite.

33. If a lover takes a loving female of equal caste, that (is called) the Gândharva-rite.

34. If they forcibly abduct (a damsel), destroying (her relatives) by strength (of arms), that (is called) the Kshâtra-rite.

35. If, after making a bargain (with the father, a

26-27. Manu III, 14-19. 28. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 17-20.

30. Vishnu XXIV, 19; Âsvalâyana Grihya-sûtra I, 6, 1.

31. Vishnu XXIV, 20; Âsvalâyana Grihya-sûtra I, 6, 2.

32. Vishnu XXIV, 21; Âsvalâyana Grihya-sûtra I, 6, 3.

33. Vishnu XXIV, 23; Âsvalâyana Grihya-sûtra I, 6, 5.

34. Vishnu XXIV, 25; Âsvalâyana Grihya-sûtra I, 6, 8.

35. Vishnu XXIV, 24; Âsvalâyana Grihya-sûtra I, 6, 6.

suitor) marries (a damsel) purchased for money, that (is called) the *Mânusha*-rite.

36. The purchase (of a wife) is mentioned in the following passage of the Veda, 'Therefore one hundred (cows) besides a chariot should be given to the father of the bride.'

37. (It is stated) in (the following passage of) the *Kâturmâsyas*, 'She (forsooth) who has been bought by her husband (commits sin, as) afterwards she unites herself with strangers.'

38. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Lost learning comes back ; when the family is lost all is lost. Even a horse becomes estimable on account of its pedigree ; therefore men marry wives descended from an (unblemished) family.'

39. The three (lower) castes shall live according to the teaching of the *Brâhmana*.

36. *Sâṅkhâya* *Grîhya-sûtra* I, 14 ; *Pâraskara* *Grîhya-sûtra* I, 8, 18 ; *Âpastamba* II, 6, 13, 12. Though *Vasishṭha*'s quotation is less complete than *Âpastamba*'s, still the following *Sûtras* show that he knew the conclusion of the passage, and does not take it as an authority for the sale of a daughter.

37. *Kṛishṇapandita* makes a mistake by connecting the word '*kâturmâsyeshu*' with the next *Sûtra*. He is right in saying that 'the *Kâturmâsyas*' is the name of a book. It is, however, not a separate work, but the *kânda* or section of a Vedic work treating of the *Kâturmâsya* sacrifices (see Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 355). The particular work from which our quotation has been taken, is either the *Maitrâyâṇiya Samhitâ*, or the *Kâṭhaka*. For, as Dr. von Schroeder informs me, *Maitrâyâṇiya Samhitâ* I, 10, 11 reads '*anṛitam vâ eshâ karoti yâ patyuh krîtâ satyathânyais karati*,' and the title of the *kânda* is *Kâturmâsyâni*. Professor Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 407, has found the same words in the *Kâturmâsya* section of the *Kâṭhaka* XXXVI, 5. In the translation I have added the beginning of the passage which *Vasishṭha* omits, according to the *Maitrâyâṇiya Samhitâ*.

39-41. *Gautama* XI, 25-27.

40. The Brâhmana shall declare their duties,
 41. And the king shall govern them accordingly.
 42. But a king who rules in accordance with the sacred law, may take the sixth part of the wealth (of his subjects),
 43. Except from Brâhmanas.
 44. It has been declared in the Veda, 'But he obtains the sixth part of (the merit which Brâhmanas gain by) sacrifices and charitable works.'
 45. (It is further stated in the Veda), 'The Brâhmana makes the Veda rich; the Brâhmana saves from misfortune; therefore the Brâhmana shall not be made a source of subsistence. Soma is his king.'
 46. Further (another passage says), 'After death bliss (awaits the king who does not oppress Brâhmanas).'

42. Vishnu III, 22-25. Though the ambiguous word *dhana*, 'wealth,' is used in the text, it seems not doubtful that Vasishtha alludes to the land-tax, which generally consists of one sixth of the produce.

43. Vishnu III, 26.

44. Vishnu III, 27-28. *Pûrta*, 'the merit gained by charitable works,' i. e. by planting trees, digging wells, and so forth. The words 'iti ha,' placed at the end of the Sûtra, indicate that it is a quotation, and that *vigñâyate*, 'it is declared in the Veda,' has to be understood from Sûtra 46. Gautama XI, 11, too, alleges that the rule is based on a Vedic passage.

45. Satapatha-brâhmana V, 4, 2, 3. *Krishnapandita*'s division of the quotation into several Sûtras is unnecessary. His explanation of *anâdya*, which he takes to mean 'the first of all,' is wrong. He asserts that the Brâhmana is said 'to make the Veda rich,' because by sacrificing and so forth he fulfils its object and protects it. But the phrase is probably corrupt. If it is said that Soma is the king of the Brâhmanas, the object is to indicate that an earthly king is not their master, see Gautama XI, 1.

CHAPTER II.

1. There are four castes (*varṇa*), Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras.

2. Three castes, Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, (are called) twice-born.

3. Their first birth is from their mother; the second from the investiture with the sacred girdle. In that (second birth) the Sâvitṛī is the mother, but the teacher is said to be the father.

4. They call the teacher father, because he gives instruction in the Veda.

5. They quote also (the following passage from the Veda) to the same (effect): 'Of two kinds, forsooth, is the virile energy of a man learned in the Vedas, that which (resides) above the navel and the other which below (the navel) descends downwards. Through that which (resides) above the navel, his offspring is produced, when he initiates Brâhmanas, when he teaches them, when he causes them to offer oblations, when he makes them holy. By that which resides below the navel the children of his body are produced. Therefore they never say to a Srotṛiya, who teaches the Veda, "Thou art destitute of offspring."'

II. 1-2. Vishṇu II, 1-2; Manu X, 4.

3. Identical with Manu II, 169^a, 170^a, and Vishṇu XXVIII, 37-38. The Sâvitṛī or the verse addressed to Savitṛī is found Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

4. Gautama I, 10; Manu II, 171.

5. The reading *tathâpyudâharanti*, which several of my MSS. give, seems to me preferable to *Krishnapandita's udâharati*. *Krishnapandita* explains *sâdhu karoti*, 'makes them holy,' by *adhyâtmam upadisati*, 'teaches them transcendental knowledge.'

6. Hârta also quotes (the following verse): 'No religious rite can be performed by a (child) before he has been girt with the sacred girdle, since he is on a level with a Sûdra before his (new) birth from the Vêda.'

7. (The above prohibition refers to all rites) except those connected with libations of water, (the exclamation) Svadhâ, and the manes.

8. Sacred learning approached a Brâhmana (and said to him), 'Preserve me, I am thy treasure, reveal me not to a scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions: so (preserved) I shall become strong.'

9. 'Reveal me, O Brâhmana, as to the keeper of thy treasure, to him whom thou shalt know to be pure, attentive, intelligent, and chaste, who will not offend thee nor revile thee.'

10. '(That man) who fills his ears with truth, who frees him from pain and confers immortality upon him, (the pupil) shall consider as his father and mother; him he must never grieve nor revile.'

11. 'As those Brâhmanas who, after receiving instruction, do not honour their teacher by their speech, in their hearts or by their acts, will not be profitable to their teacher, even so that sacred learning (which they acquired) will not profit them.'

6. Vishnu XXVIII, 40. Instead of *Krishnapandita's* 'yâvadvedo na gâyate,' 'yâvadvede na gâyate,' which occurs in several MSS. and in the parallel passages of Manu II, 172 and other *Smritis*, must be read.

7. Gautama II, 5. The rites referred to are the funeral rites.

8-9. Vishnu XXIX, 9-10, and introduction, p. xxiii; Nirukta II, 4.

10. Vishnu XXX, 47.

12. 'As fire consumes dry grass, even so the Veda, asked for, (but) not honoured, (destroys the enquirer). Let him not proclaim the Veda to that man, who does not show him honour according to his ability.'

13. The (lawful) occupations of a Brâhmana are six,

14. Studying the Veda, teaching, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, giving alms, and accepting gifts.

15. (The lawful occupations) of a Kshatriya are three,

16. Studying, sacrificing for himself, and bestowing gifts ;

17. And his peculiar duty is to protect the people with his weapons ; let him gain his livelihood thereby.

18. (The lawful occupations) of a Vaisya are the same (as those mentioned above, Sûtra 16),

19. Besides, agriculture, trading, tending cattle, and lending money at interest,

20. To serve those (superior castes) has been fixed (as the means of livelihood for a Sûdra.

21. (Men of) all (castes) may wear their hair arranged according to the customs fixed (for their family), or allow it to hang down excepting the lock on the crown of the head.

13. *Krishnapandita* wrongly connects the word *brâhmanasya* with the next Sûtra. For this and the next seven Sûtras, compare *Vishnu* II, 4-14.

14. *Krishnapandita* by mistake leaves out the word 'dânam.'

20. I read 'teshâm parikaryâ,' with the majority of the MSS., instead of *Krishnapandita's* 'teshâm ka parikaryâ.'

21. In illustration of this Sûtra *Krishnapandita* quotes a verse of *Laugâkshi*, which states that Brâhmanas belonging to the *Vasishtha* family wore the top-lock on the right side of the head, and the members of the *Atri* family allowed it to hang down on

22. Those who are unable to live by their own lawful occupation may adopt (that of) the next inferior (caste),
23. But never (that of a) higher (caste).
24. (A Brâhmaṇa and a Kshatriya) who have resorted to a Vaisya's mode of living and maintain themselves by trade (shall not sell) stones, salt, hempen (cloth), silk, linen (cloth), and skins,
25. Nor any kind of dyed cloth,
26. Nor prepared food, flowers, fruit, roots, perfumes, substances (used for) flavouring (food); nor water, the juice extracted from plants; nor Soma, weapons, poison; nor flesh, nor milk, nor preparations from it, iron, tin, lac, and lead,
27. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'By (selling) flesh, lac, and salt a Brâhmaṇa at once becomes an outcast; by selling milk he becomes (equal to) a Sûdra after three days.'
28. Among tame animals those with uncloven hoofs, and those that have an abundance of hair, (must not be sold), nor any wild animals, (nor) birds, nor beasts that have tusks (or fangs).
29. Among the various kinds of grain they mention sesamum (as forbidden).

both sides, while the Bhrîguś shaved their heads, and the Âṅgirasas wore five locks (*kûṇḍā*) on the crown of the head. Cf. Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 53.

22. *Vishṇu* II, 15.

24. For this and the following four Sûtras, see *Gautama* VII, 8-21.

26. *Rasâḥ*, 'substances used for flavouring,' i. e. 'molasses, sugar-cane, sugar, and the like.'—*Kṛishnapandita*. See also note on *Gautama* VII, 9.

27. Identical with *Manu* X, 92.

29. *Vishṇu* LIV, 18; *Âpastamba* I, 7, 20, 13. *Kṛishnapandita* wrongly connects this Sûtra with the preceding one.

30. Now they quote also (the following verse) :
 ' If he applies sesamum to any other purpose, but food, anointing, and charitable gifts, he will be born again as a worm and, together with his ancestors, be plunged into his own ordure.'

31. Or, at pleasure, they may sell (sesamum), if they themselves have produced it by tillage.

32. For that purpose he shall plough before breakfast with two bulls whose noses have not been pierced.

33. (If he ploughs) in the hot season, he shall water (his beasts even in the morning).

34. The plough is attended by strong males, provided with a useful share and with a handle (to be held) by the drinker of Soma ; that raises (for him) a cow, a sheep, a stout damsel, and a swift horse for the chariot.

35. The plough is attended by strong males, i. e. is attended by strong men and bullocks, provided with a useful share—for its share is useful (because) with the share it raises, i. e. pierces deep—and provided with a handle for the drinker of Soma,—for Soma reaches him,—possessing a handle for him. That raises a cow, a sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys and camels, and a stout damsel, i. e. a beautiful, useful maiden in the flower of her youth.

36. For how could the plough raise (anything for him) if he did not sell grain ?

30. Manu X, 91.

31. Manu X, 90.

34. Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ XII, 71. The translation follows the explanation given in the next Sûtra as closely as possible, though the latter is without doubt erroneous. The purpose for which Vasishtha introduces it, is to show that a Vedic text permits agriculture to a Brâhmana who offers Soma-sacrifices.

37. Substances used for flavouring may be bartered for (other) substances of the same kind, be it for one more valuable or for one worth less.

38. But salt must never (be exchanged) for (other) substances used for flavouring (food).

39. It is permitted to barter sesamum, rice, cooked food, learning, and slaves (each for its own kind and the one for the other).

✓ 40. A Brâhmaṇa and a Kshatriya shall not lend (anything at interest acting like) usurers.

41. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'He who acquiring property cheap, gives it for a high price, is called a usurer and blamed among those who recite the Veda.'

42. '(Brahman) weighed in the scales the crime of killing a learned Brâhmaṇa against (the crime of) usury; the slayer of the Brâhmaṇa remained at the top, the usurer sank downwards.'

43. Or, at pleasure, they may lend to a person who entirely neglects his sacred duties, and is exceedingly wicked,

44. Gold (taking) double (its value on repayment, and) grain trebling (the original price).

37-39. Gautama VII, 16-21.

40. Manu X, 117. *Krishnapandita* reads with MS. B., *vârdhushim na dadyâtâm*, and explains it by *vridddhim naiva prayogayetâm*, 'they shall not take interest.' I read with the other MSS. *vârdhushî*, and translate that term by 'usurers.' Below, *Sûtra* 42, *vârdhushi* is used likewise in this its usual sense.

43. Manu X, 117.

44-47. *Vishnu* VI, 11-17; *Colebrooke* I, Dig. LXVI, where 'silver and gems' have been added after gold, and *rasâḥ*, 'flavouring substances,' been translated by 'fluids.' The translation differs also in other respects, because there the *Sûtras* stand by themselves, while here the nouns in *Sûtras* 44 and 47 are governed by the preceding *dadyâtâm*, 'they may lend.' They, i. e. a Brâhmaṇa

45. (The case of) flavouring substances has been explained by (the rule regarding) grain,

46. As well as (the case of) flowers, roots, and fruit.

47. (They may lend) what is sold by weight, (taking) eight times (the original value on repayment).

48. Now they quote also (the following verses):
'Two in the hundred, three and four and five, as has been declared in the *Smṛiti*, he may take as interest by the month according to the order of the castes.'

49. 'But the king's death shall stop the interest on money (lent);'

50. 'And after the coronation of (a new) king the capital grows again.'

and a Kshatriya. The rule, of course, refers to other castes also, and to those cases where no periodical interest is taken, but the loan returned in kind.

47. The *Ratnākara* quoted by Colebrooke loc. cit. takes 'what is sold by weight' to be 'camphor and the like.' *Kṛishnapandita* thinks that 'clarified butter, honey, spirituous liquor, oil, molasses, and salt' are meant. But most of these substances fall under the term *rasâḥ*, 'flavouring substances.' The proper explanation of the words seems to be, 'any other substance not included among those mentioned previously, which is sold by weight.'

48. *Vishṇu* VI, 2, and especially *Manu* VIII, 142. The lowest rate of interest is to be taken from the highest caste, and it becomes greater with decreasing respectability. According to *Kṛishnapandita* and the commentators on the parallel passage of *Vishṇu*, *Manu*, and other *Smṛitis*, this rule applies only to loans for which no security is given—a statement which is doubtlessly correct.

49-50. Both the reading and the sense of this verse, which in some MSS. is wanting, are somewhat doubtful. I read with my best MSS.,

râgâ tu mṛitabhâvena dravyavṛiddhim vinâsayet ।

punâ râgâbhishekena dravyamûlam ka vardhate ॥

and consider that it gives a rule, ordering all money transactions to be stopped during the period which intervenes between the death of a king and the coronation of his successor. I am, however, unable to point out any parallel passages confirming this

51. 'Hear the interest for a money-lender declared by the words of Vasishtha, five mîshâs for twenty (kârshâpanas may be taken every month); thus the law is not violated.'

CHAPTER III.

1. (Brâhmanas) who neither study nor teach the Veda nor keep sacred fires become equal to Sûdras;

2. And they quote a verse of Manu on this (subject), 'A twice-born man, who not having studied the Veda applies himself to other (and worldly study), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Sûdra, and his descendants after him.'

3. '(A twice-born man) who does not know the

view. *Krishnapandita's* text shows two important various readings, 'bhrâtibhâvena' and 'râgâbhîshikena,' which I think are merely conjectures, unsupported by the authority of MSS. He explains the verse as follows: 'The king shall destroy, i. e. himself not take, the interest on money by giving [it away] as a salary. But, after thus giving away interest received, he may increase his capital by [an extra tax imposed on] the cultivators, i. e. take from them the highest rate, consisting of one-fourth of the produce.'

51. Gautama XII, 29; Colebrooke I, Dig. XXIV. The rule given in this Sûtra refers, as *Krishnapandita* correctly states, to loans, for which security is given. The rate is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for the month, or 15 per annum; see the note to Gautama loc. cit. Manu, VIII, 140, especially mentions that this rate is prescribed by Vasishtha.

III. 1. I read *Sûdrasadharmânâh*, 'equal to Sûdras,' instead of *sûdrakarmânâh*, which occurs in MS. B. only. *Krishnapandita* explains the latter reading by *sûdravat karma yeshu te sûdravatte-shvâkaranîyamityarthaâh*, 'shall be treated like Sûdras.' But the verses quoted in the following Sûtras show that the former reading is the better one.

2. Identical with Manu II, 168.

3. This and the following nine verses are, as the word 'iti,' which the best MSS. give at the end of Sûtra 12, quotations.

Veda (can)not be (called) a Brâhmaṇa, nor he who lives by trade, nor he who (lives as) an actor, nor he who obeys a Sûdra's commands, nor (he who like) a thief (takes the property of others), nor he who makes his living by the practice of medicine.'

4. 'The king shall punish that village where Brâhmaṇas, unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging; for it feeds robbers.'

5. 'Many thousands (of Brâhmaṇas) cannot form a (legal) assembly (for declaring the sacred law), if they have not fulfilled their sacred duties, are unacquainted with the Veda, and subsist only by the name of their caste.'

6. 'That sin which dunces, perplexed by ignorance and unacquainted with the sacred law, declare (to be duty) shall fall, increased a hundredfold, on those who propound it.'

7. 'What four or (even) three (Brâhmaṇas) who have completely studied the Vedas proclaim, that must be distinctly recognised as the sacred law, not (the decision) of a thousand fools.'

8. 'Offerings to the gods and to the manes must always be given to a Srotriya alone. For gifts

Anṛik, 'who does not know the Veda,' means, literally, 'unacquainted with the *Rig-veda*.'

5. This verse, which is identical with Manu XII, 114, and the next two are intended to show that a Brâhmaṇa who neglects the study of the Veda, is unfit to decide points of the sacred law, which are not settled either by the *Smṛiti* or the *Sruti*, and become a member of a parishad or 'Pañik.'

6. The verse contains a better version of Manu XII, 115.

7. Regarding the term *Vedapârâga*, see Gautama V, 20, note. *Itareshâm*, 'fools,' means literally, 'different from (those who have mastered the Vedas).'

bestowed on a man unacquainted with the Veda, reach neither the ancestors nor the gods.'

9. 'If a fool lives even in one's house and a (Brâhmana) deeply learned in the Veda lives at a great distance, the learned man shall receive the gift. The sin of neglecting (a Brâhmana is not incurred) in (the case of) a fool.'

10. 'The offence of neglecting a Brâhmana cannot be committed against a twice-born man who is ignorant of the Veda. For (in offering sacrifices) one does not pass by a brilliant fire and throw the oblations into ashes.'

11. 'An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather, and a Brâhmana ignorant of the Veda, those three have nothing but the name (of their kind).'

12. 'Those kingdoms, where ignorant men eat the food of the learned, will be visited by drought; or (some other) great evil will befall (them).'

13. If anybody finds treasure (the owner of) which is not known, the king shall take it, giving one sixth to the finder.

14. If a Brâhmana who follows the six (lawful) occupations, finds it, the king shall not take it.

9-10. Regarding the crime of 'neglecting a Brâhmana,' see Manu VIII, 392-393, where fines are prescribed for neglecting to invite to dinner worthy neighbours and Srotriyas.

10. A learned Brâhmana resembles a sacrificial fire, see e.g. below, XXX, 2-3; Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 44.

11. Manu II, 157. *Krishnapandita* and MS. B. give the ungrammatical construction which occurs in Manu and other Dharmaśāstras, while the other MSS. read more correctly, 'yastā kâśh/kamayo h. yastā karmamayo m.' &c.

13-14. This rule agrees exactly with Gautama X, 45; see also Vishnu III, 56-61. The matter is introduced here in order to show the prerogative of a learned Brâhmana. Regarding the six lawful occupations, see above, II, 13-14.

15. They declare that the slayer commits no crime by killing an assassin.

16. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'An incendiary, likewise a poisoner, one who holds a weapon in his hand (ready to kill), a robber, he who takes away land, and he who abducts (another man's) wife, these six are called assassins (âtatâyin).'

17. 'He may slay an assassin who comes with the intention of slaying, even though he knows the whole Veda together with the Upanishads; by that (act) he (does) not (incur the guilt of) the slayer of a Brâhmana.'

18. 'He who slays an assassin learned in the Veda and belonging to a noble family, does not incur by that act the guilt of the murderer of a learned Brâhmana; (in) that (case) fury recoils upon fury.'

19. Persons who sanctify the company are, a Tri-*nâkiketa*, one who keeps five fires, a Trisuparna, one who (knows the texts required for) the four sacrifices (called Asvamedha, Purushamedha, Sarvamedha, and Pitrimedha), one who knows the Vâgasaneyi-sâkhâ of the White Yagur-veda, one who knows the six Ângas, the son of a female married according to the Brâhma-rite, one who knows the first part of the Sâma-veda Samhitâ, one who sings the Gyeshtha-sâman, one who knows the Samhitâ and the Brâhmana, one who studies (the treatises on) the sacred law, one whose ancestors to the ninth degree, both

15. Vishnu V, 189-192. The connexion of this subject with the main topic consists therein that it furnishes an instance where learning does not protect a Brâhmana.

17. I read with the majority of the MSS., 'api vedântapâragam,' instead of 'vedântagam rane,' as *Krishnapandita* has.

19. For the explanations of the terms left untranslated, see the

on the mother's and on the father's side, are distinctly known to have been Srotriyas, and learned men and Snâtakas.

20. (Four students of) the four Vedas, one who knows the Mîmâmsâ, one who knows the Aṅgas, a teacher of the sacred law, and three eminent men who are in three (different) orders, (compose) a (legal) assembly consisting at least of ten (members).

21. He who initiates (a pupil) and teaches him the whole Veda is called the teacher (âkârya).

22. But he who (teaches) a portion (of the Veda only is called) the sub-teacher (upâdhyâya);

23. So is he who (teaches) the Aṅgas of the Veda.

24. A Brâhmana and a Vaisya may take up arms in self-defence, and in (order to prevent) a confusion of the castes.

25. But that (trade of arms) is the constant (duty) of a Kshatriya, because he is appointed to protect (the people).

26. Having washed his feet and his hands up to

note on Âpastamba II, 8, 17, 22; Gautama XV, 28; and the notes on Vishnu LXXXIII, 2-21. Regarding the meaning of *Khandoga*, 'one who knows the first part of the Sâma-veda Samhitâ,' see Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 63, note 59. 'One who knows the Samhitâ and the Brâhmana, i. e. of the Rig-veda.'—*Krishnapandita*. Regarding the various classes of Snâtakas, see Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 1-3.

20. Manu XII, 111. *Krishnapandita* reads *kâturvidyas trikalpî ka*, 'one who knows the four Vedas and one who knows three different Kalpa-sûtras.' My translation follows the reading of the MSS., *kâturvidyam vikalpî ka*, which is corroborated by the parallel passage of Baudhâyana I, 1, 8, '*kâturvidyam vikalpî ka*.' The explanation of the latter word is derived from Govindasvâmin. 'Men who are in three orders, i. e. a student, a householder, and ascetic,' see Gautama XXVIII, 49.

21-23. Vishnu XXIX, 1-2.

24. Gautama VII, 25.

25. Vishnu II, 6.

26-34. Vishnu LXII, 1-9.



the wrist, and sitting with his face turned towards the east or towards the north, he shall thrice sip water out of the Tīrtha sacred to Brahman, (i.e.) the part of the hand above the root of the thumb, without uttering any sound;

27. He shall twice wipe (his mouth with the root of the thumb);

28. He shall touch the cavities (of the head) with water;

29. He shall pour water on his head and on the left hand;

30. He shall not sip water while walking, standing, lying down or bending forward.

31. A Brāhmaṇa (becomes pure) by (sipping) water, free from bubbles and foam, that reaches his heart,

32. But a Kshatriya by (sipping water) that reaches his throat,

33. A Vaisya by (sipping water) that wets his palate,

34. A woman and a Sūdra by merely touching water (with the lips).

35. Water (for sipping may) even (be taken) out of a hole in the ground, if it is fit to slake the thirst of cows.

36. (He shall not purify himself with water) which has been defiled with colours, perfumes, or flavouring substances, nor with such as is collected in unclean places.

30. *Krishnapandita* is probably right in thinking that the word *vâ*, 'or,' inserted before 'bending forward,' is intended to forbid other improper acts, gestures or postures, which are reprehended in other *Smritis*.

35. *Vishnu* XXIII, 43; *Manu* V, 128.

36. 'Collected in unclean places, e.g. in a burial-ground.'—*Krishnapandita*.

37. Drops (of saliva) falling from the mouth, which do not touch a limb of the body, do not make (a man) impure.

38. If, after having sipped water, he sleeps, eats, sneezes, drinks, weeps or bathes, or puts on a dress, he must again sip water,

39. Likewise, if he touches (that part of) the lips on which no hair grows.

40. No defilement is caused by the hair of the moustache (entering the mouth).

41. If (remnants of food) adhere to the teeth, (they are pure) like the teeth, and he is purified by swallowing those which (become detached) in the mouth.

42. He is not defiled by the drops which fall on his feet, while somebody gives to others water for sipping; they are stated to be equally (clean) as the ground.

43. If, while occupied with eatables, he touches any impure substance, then he shall place that thing (which he holds in his hand) on the ground, sip water and afterwards again use it.

44. Let him sprinkle with water all objects (the purity of) which may be doubtful.

45. 'Both wild animals killed by dogs, and fruit thrown by birds (from the tree), what has been spoilt by children, and what has been handled by women,'

37. Gautama I, 41.

38. Gautama I, 37.

39. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 10.

40. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 11.

41. Gautama I, 38-40.

42. Manu V, 142.

43. Vishnu XXIII, 55. 'Occupied with eatables,' i.e. 'eating.'—*Krishnapanâta*.

45. Vishnu XXIII, 50. This and the following two Sûtras are a quotation, as appears from the use of the particle *iti* at the end of Sûtra 47.

46. 'A vendible commodity tendered for sale and what is not dirtied by gnats and flies that have settled on it,'

47. 'Likewise water collected on the ground that quenches the thirst of cows,—enumerating all these things, the Lord of created beings has declared them to be pure.'

48. Anything defiled by unclean (substances) becomes pure when the stains and the smell have been removed by water and earth.

49. (Objects) made of metal must be scoured with ashes, those made of clay should be thoroughly heated by fire, those made of wood should be planed, and (cloth) made of thread should be washed.

50. Stones and gems (should be treated) like objects made of metal,

51. Conch-shells and pearl-shells like gems,

52. (Objects made of) bone like wood,

53. Ropes, chips (of bamboo), and leather become pure (if treated) like clothes,

54. (Objects) made of fruits, (if rubbed) with (a brush of) cow-hair,

55. Linen cloth, (if smeared) with a paste of yellow mustard (and washed afterwards with water).

46. Manu V, 129.

47. Vishnu XXIII, 43.

48. Gautama I, 42. For the explanation of the term *amedhya*, 'unclean substances,' see Manu V, 135, and the passage from Devala translated in Professor Jolly's note on Vishnu XXIII, 38.

49. Gautama I, 29; Vishnu XXIII, 26, 33, 27, 18.

50-51. Gautama I, 30.

52. Gautama I, 31 and note; Vishnu XXIII, 4.

53. Gautama I, 33.

54. Vishnu XXIII, 28. Cups and bottles made of the shell of the cocoa-nut or of the Bilva (Bel) fruit and of bottle-gourds are meant.

55. Vishnu XXIII, 22.

56. But land becomes pure, according to the degree of defilement, by sweeping (the defiled spot), by smearing it with cowdung, by scraping it, by sprinkling (water) or by heaping (pure earth) on (it).

57. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Land is purified by these four methods, by digging, burning, scraping, being trodden on by cows, and fifthly by being smeared with cowdung.'

58. 'A woman is purified by her monthly discharge, a river by its current, brass by (being scoured with) ashes, and an earthen pot by another burning.'

59. 'But an earthen vessel which has been defiled by spirituous liquor, urine, ordure, phlegm, pus, tears, or blood cannot be purified even by another burning.'

60. 'The body is purified by water, the internal organ by truth, the soul by sacred learning and austerities, and the understanding by knowledge.'

61. Gold is purified by water alone,

62. Likewise silver,

56. Vishnu XXIII, 56-57. *Krishnapandita* takes *upakarana*, 'heaping (pure earth) on (the defiled spot),' to mean 'lighting a fire on it' or 'digging it up.' The translation given above rests on the parallel passages of Gautama I, 32, and of Baudhâya I, 5, 52, *bhûmes tu sammârganaprokshanopalepanâvastaranopalekhanair-yathâsthânâṃ doshaviśeshât prâyatyaṃ*, 'land becomes pure, according to the degree of the defilement, by sweeping the (defiled) spot, by sprinkling it, by smearing it with cowdung, by scattering (pure earth) on it, or by scraping it.' *Bhûmi*, 'land,' includes also the mud-floor of a house or of a verandah.

57. Some MSS. have instead of *gharshât*, 'by scraping,' *varshât*, 'by rain;' see also note on Gautama I, 32.

58. Vishnu XXII, 91.

59. Vishnu XXIII, 5.

60. Identical with Manu V, 109, and Vishnu XXII, 92.

61-62. Vishnu XXIII, 7. *Krishnapandita* points out that these

63. Copper is cleansed by acids.
64. The Tīrtha sacred to the Gods lies at the root of the little finger,
65. That sacred to the *Rishis* in the middle of the fingers,
66. That sacred to Men at the tips of the fingers,
67. That sacred to Agni (fire) in the middle of the hand,
68. That sacred to the Manes between the forefinger and the thumb.
69. He shall honour (his food at) the evening and morning meals (saying), 'It pleases me,'
70. At meals in honour of the Manes (saying), 'I have dined well,'
71. At (a dinner given on the occasion of) rites procuring prosperity (saying), 'It is perfect.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. The four castes are distinguished by their origin and by particular sacraments.
2. There is also the following passage of the Veda, 'The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth, the Kshatriya formed his arms, the Vaisya his thighs; the Sūdra was born from his feet.'
3. It has been declared in (the following passage

two rules and that given in the next Sūtra refer to cases in which gold, silver, and copper have not been stained by impure substances.

63. *Vishṇu* XXIII, 25.

64-68. *Vishṇu* LXII, 1-4; *Āpastamba* II, 2, 3, 11.

69. *Vishṇu* LXVIII, 42. The Sūtra is also intended to prescribe that the number of the daily meals is two only.

70. *Manu* III, 251.

71. The rites referred to are, according to *Krishṇapandita*, marriages, feeding Brāhmaṇas, Nāndīśrāddhas, and the like.

IV. 1. *Manu* I, 87.

2. *Rig-veda* X, 90, 12.

of) the Veda that (a Sûdra) shall not receive the sacraments, 'He created the Brâhmana with the Gâyatrî (metre), the Kshatriya with the Trishûbh, the Vaisya with the Gagatî, the Sûdra without any metre.'

4. Truthfulness, suppression of anger, liberality, abstention from injuring living beings, and the procreation of offspring (are duties common to) all (castes).

5. The Mânava (Sûtra states), 'Only when he worships the manes and the gods, or honours guests, he may certainly do injury to animals.'

6. 'On offering a Madhuparka (to a guest), at a sacrifice, and at the rites in honour of the manes, but on these occasions only may an animal be slain ; that (rule) Manu proclaimed.'

4. Vishnu II, 17.

5. Mânavam, 'the Mânava (Sûtra),' means literally 'a work proclaimed by Manu' (manunâ proktam). It is probable that the work referred to by Vasishtha is the lost Dharma-sûtra of the Mânava Sâkhâ, which is a subdivision of the Maitrâyanîyas, and on which the famous metrical Mânava Dharmaśāstra is based. The words of the Sûtra may either be a direct quotation or a summary of the opinion given in the Mânava-sûtra. I think the former supposition the more probable one, and believe that not only Sûtra 5, but also Sûtras 6-8 have been taken bodily from the ancient Dharma-sûtra. For Sûtra 6 agrees literally with a verse of the metrical Manusmṛiti, and at the end of Sûtra 8 several MSS. have the word *iti*, the characteristic mark that a quotation is finished, while the language of Sûtra 8 is more antiquated than Vasishtha's usual style. If my view is correct, it follows that the lost Mânava Dharma-sûtra consisted, like nearly all the known works of this class, partly of prose and partly of verse.

6. Identical with Manu V, 41; Vishnu LI, 64; and Sâṅkhâ-yana Grihya-sûtra II, 16, 1. I take *pitṛdaivata*, against Kulûka's and Krishṇapandita's view, as a *bahuvrîhi* compound, and dissolve it by *pitaro daivatam yasmimstat*, literally 'such (a rite) where the manes are the deities.' The other explanation, '(rites)

7. 'Meat can never be obtained without injuring living beings, and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss; therefore the (sages declare) the slaughter (of beasts) at a sacrifice not to be slaughter (in the ordinary sense of the word).'

8. 'Now he may also cook a full-grown ox or a full-grown he-goat for a Brâhmaṇa or Kshatriya guest; in this manner they offer hospitality to such (a man).'

9. Libations of water (must be poured out) for all (deceased relatives) who completed the second year and (their death causes) impurity.

10. Some declare that (this rule applies also to children) that died after teething.

11. After having burnt the body (of the deceased, the relatives) enter the water without looking at (the place of cremation),

12. Facing the south, they shall pour out water with both hands on (those days of the period of impurity) which are marked by odd numbers.

to the manes or to the gods,' which is also grammatically correct, recommends itself less, because the rites to the gods are already included by the word *yagñe*, 'at a sacrifice.' As to the Madhuparka, see *Āpastamba* II, 4, 8, 8-9, and below XI, 1.

7. *Manu* V, 48, and *Vishṇu* LI, 71, where, however, the conclusion of the verse has been altered to suit the *ahimsâ*-doctrines of the compilers of the metrical *Smṛitis*. The reason why slaughter at a sacrifice is not slaughter in the ordinary sense may be gathered from *Vishṇu* LI, 61, 63.

8. *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* III, 4, 1, 2; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 109.

9-10. *Vishṇu* XIX, 7; *Manu* V, 58. Regarding the length of the period of impurity, see below, *Sûtras* 16, 26-29.

11. *Vishṇu* XIX, 6.

12. *Vishṇu* XIX, 7; *Gautama* XIV, 40. 'On those days of the period of impurity which are marked by odd numbers,' i. e. 'on the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth, as has been declared by *Gautama*.'—*Kṛishṇapandita*.

13. The south, forsooth, is the region sacred to the manes.

14. After they have gone home, they shall sit during three days on mats, fasting.

15. If they are unable (to fast so long), they shall subsist on food bought in the market or given unasked.

16. It is ordered that impurity caused by a death shall last ten days in the case of *Sapinda* relations.

17. It has been declared in the Veda that *Sapinda* relationship extends to the seventh person (in the ascending or descending line).

18. It has been declared in the Veda that for married females it extends to the third person (in the ascending or descending line).

19. Others (than the blood-relations) shall perform (the obsequies) of married females,

20. (The rule regarding impurity) should be exactly the same on the birth of a child for those men who desire complete purity,

21. Or for the mother and the father (of the child alone); some (declare that it applies) to the

14. Vishnu XIX, 16; Gautama XIV, 37.

15. Vishnu XIX, 14.

17. Vishnu XXII, 5.

19. Gautama XIV, 36; Pâraskara *Grîhya-sûtra* III, 10, 42. 'Others than the blood-relations,' i. e. 'the husband and his relatives.' The MSS. have another *Sûtra* following this, which *Kṛishnapandita* leaves out. *Tâskâ* teshâm, 'and they (the married females shall perform the obsequies) of those (i. e. their husbands and his *Sapindas*).' It seems to me very probable that the passage is genuine, especially as Pâraskara, *Grîhya-sûtra* III, 10, 43, has the same words.

20. Vishnu XXII, 1.

21. Gautama XIV, 15-16. The *Sûtra* ought to have been divided into two.

mother (only), because she is the immediate cause of that (event).

22. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'On the birth (of a child) the male does not become impure if he does not touch (the female); on that (occasion) the menstrual excretion must be known to be impure, and that is not found in males.'

23. If during (a period of impurity) another (death or birth) happens, (the relatives) shall be pure after (the expiration of) the remainder of that (first period);

24. (But) if one night (and day only of the first period of impurity) remain, (they shall be pure) after two (days and nights);

25. (If the second death or birth happens) on the morning (of the day on which the first period of impurity expires, they shall be purified) after three (days and nights).

26. A Brâhmana is freed from impurity (caused by a death or a birth) after ten days,

27. A Kshatriya after fifteen days,

28. A Vaisya after twenty days,

29. A Sûdra after a month.

30. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'But (a twice-born man) who has eaten (the food) of a Sûdra during impurity caused by a death or a

23. Vishnu XXII, 35.

24. Vishnu XXII, 36.

25. Vishnu XXII, 37. *Kṛishnapandita* explains *prabhâte*, 'on the morning (of the day on which the first period of impurity expires),' in accordance with *Nandapandita*'s explanation of Vishnu's text by 'during the last watch (of the last night of the period of impurity).' See also the slightly different explanation of the identical words by Haradatta, Gautama XIV, 8.

26. Vishnu XXII, 1.

29. Vishnu XXII, 4.

birth, will suffer dreadful (punishment in) hell and be born again in the womb of an animal.'

31. 'A twice-born man who eats by appointment in the house of a stranger whose ten days of impurity, caused by a death, have not expired, after death will become a worm and feed on the ordure of that (man who fed him).'

32. It has been declared in the Veda, '(Such a sinner) becomes pure by reciting the *Samhitâ* of the Veda for twelve months or for twelve half-months while fasting.'

33. On the death of a child of less than two years or on a miscarriage, the impurity of the *Sapindas* lasts three (days and) nights.

34. Gautama (declares that on the former occasion they become) pure at once.

35. If (a person) dies in a foreign country and (his *Sapindas*) hear (of his death) after ten days (or a longer period), the impurity lasts for one (day and) night.

36. Gautama (declares that) if a person who has kindled the sacred fire dies on a journey, (his *Sapindas* shall) again celebrate his obsequies, (burning a dummy made of leaves or straw), and remain impure (during ten days) as if (they had actually buried) his corpse.

37. When he has touched a sacrificial post, a pyre, a burial-ground, a menstruating or a lately confined woman, impure men or (*Kândâlas* and so forth), he shall bathe, submerging both his body and his head.

32. Regarding the penance prescribed here, the so-called *anatsnâpârâyana*, see below XX, 46, and *Baudhâyana* III, 9.

33. *Vishnu* XXII, 27-30.

34. Gautama XIV, 44, and introduction to Gautama, p. liii.

36. Introduction to Gautama, pp. liii and liv.

37. *Vishnu* XXII, 69. *Krishnapandita* and MS. B. read *pâtya*,

CHAPTER V.

1. A woman is not independent, the males are her masters. It has been declared in the Veda, 'A female who neither goes naked nor is temporarily unclean is paradise.'

2. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Their fathers protect them in childhood, their husbands protect them in youth, and their sons protect them in age; a woman is never fit for independence.'

3. The penance (to be performed) by a (wife) for being unfaithful to her husband has been declared in the (section on) secret penances.

'pus,' instead of yûpa, 'a sacrificial post.' The reading is, however, wrong, because the parallel passages of most Smritis enjoin that a man who has touched a sacrificial post shall bathe. The cause of the mistake is probably a mere clerical error. The MSS. repeat the last word of this chapter, *apa ityapaḥ*. The reason is not, as *Krishnapandita* imagines, that the author wishes to indicate the necessity of bathing when one touches a person who has touched some impure thing or person. It is the universal practice of the ancient authors to repeat the last word of a chapter in order to mark its end, see e.g. Gautama note on I, 61. If it is neglected in the earlier chapters of the *Vâsishtâ Dharma-sûtra*, the badness of the MSS. is the cause.

V. 1. *Vishnu XXV, 12*. The second clause ought to have been given as a separate Sûtra. 'A female who no longer goes naked,' i. e. one who has reached the age of puberty. *Amritam*, 'is paradise,' i. e. procures bliss in this life and heaven after death through her children.

2. *Vishnu XXV, 13*. Identical with *Manu IX, 3*.

3. 'The penance which has been ordained in case a wife is unfaithful to her husband, i. e. goes to a lover and so forth, must be performed in secret, i. e. in solitary places.'—*Krishnapandita*. The explanation is clearly erroneous. *Rahasyeshu* cannot mean 'in secret' or 'in secret places.' It might refer either to a work or works called *Rahasyâni* or to the *rahasyâni prâyasâttâni*. As

4. For month by month the menstrual excretion takes away her sins.

5. A woman in her courses is impure during three (days and) nights.

6. (During that period) she shall not apply collyrium to her eyes, nor anoint (her body), nor bathe in water; she shall sleep on the ground; she shall not sleep in the day-time, nor touch the fire, nor make a rope, nor clean her teeth, nor eat meat, nor look at the planets, nor smile, nor busy herself with (household affairs), nor run; she shall drink out of a large vessel, or out of her joined hands, or out of a copper vessel.

7. For it has been declared in the Veda, 'When Indra had slain (*Vṛitra*) the three-headed son of *Tvashtṛi*, he was seized by Sin, and he considered himself to be tainted with exceedingly great guilt. All beings cried out against him (saying to him),

the next *Sûtra* contains a half-verse taken from the section on secret penances, XXVIII, 4, it is evident that *Vasishṭha* here makes a cross-reference. Similar cross-references occur further on.

4. *Yâgñavalkya* I, 72, and below, XXVIII, 4.

5. *Vishṇu* XXII, 72.

6. *Taitt. Samh.* II, 5, 1, 6-7. I read with the majority of the MSS., *grahâna nirīksheta* instead of *grīhāna nirīksheta*, which latter phrase *Kṛishṇapandita* renders by 'she shall not look out of the house.' My reading is confirmed by his quotation from the *Smṛitimañgarī*, where *grahānām nirīkshanam*, 'looking at the planets, i. e. the sun, moon,' &c., is forbidden. 'A large vessel,' i. e. an earthen jar.—*Kṛishṇapandita*.

7. *Taitt. Samh.* II, 5, 1, 2-5. The name 'slayer of a learned *Brāhmaṇa*' is applied to Indra, because *Vṛitra* is said to have been deeply versed in the Vedas. Regarding the 'proper season of women,' see *Manu* III, 46-48. In the clause 'That guilt of *Brāhmaṇa*-murder appears,' &c., I read *āvir bhavati* with the majority of the MSS. For the prohibition to accept food from a *ragasvalā*, see *Vishṇu* LI, 16-17.

'O thou slayer of a learned Brâhmana! O thou slayer of a learned Brâhmana!' He ran to the women for protection (and said to them), 'Take upon yourselves the third part of this my guilt (caused by) the murder of a learned Brâhmana.' They answered, 'What shall we have (for doing thy wish)?' He replied, 'Choose a boon.' They said, 'Let us obtain offspring (if our husbands approach us) during the proper season, at pleasure let us dwell (with our husbands) until (our children) are born.' He answered, 'So be it.' (Then) they took upon themselves (the third part of his guilt). That guilt of Brâhmana-murder appears every month as the menstrual flow. Therefore let him not eat the food of a woman in her courses; (for) such a one has put on the shape of the guilt of Brâhmana-murder.

8. (Those who recite the Veda) proclaim the following (rule): 'Collyrium and ointment must not be accepted from her; for that is the food of women. Therefore they feel a loathing for her (while she is) in that (condition, saying), "She shall not approach."'

9. 'Those (Brâhmanas in) whose (houses) menstruating women sit, those who keep no sacred fire,

8. Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 1; 6. I read the text of this Sûtra as follows: 'Tadâhu^z—aṅganâbhyañganam evâsyâ na pratigrâhyam taddhi striyâ annam iti—tasmât tasyai ka tatra ka bîbhatsante meyam upâgâd iti.' The MSS. give the following readings in the second clause: tasmât tasmai ka (B. Bh. E. F.), tatra na (F.), medhamupâgâd (Bh. F.), medha upâgâd (E.), seyamupâgâd (B.) *Krishnapandita* follows as usually MS. B. His explanation of the whole Sûtra is erroneous. 'That is the food of women,' i. e. that is as necessary to women as their food, because to beautify themselves is one of their duties.

9. The meaning of the Sûtra is that a Brâhmanical beggar must not accept any alms from Brâhmanas whose wives are in their

and those in whose family there is no Srotriya,—all these are equal to Sûdras.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. (To live according to) the rule of conduct is doubtlessly the highest duty of all men. He whose soul is defiled by vile conduct perishes in this world and in the next.

2. Neither austerities, nor (the study of) the Veda, nor (the performance of) the Agnihotra, nor lavish liberality can ever save him whose conduct is vile and who has strayed from this (path of duty).

3. The Vedas do not purify him who is deficient in good conduct, though he may have learnt them all together with the six Aṅgas; the sacred texts depart from such a man at death, even as birds, when full-fledged, leave their nest.

4. As the beauty of a wife causes no joy to a blind man, even so all the four Vedas together with the six Aṅgas and sacrifices give no happiness to him who is deficient in good conduct.

courses, who keep no sacred fire, and do not attend to the duty of Veda-study. Regarding sinners of the latter two kinds, see also Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 32-33.

VI. 1. Manu IV, 155. The word âkâra, which has been variously translated by 'conduct,' 'rule of conduct,' and 'good conduct,' includes the observance of all the various rules for every-day life, taught in the Smṛitis, and the performance of the prescribed ceremonies and rites.

4. I read with MSS. Bh. and E., *shadāṅgāstvakhilâḥ sayagñâḥ*. The reading of MS. B., which *Kṛishnapandita* adopts, *shadāṅgâḥ sakhilâḥ* means, 'together with the six Aṅgas, (and) the Khila (spurious) portions of the Veda.'

5. The sacred texts do not save from sin the deceitful man who behaves deceitfully. But that Veda, two syllables of which are studied in the right manner, purifies, just as the clouds (give beneficent rain) in the month of Isha.

6. A man of bad conduct is blamed among men, evils befall him constantly, he is afflicted with disease and short-lived.

7. Through good conduct man gains spiritual merit, through good conduct he gains wealth, through good conduct he obtains beauty, good conduct obviates the effect of evil marks.

8. A man who follows the rule of conduct established among the virtuous, who has faith and is free from envy, lives a hundred years, though he be destitute of all auspicious marks.

5. Isha is another name for Âsvina, the month September–October. Though the rainy season, properly so called, is over in September, still heavy rain falls in many parts of India, chiefly under the influence of the beginning north-east monsoon, and is particularly important for the Rabi or winter crops. I think, therefore, that it is not advisable to take, as *Krishnapandita* does, *yathâ ishe 'bdâh* both with the first and the second halves of the verse, and to translate, 'As the clouds (in general remain barren) in the month of Isha, even so the texts of the Veda do not save from evil the deceitful man who behaves deceitfully. But that Veda, two syllables of which have been studied in the right manner, sanctifies, just as the clouds in the month of Isha, (which shed a few drops of rain on the day of the Svâti conjunction, produce pearls).' 'In the right manner,' i. e. with the due observance of the rules of studentship.

6. Identical with Manu IV, 157.

7. Manu IV, 156. By the 'inauspicious marks' mentioned in this verse, and the 'auspicious marks' occurring in the next, the various lines on the hands and feet &c. are meant, the explanation of which forms the subject of the *Sâmdrika Sâstra*.

8. Identical with Manu IV, 158; *Vishnu* LXXI, 92.

9. But a man who knows the sacred law shall perform in secret all acts connected with eating, the natural evacuations and dalliance with (his wife); business to be accomplished by speech or intellect, likewise austerities, wealth, and age, must be most carefully concealed.

10. And a man shall void both urine and fæces, facing the north, in the day-time, but at night he shall do it turning towards the south; for (if he acts) thus, his life will not be injured.

11. The intellect of that man perishes who voids urine against a fire, the sun, a cow, a Brâhmaṇa, the moon, water, and the morning or evening twilights.

12. Let him not void urine in a river, nor on a path, nor on ashes, nor on cowdung, nor on a ploughed field, nor on one which has been sown, nor on a grass-plot, nor in the shade (of trees) that afford protection (to travellers).

13. Standing in the shade (of houses, clouds, and so forth), when it is quite dark, and when he fears for his life, a Brâhmaṇa may void urine, by day and by night, in any position he pleases.

14. (Afterwards) he shall perform the necessary (purification) with water fetched for the purpose (from a tank or river, and with earth).

15. For a bath water not fetched for the purpose (may also be used).

16. (For the purpose of purification) a Brâhmaṇa

10. Vishṇu LX, 2. I read with the majority of the MSS., na rishyati.

11. Identical with Manu IV, 52.

12. Vishṇu LX, 3-22.

13. Identical with Manu IV, 51.

14. Vishṇu LX, 24.

15. I. e. one may bathe also in a tank or river.

shall take earth that is mixed with gravel, from the bank (of a river).

17. Five kinds of earth must not be used, viz. such as is covered by water, such as lies in a temple, on an ant-hill, on a hillock thrown up by rats, and that which has been left by one who cleaned himself.

18. The organ (must be cleaned by) one (application of) earth, the (right) hand by three, but both (feet) by two, the anus by five, the one (i.e. the left hand) by ten, and both (hands and feet) by seven (applications of earth).

19. Such is the purification ordained for householders; it is double for students, treble for hermits, but quadruple for ascetics.

20. Eight mouthfuls are the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit, but thirty-two that of a householder, and an unlimited quantity that of a student.

21. An Agnihotrin, a draught-ox, and a student, those three can do their work only if they eat (well); without eating (much), they cannot do it.

22. (The above rule regarding limited allowances of food holds good) in the case of penances, of self-imposed restraint, of sacrifices, of the recitation of the Veda, and of (the performance of other) sacred duties.

18. Vishnu LX, 25.

19. Identical with Vishnu LX, 26, and Manu V, 137.

20-21. Identical with Âpastamba II, 5, 9, 13, and S. 21, with Sâṅkhâya Grîhya-sûtra II, 16, 5.

22. 'Penances (vrata), i.e. the *Krikkhras* and the rest; self-imposed restraint (niyama), i.e. eating certain food in accordance with a vow, and so forth, during a month or any other fixed period . . . sacred duties (dharma), i.e. giving gifts and the like.'—*Krishnapandita*.

23. The qualities by which a (true) Brâhmana may be recognised are, the concentration of the mind, austerities, the subjugation of the senses, liberality, truthfulness, purity, sacred learning, compassion, worldly learning, intelligence, and the belief (in the existence of the deity and of a future life).

24. One may know that bearing grudges, envy, speaking untruths, speaking evil of Brâhmanas, backbiting, and cruelty are the characteristics of a Sûdra.

25. Those Brâhmanas can save (from evil) who are free from passion, and patient of austerities, whose ears have been filled with the texts of the Veda, who have subdued the organs of sensation and action, who have ceased to injure animated beings, and who close their hands when gifts are offered.

26. Some become worthy receptacles of gifts through sacred learning, and some through the practice of austerities. But that Brâhmana whose stomach does not contain the food of a Sûdra, is even the worthiest receptacle of all.

27. If a Brâhmana dies with the food of a Sûdra in his stomach, he will become a village pig (in his next life) or be born in the family of that (Sûdra).

28. For though a (Brâhmana) whose body is nourished by the essence of a Sûdra's food may

24. *Krîṣṇapandita* connects *brâhmanadûṣhanam*, translated above by 'speaking evil of Brâhmanas,' with *sûdralakshanam*, and renders the two words thus, 'the characteristics of a Sûdra which degrade a Brâhmana.'

25. 'Close their hands,' i. e. are reluctant to accept.

26. *Krîṣṇapandita* takes *kimkit*, translated by 'some,' to mean 'somewhat,' 'to a certain degree,' i. e. neither very distinguished nor very despicable.

daily recite the Veda, though he may offer (an Agnihotra) or mutter (prayers, nevertheless) he will not find the path that leads upwards.

29. But if, after eating the food of a Sûdra, he has conjugal intercourse, his sons will belong to the giver of the food, and he shall not ascend to heaven.

30. They declare that he is worthy to receive gifts, who (daily) rises to recite the Veda, who is of good family, and perfectly free from passion, who constantly offers sacrifices in the three sacred fires, who fears sin, and knows much, who is beloved among the females (of his family), who is righteous, protects cows, and reduces himself by austerities.

31. Just as milk, sour milk, clarified butter, and honey poured into an unburnt earthen vessel, perish, owing to the weakness of the vessel, and neither the vessel nor those liquids (remain),

32. Even so a man destitute of sacred learning, who accepts cows or gold, clothes, a horse, land, (or) sesamum, becomes ashes, as (if he were dry) wood.

33. He shall not make his joints or his nails crack,

34. Nor shall he make a vessel ring with his nails.

35. Let him not drink water out of his joined hands.

36. Let him not strike the water with his foot or his hand,

37. Nor (pour) water into (other) water.

38. Let him not gather fruit by throwing brick-bats,

39. Nor by throwing another fruit at it.

40. He shall not become a hypocrite or deceitful.

32. Manu IV, 188. Read in the text 'evam gâ vâ' instead of 'evam gâvo.'

33. Gautama IX, 51.

35. Gautama IX, 9.

40. Manu IV, 177.

41. Let him not learn a language spoken by barbarians.

42. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'The opinion of the *Sishṭas* is, that a man shall not be uselessly active, neither with his hands and his feet, nor with his eyes, nor with his tongue and his body.'

43. 'Those *Brāhmaṇas*, in whose families the study of the Veda and of its supplements is hereditary, and who are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts, must be known to be *Sishṭas*.'

44. 'He is a (true) *Brāhmaṇa* regarding whom no one knows if he be good or bad, if he be ignorant or deeply learned, if he be of good or of bad conduct.'

CHAPTER VII.

1. There are four orders,

2. Viz. (that of) the student, (that of) the householder, (that of) the hermit, and (that of) the ascetic.

3. A man who has studied one, two, or three Vedas without violating the rules of studentship, may enter any of these (orders), whichever he pleases.

4. A (professed) student shall serve his teacher until death;

5. And in case the teacher dies, he shall serve the sacred fire.

42. Manu IV, 177; Gautama IX, 50-51.

43. Manu XII, 109.

VII. 1-2. Gautama III, 2.

3. Gautama III, 1.

4. Vishṇu XXVIII, 43.

5. Vishṇu XXVIII, 46. I agree with *Kṛishṇapandita* in thinking that the apparently purposeless particle 'and,' which is used in

6. For it has been declared in the Veda, 'The fire is thy teacher.'

7. (A student, whether professed or temporary), shall bridle his tongue ;

8. He shall eat in the fourth, sixth, or eighth hour of the day.

9. He shall go out in order to beg.

10. He shall obey his teacher.

11. He either (may wear all his hair) tied in a knot or (keep merely) a lock on the crown of his head tied in a knot, (shaving the other parts of the head.)

12. If the teacher walks, he shall attend him walking after him ; if the teacher is seated, standing ; if the teacher lies down, seated.

13. He shall study after having been called (by the teacher, and not request the latter to begin the lesson).

14. Let him announce (to the teacher) all that he has received (when begging), and eat after permission (has been given to him).

this Sûtra, indicates Vasishtha's approval of the rules given in other Smritis, according to which the student, on the death of the teacher, shall serve the teacher's son, a fellow-student, or the teacher's wife, and the service of the sacred fire is the last resource only. See Vishnu XXVIII, 44-45 ; Gautama III, 7-8.

6. These words form part of one of the Mantras which the teacher recites at the initiation of the student ; see e. g. Sâṅkhâ-yana Grîhya-sûtra.

7. Gautama II, 13, 22.

8. According to *Krishnapandita* a kâla, 'hour,' is the eighth part of a day.

9. Vishnu XXVIII, 9.

10. Vishnu XXVIII, 7.

11. Gautama I, 27 ; Vishnu XXVIII, 41.

12. Vishnu XXVIII, 18-22.

13. Vishnu XXVIII, 6.

14. Vishnu XXVIII, 10 ; Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 25.

15. Let him avoid to sleep on a cot, to clean his teeth, to wash (his body for pleasure), to apply collyrium (to his eyes), to anoint (his body), and to wear shoes or a parasol.

16. (While reciting his prayers) he shall stand in the day-time and sit down at night.

17. Let him bathe three times a day.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. (A student who desires to become) a householder shall bathe, free from anger and elation, with the permission of his teacher, and take for a wife a young female of his own caste, who does neither belong to the same Gotra nor has the same Pravara, who has not had intercourse (with another man),

2. Who is not related within four degrees on the mother's side, nor within six degrees on the father's side.

3. Let him kindle the nuptial fire.

15. Gautama II, 13.

16. Vishnu XXVIII, 2-3. The prayers intended are the so-called Sandhyâs, which are recited at daybreak and in the evening.

17. Gautama II, 8. 'Three times a day,' i.e. morning, noon, and evening. *Krishnapandita* thinks that he shall perform three ablutions at midday.

VIII. 1. Vishnu XXIV, 9; Gautama IV, 1-2. Regarding the bath at the end of the studentship, see Vishnu XXVIII, 42, and Professor Jolly's note.

2. Vishnu XXIV, 10; Gautama IV, 2.

3. Vishnu LIX, 1, and Professor Jolly's note. The fire intended is the *grîhya* or *smârta*, the sacred household fire, which according to this Sûtra must be kindled on the occasion of the marriage ceremony, while other *Smrîtis* permit of its being lighted on the division of the paternal estate.

4. Let him not turn away a guest who comes in the evening.

5. (A guest) shall not dwell in his house without receiving food.

6. If a Brāhmaṇa who has come for shelter to the house of a (householder) receives no food, on departure he will take with him all the spiritual merit of that (churlish host).

7. But a Brāhmaṇa who stays for one night only is called a guest. For (the etymological import of the word) atithi (a guest) is 'he who stays for a short while only.'

8. A Brāhmaṇa who lives in the same village (with his host) and a visitor on business or pleasure (are) not (called) guests. But a guest, whether he arrives at the moment (of dinner) or at an inopportune time, must not stay in the house of a (householder) without receiving food.

9. (A householder) who has faith, is free from covetousness, and (possesses wealth) sufficient for (performing) the Agnyâdheya-sacrifice, must become an Agnihotrin.

10. He (who possesses wealth) sufficient for (the expenses of) a Soma-sacrifice shall not abstain from offering it.

4. Vishṇu LXVII, 28-29.

5. Vishṇu LXVII, 30.

6. Vishṇu LXVII, 33.

7. Identical with Vishṇu LXVII, 34; Manu III, 102.

8. Vishṇu LXVII, 35; Manu III, 105.

9. Vishṇu LIX, 2. The Agnihotra which is here intended is, of course, the Srauta Agnihotra, to be performed with three fires. The Agnyâdheya is one of the Haviryagñas with which the Srautâgnihotrin has to begin his rites.

10. Vishṇu LIX, 8.

11. (A householder) shall be industrious in reciting the Veda, offering sacrifices, begetting children, and (performing his other duties).

12. Let him honour visitors (who come) to his house by rising to meet them, by (offering them) seats, by speaking to them kindly and extolling their virtues,

13. And all creatures by (giving them) food according to his ability.

14. A householder alone performs sacrifices, a householder alone performs austerities, and (therefore) the order of householders is the most distinguished among the four.

15. As all rivers, both great and small, find a resting-place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders.

16. As all creatures exist through the protection afforded by their mothers, even so all mendicants subsist through the protection afforded by householders.

17. A Brâhmana who always carries water (in his gourd), who always wears the sacred thread, who daily recites the Veda, who avoids the food of outcasts, who approaches (his wife) in the proper season, and offers sacrifices in accordance with the

11. I agree with *Krishnapañāta* that the word 'and' used in this enumeration serves the purpose of calling to mind that there are other minor duties. The three named specially are the so-called 'three debts'; see below, XI, 48.

12. *Vishnu* LXVII, 45; *Gautama* V, 38-41.

13. *Vishnu* LXVII, 26.

14-17. *Vishnu* LIX, 27-30; *Manu* VI, 89.

15. Identical with *Manu* VI, 90.

17. 'Who always carries water (in his gourd)' (*nityodakt*) may also be translated, 'who always keeps water (in his house)'; see *Âpastamba* II, 1, 1, 15. 'Who always wears the sacred thread'

rules (of the Veda, after death) never falls from Brahman's heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

1. A hermit shall wear (his hair in) braids, and dress (in garments made of) bark and skins;
2. And he shall not enter a village.
3. He shall not step on ploughed (land).
4. He shall gather wild growing roots and fruit (only).
5. He shall remain chaste.
6. His heart shall be full of meekness.
7. He shall honour guests coming to his hermitage with alms (consisting of) roots and fruit.
8. He shall only give, not receive (presents).
9. He shall bathe at morn, noon, and eve.
10. Kindling a fire according to the (rule of the) *Srâmanaka* (Sûtra), he shall offer the Agnihotra.
11. After (living in this manner during) six months,

may also mean 'who always wears his upper in the manner required at a sacrifice,' i.e. passes it over the left and under the right arm.

IX. 1. Vishnu XCIV, 8-9; Gautama III, 34. *Krishnapandita* takes *kîra*, 'bark,' to mean '(made of) grass,' e.g. of *Muṅga* or *Balvaga*.

2. Gautama III, 33. The particle 'and' probably indicates that the hermit is not to enter any other inhabited place.

3. Gautama III, 32.

4. Vishnu XCV, 5.

5. Vishnu XCV, 7.

6. Manu VI, 8.

7. Gautama III, 30.

9. Vishnu XCV, 10.

10. Gautama III, 27. *Krishnapandita* and MSS. B. F. read *srâvanakena*, and the rest *âvarnakena*. I read *srâmanakena*, 'according to the rule of the *Srâmanaka* Sûtra,' in accordance with Gautama's text. *Baudhâyana*, too, uses the same word.

11. Manu VI, 25.

he shall dwell at the root of a tree, keeping no fire and having no house.

12. He (who in this manner) gives (their due) to gods, manes, and men, will attain endless (bliss in) heaven.

CHAPTER X.

1. Let an ascetic depart from his house, giving a promise of safety from injury to all animated beings.

2. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'That ascetic who wanders about at peace with all creatures, forsooth, has nothing to fear from any living being.'

3. 'But he who becomes an ascetic and does not promise safety from injury to all beings, destroys the born and the unborn; and (so does an ascetic) who accepts presents.'

4. 'Let him discontinue the performance of all religious ceremonies, but let him never discontinue the recitation of the Veda. By neglecting the Veda he becomes a Sûdra; therefore he shall not neglect it.'

5. '(To pronounce) the one syllable (Om) is the best (mode of reciting the) Veda, to suppress the breath is the highest (form of) austerity; (to subsist on) alms is better than fasting; compassion is preferable to liberality.'

6. (Let the ascetic) shave (his head); let him have no property and no home.

X. 1. Manu VI, 39; Yâgñavalkya III, 61.

2. Manu VI, 40.

3. 'The born and the unborn,' i.e. his ancestors who lose heaven, and his descendants who lose their caste.

4. Manu VI, 39.

5. Manu II, 83.

6. Gautama III, 11, 22. The term parigraha, 'home,' includes the wife, the family, attendants, and a house.

7. Let him beg food at seven houses which he has not selected (beforehand),

8. (At the time) when the smoke (of the kitchen-fire) has ceased and the pestle lies motionless.

9. Let him wear a single garment,

10. Or cover his body with a skin or with grass that has been nibbled at by a cow.

11. Let him sleep on the bare ground.

12. Let him frequently change his residence,

13. (Dwelling) at the extremity of the village, in a temple, or in an empty house, or at the root of a tree.

14. Let him (constantly) seek in his heart the knowledge (of the universal soul).

15. (An ascetic) who lives constantly in the forest,

16. Shall not wander about within sight of the village-cattle.

17. 'Freedom from future births is certain for him who constantly dwells in the forest, who has subdued his organs of sensation and action, who has renounced all sensual gratification, whose mind is fixed in meditation on the Supreme Spirit, and who is (wholly) indifferent (to pleasure and pain).'

18. (Let him) not (wear) any visible mark (of his order), nor (follow) any visible rule of conduct.

19. Let him, though not mad, appear like one out of his mind.

20. Now they quote also (the following verses) :
'There is no salvation for him who is addicted to

7. Vishnu XCVI, 3.

8. Vishnu XCVI, 6 ; Manu VI, 56.

9. Vishnu XCVI, 13. It is very probable that the single garment mentioned in the Sûtra is, as *Kṛishṇapāṇḍita* thinks, a small strip of cloth to cover the ascetic's nakedness.

12-13. Vishnu XCVI, 10-12.

14. Manu VI, 43, 65.

20. I read 'ramyâvasathapriyasya,' with the majority of the MSS.

the pursuit of the science of words, nor for him who rejoices in captivating men, nor for him who is fond of (good) eating and (fine) clothing, nor for him who loves a pleasant dwelling.'

21. 'Neither by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and palmistry, nor by casuistry and expositions (of the *Sâstras*), let him ever seek to obtain alms.'

22. 'Let him not be dejected when he obtains nothing, nor glad when he receives something. Let him only seek as much as will sustain life, without caring for household property.'

23. 'But he, forsooth, knows (the road to) salvation who cares neither for a hut, nor for water, nor for clothes, nor for the three Pushkaras' (holy tanks), nor for a house, nor for a seat, nor for food.'

24. In the morning and in the evening he may eat as much (food) as he obtains in the house of one *Brâhmaṇa*, excepting honey and meat,

25. And he shall not (eat so much that he is quite) satiated.

26. At his option (an ascetic) may (also) dwell in a village.

27. Let him not be crooked (in his ways); (let him) not (observe the rules of) impurity on account

21. Identical with *Manu* VI, 50.

22. *Vishṇu* XCVI, 4. Identical with *Manu* VI, 57.

23. There are three Tirthas called Pushkara; see Professor Jolly's note on *Vishṇu* LXXXV, 1.

24. *Kṛishṇapāṇḍita* thinks that this rule is a concession to those ascetics who are unable to subsist on one meal a day, as *Manu* VI, 55 prescribes.

25. *Manu* VI, 59.

26. *Manu* VI, 94-95.

27. The text is here probably corrupt. But I follow *Kṛishṇapāṇḍita*. Several MSS. read *asatho*, 'he shall not be a rogue,' for *asavo*, 'he shall not observe the rules of impurity.'

of deaths (or births); let him not have a house; let him be of concentrated mind.

28. Let him not enjoy any object of sensual gratification.

29. Let him be (utterly) indifferent, avoiding to do injury or to show kindness to any living being.

30. To avoid backbiting, jealousy, pride, self-consciousness, unbelief, dishonesty, self-praise, blaming others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger, and envy is considered to be the duty of (men of) all orders.

31. A Brâhmana who wears the sacred thread, who holds in his hand a gourd filled with water, who is pure and avoids the food of Sûdras will not fail (to gain) the world of Brahman.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Six persons are (particularly) worthy to receive the honey-mixture (madhuparka),

2. (Viz.) an officiating priest, the bridegroom of one's daughter, a king, a paternal uncle, a Snâtaka, a maternal uncle, as well as (others enumerated elsewhere).

3. (A householder) shall offer, both at the morning and the evening (meals, a portion) of the prepared (food) to the Visve Devas in the (sacred) domestic fire.

30. Vishnu II, 16-17.

31. *Krishnapandita* believes that this Sûtra again refers to ascetics. But that is hardly possible, as ascetics are not allowed to wear a sacrificial thread (see above, Sûtra 18). I think that it is meant to emphatically assert that a Brâhmana who is free from the shortcomings enumerated in the preceding Sûtra, and who follows the rule of conduct, will obtain salvation, whether he passes through the order of *Saṃnyāsins* or not.

XI. 1-2. Gautama V, 27-30. The persons enumerated elsewhere are the teacher, the father-in-law, and so forth. Regarding the Snâtaka, see *Āpastamba I*, 11, 30, 1-4.

3. Vishnu LXVII, 1-3.

4. Let him give a Bali-offering to the (guardian) deities of the house,

5. (Thereafter) let him give a portion, one Pala in weight, to a Srottriya or to a student, (and afterwards an offering) to the manes.

6. Next let him feed his guests in due order, the worthiest first,

7. (Thereafter) the maidens, the infants, the aged, the half-grown members of his family, and *pradâtās*,

8. Then the other members of his family.

9. (Outside the house) he shall throw (some food) on the ground for the dogs, *Kândâlas*, outcasts, and crows.

10. He may give to a *Sûdra* either the fragments (of the meal) or (a portion of) fresh (food).

11. The master of the house and his wife may eat what remains.

4. *Vishnu* LXVII, 4-22.

5. *Vishnu* LIX, 14; LXVII, 23, 27. *Krishnapandita* does not take 'agrabhâga' as a technical term, but explains it by 'a first portion, sufficient for a dinner, or as much as one is able to spare.'

6. *Vishnu* LXVII, 28, 36-38.

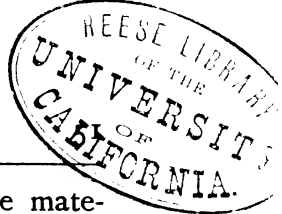
7. *Vishnu* LXVII, 39. The majority of the MSS. read *bâlavrid-dhatarunapradâtās* [tato]. *Krishnapandita* corrects the last word to *pradâtâ*, while the editor of the Calcutta edition writes *prabhritîms* [tato]. Both conjectures are inadmissible. As the same phrase occurs once more, below, XIX, 23 (where *Krishnapandita* writes *pradâtârah*), I think that it is not permissible to change the text. *Pradâtâh* must be the correct reading, and a technical name for a class of female relatives. Etymologically it may mean 'those who have been perfectly cleansed.' But I am unable to trace its precise technical import, and have left it untranslated.

8. *Vishnu* LXVII, 41.

9. *Vishnu* LXVII, 26.

10. *Gautama* V, 25, and note. 'A *Sûdra*, i. e. one who is his servant.'—*Krishnapandita*. It is, however, possible, that a visitor of the *Sûdra* caste is meant; see *Âpastamba* II, 2, 4, 19-20.

11. *Vishnu* LXVII, 41.



12. A fresh meal for which all (the same materials as for the first) are used (may be prepared), if a guest comes after the Vaisvadeva has been offered. For such a (guest) he shall cause to be prepared food (of a) particularly (good quality).

13. For it has been declared in the Veda, 'A Brâhmaṇa guest enters the house resembling the Vaisvânara fire. Through him they obtain rain, and food through rain. Therefore people know that the (hospitable reception of a guest) is a ceremony averting evil.'

14. Having fed the (guest), he shall honour him.

15. He shall accompany him to the boundary (of the village) or until he receives permission (to return).

16. Let him present (funeral offerings) to the manes during the dark half of the month (on any day) after the fourth.

17. After issuing an invitation on the day preceding (the Srâddha, he shall feed on that occasion) three ascetics or three virtuous householders, who are Srotriyas, who are not very aged, who do not follow forbidden occupations, and neither (have been his) pupils, nor are (living as) pupils in his house.

18. He may also feed pupils who are endowed with good qualities.

19. Let him avoid men neglecting their duties,

12. Âpastamba II, 3, 6, 16; Gautama V, 32, 33. A guest, i. e. one to whom the definition given above, VIII, 6, 7, applies. I read according to my MSS. punaḥpâko instead of punaḥpâke.

14-15. Gautama V, 38.

16. Vishṇu LXXVI, 1-2; Gautama XV, 3.

17. Vishṇu LXXXIII, 1; LXXXII, 2-4; LXXXIII, 5, 19; Gautama XV, 10; Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 4.

18. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 6.

19. Gautama XV, 16, 18. The explanation of the word nagna,

those afflicted with white leprosy, eunuchs, blind men, those who have black teeth, those who suffer from black leprosy, (and) those who have deformed nails.

20. Now they quote also (the following verses) : 'Now, if a (Brâhmana) versed in the Vedas is afflicted with bodily (defects) which exclude him from the company, Yama declares him to be irreproachable. Such (a man) sanctifies the company.'

21. 'At a funeral sacrifice the fragments (of the meal) must not be swept away until the end of the day. For streams of nectar flow (from them, and the manes of) those who have received no libations of water drink (them).'

22. 'But let him not sweep up the fragments (of the meal) before the sun has set. Thence issue rich streams of milk for those who obtain a share with difficulty.'

23. 'Manu declares that both the remainder (in the vessels) and the fragments (of the meal) certainly are the portion of those members of the family who died before receiving the sacraments.'

24. 'Let him give the fragments that have fallen on the ground and the portion scattered (on the blades of Kusa grass), which consists of the wipings

'neglecting their duties,' is doubtful. I have followed *Kṛishṇa-pañḍita*, who quotes the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* in support of his view. The word occurs in the same connexion, *Vishṇu* LXXXII, 27, where it is rendered by 'naked.' Possibly it may refer to ascetics who go entirely naked.

20. The *Sūtra* gives an exception to the preceding rule.

21. I read '*śkyotante hi*' instead of '*śkyotante vai*.'

22. 'Those who receive a share with difficulty,' i. e. the manes of uninitiated children, mentioned in the next verses.

23-24. *Vishṇu* LXXXII, 22; *Manu* III, 245-246. These rules, however, do not fully agree with the teaching of our *Manu-smṛiti*,

and water, as their food, to the manes of those who died without offspring and of those who died young.'

25. 'The malevolent Asuras seek an opportunity (to snatch away) that food intended for the manes, which is not supported with both hands;'

26. 'Therefore let him not offer it (to the Brâhmaṇas) without holding (a spoon) in his hand; or let him stand, holding the dish (with both hands, until) leavings of both kinds (have been produced).'

27. 'He shall feed two (Brâhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three at the offering to the manes, or a single man on either occasion; even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company.'

28. 'A large company destroys these five (advantages), the respectful treatment (of the invited guests, the propriety of) time and place, purity and (the selection of) virtuous Brâhmaṇa (guests); therefore he shall not (invite a large number).'

29. 'Or he may entertain (at a Srâddha) even a single Brâhmaṇa who has studied the whole Veda, who is distinguished by learning and virtue, and is free from all evil marks (on his body).'

as the latter assigns the fragments on the ground to honest and upright servants. Sûtra 24 I read with the majority of the MSS. 'lepanodakam' for 'lepamodakam,' and 'annaṃ preteshu' for 'anupreteshu.'

25. Manu III, 225.

26. Manu III, 224. The meaning of the last clause seems to be that the sacrificer shall stand before the Brâhmaṇas until they have done eating.

27. Identical with Manu III, 125; see also Vishṇu LXXIII, 3. The offering to the gods is the Vaisvadeva offering which precedes the Srâddha.

28. Identical with Manu III, 126.

29. Manu III, 129.

30. '(But) how can the oblation to the gods be made if he feeds a single Brâhmana at a funeral sacrifice? Let him take (a portion) of each (kind of) food that has been prepared (and put it) into a vessel;'

31. 'Let him place it in the sanctuary of a god and afterwards continue (the performance of) the funeral sacrifice. Let him offer that food in the fire or give it (as alms) to a student.'

32. 'As long as the food continues warm, as long as they eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the food are not declared (by them), so long the manes feast on it.'

33. 'The qualities of the food must not be declared as long as the (Brâhmanas who represent the) manes are not satiated. Afterwards when they are satisfied, they may say, "Beautiful is the sacrificial food."'

34. 'But an ascetic who, invited to dine at a sacrifice of the manes or of the gods, rejects meat, shall go to hell for as many years as the slaughtered beast has hairs.'

35. 'Three (things are held to) sanctify a funeral sacrifice, a daughter's son, the midday, and sesamum grains; and they recommend three (other things) for it, purity, freedom from anger and from precipitation.'

36. 'The eighth division of the day, during which the sun's (progress in the heavens) becomes slow, one must know to be midday; what is (then) given to the manes lasts (them) for a very long time.'

37. 'The ancestors of that man who has inter-

32. Identical with Vishnu LXXXII, 20, and Manu III, 237.

34. Manu V, 35.

35. Identical with Manu III, 235.

37. Vishnu LXIX, 2-4.

course with a woman after offering or having dined at a *Srâddha*, feed during a month from that (day) on his semen.'

38. 'A child that is born from (intercourse immediately) after offering a *Srâddha* or partaking of a funeral repast, is unable to acquire sacred learning and becomes short-lived.'

39. 'The father and the grandfather, likewise the great-grandfather, beset a descendant who is born to them, just as birds (fly to) a fig tree;'

40. '(Saying), "He will offer to us funeral repasts with honey and meat, with vegetables, with milk and with messes made of milk, both in the rainy season and under the constellation *Maghâḥ*."'

41. 'The ancestors always rejoice at a descendant who lengthens the line, who is zealous in performing funeral sacrifices, and who is rich in (images of the) gods and (virtuous) *Brâhmaṇa* (guests).'

42. 'The manes consider him to be their (true) descendant who offers (to them) food at *Gayâ*, and (by the virtue of that gift) they grant him (blessings), just as husbandmen (produce grain) on well-ploughed (fields).'

43. He shall offer (a *Srâddha*) both on the full moon days of the months *Srâvâṇa* and *Âgrahâyaṇa* and on the *Anvashṭakî*.

39-40. *Vishṇu* LXXVIII, 51-53.

41. 'Who lengthens the line,' i. e. who himself begets sons. Read instead of *nuyantam pitṛīkarmāni* (v. l. *muyantam* and *trīpantāḥ*), 'udyatam.'

42. *Vishṇu* LXXXV, 4, 66-67.

43. *Srâvâṇa*, i. e. July-August; *Âgrahâyaṇa*, i. e. *Mârgasīrsha* or November-December. *Anvashṭakî* means the day following the *Ashṭakâ*, or eighth day, i. e. the ninth day of the dark halves of *Mârgasīrsha*, *Pausha*, *Mâgha*, and *Phâlguna*. The form of the word is usually *anvashṭakâ*.

44. There is no restriction as to time, if (particularly suitable) materials and (particularly holy) Brâhmanas are at hand, or (if the sacrificer is) near (a particularly sacred) place.

45. A Brâhmana must necessarily kindle the three sacred fires.

46. He shall offer (in them) the full and new moon sacrifices, the (half-yearly) Âgrayana Ishî, the Kâturmâsya-sacrifice, the (half-yearly) sacrifices at which animals are slain, and the (annual) Soma-sacrifices.

47. For all this is (particularly) enjoined (in the Veda), and called by way of laudation 'a debt.'

48. For it is declared in the Veda, 'A Brâhmana is born, loaded with three debts,' (and further, 'He owes) sacrifices to the gods, a son to the manes, the study of the Veda to the Rîshis; therefore he is free from debt who has offered sacrifices, who has begotten a son, and who has lived as a student (with a teacher).'

49. Let him (ordinarily) initiate a Brâhmana in the eighth (year) after conception,

50. A Kshatriya in the eleventh year after conception,

51. A Vaisya in the twelfth year after conception.

52. The staff of a Brâhmana (student may) optionally (be made) of Palâsa wood,

44. Gautama XV, 5.

45. Vishnu LIX, 2.

46. Vishnu LIX, 4-9.

47. Manu IV, 257. I read *rinasamstutam* with MS. E.

48. Taitt. Samh. VI, 3, 10, 5; Satapatha-brâhmana I, 7, 2, 11.

49-51. Vishnu XXVII, 15-17.

52-54. Vishnu XXVII, 29. Regarding other kinds of sticks, see Gautama I, 22-24.

53. (That) of a Kshatriya optionally of the wood of the Banyan tree,

54. (That) of a Vaisya optionally of Udumbara wood.

55. (The staff) of a Brāhmaṇa shall (be of such a length as to) reach the hair,

56. (That) of a Kshatriya the forehead,

57. (That) of a Vaisya the (tip of the) nose.

58. The girdle of a Brāhmaṇa shall be made of Muñga grass,

59. A bowstring (shall be that) of a Kshatriya,

60. (That) of a Vaisya shall be made of hempen threads.

61. The upper garment of a Brāhmaṇa (shall be) the skin of a black antelope,

62. (That) of a Kshatriya the skin of a spotted deer,

63. (That) of a Vaisya a cow-skin or the hide of a he-goat.

64. The (lower) garment of a Brāhmaṇa (shall be) white (and) unblemished,

65. (That) of a Kshatriya dyed with madder,

66. (That) of a Vaisya dyed with turmeric, or made of (raw) silk;

67. Or (a dress made of) undyed (cotton) cloth may be worn by (students of) all (castes).

68. A Brāhmaṇa shall ask for alms placing (the word) 'Lady' first,

55-57. Vishṇu XXVII, 22.

58-60. Vishṇu XXVII, 18.

61-63. Vishṇu XXVII, 20.

64-67. Vishṇu XXVII, 19; Gautama I, 17-21. 'Unblemished,' i. e. new, without holes and seams.

68-70. Vishṇu XXVII, 25. I. e. 'Lady, give alms;' 'Give, O lady, alms;' and 'Give alms, lady.'

69. A Kshatriya placing (the word) 'Lady' in the middle,

70. A Vaisya placing (the word) 'Lady' at the end (of the formula).

71. The time (for the initiation) of a Brâhmaṇa has not passed until the completion of the sixteenth year,

72. (For that) of a Kshatriya until the completion of the twenty-second,

73. (For that) of a Vaisya until the completion of the twenty-fourth.

74. After that they become 'men whose Sâvitṛi has been neglected.'

75. Let him not initiate such men, nor teach them, nor sacrifice for them; let them not form matrimonial alliances (with such outcasts).

76. A man whose Sâvitṛi has not been performed, may undergo the Uddâlaka-penance.

77. Let him subsist during two months on barley-gruel, during one month on milk, during half a month on curds of two-milk whey, during eight days on clarified butter, during six days on alms given without asking, (and) during three days on water, and let him fast for one day and one night.

78. (Or) he may go to bathe (with the priests) at the end of an Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice).

79. Or he may offer a Vrâtya-stoma.

71-73. Vishṇu XXVII, 26.

74. Vishṇu XXVII, 27. Sâvitṛi, literally 'the *Rik* sacred to Savitṛi' (Rig-veda III, 62, 10), means here 'the initiation,' see Gautama I, 12 note.

75. Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 28. The plural vivâhayeyuḥ, 'let them (not) form matrimonial alliances,' indicates that orthodox Brâhmaṇas must neither give their daughters to Patitasâvitṛikas nor take the daughters of such persons.

78. Gautama XIX, 9.

79. Gautama XIX, 8.

CHAPTER XII.

1. Now, therefore, the duties of a Snâtaka (will be explained).

2. Let him not beg from anybody except from a king and a pupil.

3. But let him ask, if pressed by hunger, for some (small gift) only, a cultivated or uncultivated field, a cow, a goat or a sheep, (or) at the last extremity, for gold, grain or food.

4. But the injunction (given by those who know the law) is, 'A Snâtaka shall not be faint with hunger.'

5. Let him not dwell together with a person whose clothes are foul;

6. (Let him not cohabit) with a woman during her courses,

7. Nor with an unfit one.

8. Let him not be a stay-at-home.

XII. 1. 'Now' marks the beginning of a new topic. 'Therefore,' i. e. because the duties of a Snâtaka have to be taught after those of a student.

2. Manu IV, 33; Gautama IX, 63.

3. Manu X, 113-114. 4. Manu IV, 34; Vishnu III, 79.

5. *Krishnapandita*, whom I have followed in the translation of this Sûtra, thinks that it indicates the obligation of wearing clean clothes, see e. g. Vishnu LXXI, 9. It seems to me, however, probable that its real sense is, 'Let him not cohabit with a woman during her courses,' and that the next Sûtra has to be read *nâragasvalayâ*, 'Nor with one of immature age.'

7. 'An unfit one,' i. e. 'one of low caste' (*hinâ*).—*Krishnapandita*. Probably a sick wife is meant, Gautama IX, 28.

8. Gautama IX, 53. *Krishnapandita* gives besides the above interpretation of the Sûtra from Haradatta's *Gautamiyâ Mitâksharâ*, another one, according to which it means, 'Let him not forsake his own family and enter another one (by adoption and so forth).' A third

9. Let him not step over a stretched rope to which a calf (or cow) is tied.

10. Let him not look at the sun when he rises or sets.

11. Let him not void excrements or urine in water,

12. Nor spit into it.

13. Let him ease himself, after wrapping up his head and covering the ground with grass that is not fit to be used at a sacrifice, and turning towards the north in the day-time, turning towards the south at night, sitting with his face towards the north in the twilight.

14. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'But Snâtakas shall always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two sacrificial threads, (shall carry) a staff and a vessel filled with water.'

15. 'It is declared, that (a vessel becomes) pure (if cleaned) with water, or with the hand, or with a stick, or with fire. Therefore he shall clean (his) vessel with water and with his (right) hand.'

16. 'For Manu, the lord of created beings, calls (this mode of cleaning) encircling it with fire.'

17. 'He who is perfectly acquainted with (the rules of) purification shall sip water (out of this vessel), after he has relieved the necessities of nature.'

18. Let him eat his food facing the east.

explanation is given by Nârâyana on Sâṅkhâya Gr̥hya-sûtra IV, 12, 11, who takes it to mean, 'Let him not go from one house to the other.'

9. Gautama IX, 52; Vishṇu LXIII, 42.

10. Vishṇu LXXI, 17-18.

11-12. Vishṇu LXXI, 35.

13. Gautama IX, 37-38, 41-43; Vishṇu LX, 2-3.

14. Vishṇu LXXI, 13-15.

18. Vishṇu LXVIII, 40.

19. Silently let him swallow the entire mouthful, (introducing it into the mouth) with the four fingers and with the thumb ;

20. And let him not make a noise (while eating).

21. Let him approach his wife in the proper season, except on the Parva days.

22. Let him not commit a crime against nature (with her).

23. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'The ancestors of a man who commits an unnatural crime with a wedded wife, feed during that month on his semen. All unnatural intercourse is against the sacred law.'

24. It is also declared in the Kâṭhaka, '(When) the women (asked) Indra, "May even those among us, who are soon to be mothers, (be allowed to) cohabit with their husbands," he granted that wish.'

25. Let him not ascend a tree.

26. Let him not descend into a well.

27. Let him not blow the fire with his mouth.

28. Let him not pass between a fire and a Brâhmana,

29. Nor between two fires ;

30. Nor between two Brâhmanas ; or (he may do it) after having asked for permission.

31. Let him not dine together with his wife. For it is declared in the Vâgasaneyaka, 'His children will be destitute of manly vigour.'

19. *Krishnapandita* thinks that this rule refers to the first five mouthfuls only.

21. *Vishnu* LXIX, 1. The Parva days are the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of each half-month.

25-27. *Gautama* IX, 32.

28. *Āpastamba* II, 5, 12, 6.

30. *Āpastamba* II, 5, 12, 7-8.

31. *Satapatha-brâhmana* X, 5, 2, 9 ; *Vishnu* LXVIII, 46.

32. Let him not point out (a rainbow calling it) by (its proper) name, 'Indra's bow.'

33. Let him call it 'the jewelled bow' (*manidhanuḥ*).

34. Let him avoid seats, clogs, sticks for cleaning the teeth, (and other implements) made of Palāsa wood.

35. Let him not eat (food placed) in his lap.

36. Let him not eat (food placed) on a chair.

37. Let him carry a staff of bamboo,

38. And (wear) two golden earrings.

39. Let him not wear any visible wreath excepting a golden one;

40. And let him disdain assemblies and crowds.

41. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'To deny the authority of the Vedas, to carp at the teaching of the *Rīshis*, to waver with respect to any (matter of duty), that is to destroy one's soul.'

42. Let him not go to a sacrifice except if he is chosen (to be an officiating priest. But) if he goes, he must, on returning home, turn his right hand (towards the place).

43. Let him not set out on a journey when the sun stands over the trees.

32-33. Gautama IX, 22.

34. Gautama IX, 44.

35. Vishṇu LXVIII, 21.

36. Gautama IX, 32.

37. Vishṇu LXXI, 13.

38. Vishṇu LXXI, 16.

39. Gautama IX, 32.

40. I read *sabhāsamavâyâmskâvagayeta*. The corrupt readings of Bh. *samavâyâska gaviyan* and of F. *samavâyâmska vakshīyanna* point to this version, the sense of which agrees with the parallel passages of other *Smṛitis*, see e. g. *Āpastamba* I, 11, 32, 19.

41. Vishṇu LXXI, 83.

42. Gautama IX, 54-55, 66.

43. Vishṇu LXIII, 9. According to *Kṛishṇapandita* the time intended is midday.

44. Let him not ascend an unsafe boat, or (any unsafe conveyance).

45. Let him not cross a river, swimming.

46. When he has risen in the last watch (of the night) and has recited (the Veda) he shall not lie down again.

47. In the Muhūrta sacred to Pragâpati a Brâhmana shall fulfil some sacred duties.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Now, therefore, the Upâkarman (or the rite preparatory to the study) of the Veda (must be performed) on the full moon day of the month *Srâvana* or *Praush/hapada*.

2. Having kindled the sacred fire, he offers (therein) unground (rice) grains,

3. To the gods, to the *Rîshis*, and to the *Khandas*.

4. Let them begin to study the Vedas, after having made Brâhmanas (invited for the purpose) wish 'welfare' (*svasti*), and after having fed them with sour milk,

5. (And continue the Veda-study) during four

44. *Vishnu* LXIII, 47.

45. *Vishnu* LXIII, 46. *Krishnapandita* omits this Sûtra which is found in the majority of the MSS.

46. *Âpastamba* I, 11, 32, 15; *Vishnu* XXX, 27.

47. *Manu* IV, 92; *Vishnu* LX, 1. The Muhūrta sacred to Pragâpati is the same as the Brâhma-muhūrta, and falls in the last watch of the night.

XIII. 1. *Vishnu* XXX, 1. *Srâvana*, July-August. *Praush/hapada*, i. e. *Bhâdrapada*, August-September. *Krishnapandita* improperly combines this Sûtra with the next.

5. *Gautama* XVI, 2.

months and a half or during five months and a half.

6. After (the expiration of) that (period), he may study (the Vedas) during the bright half of each month,

7. But the supplementary treatises (Aṅgas) of the Veda at pleasure (both during the bright and the dark halves of each month).

8. Interruptions of the (Veda-study shall take place),

9. If it thunders during the twilight,

10. During (both) the twilights (of each day),

11. In towns where a corpse (lies) or *Kāṇḍālas* (stay).

12. At pleasure (he may study seated) in (a place) which has been smeared with cowdung and around which a line has been drawn.

13. (Let him not study) near a burial-ground,

14. (Nor) lying down,

15. Nor when he has eaten or received a gift at a funeral sacrifice ;

16. And with reference to this (subject) they quote a verse of Manu, 'Be it fruit, or water, or

6-7. Manu IV, 98.

9. Āpastamba I, 3, 9, 20.

10. Gautama XVI, 12.

11. Gautama XVI, 19; Vishṇu XXX, 10. The above translation follows *Kṛishṇapāṇḍita's* gloss. But the Sūtra may also be taken differently : 'In (villages) where a corpse lies or a *Kāṇḍāla* stays (and) in towns.' For the prohibition to study in towns is mentioned by Gautama XVI, 45; Manu IV, 116; and Āpastamba I, 3, 9, 4.

12. Āpastamba I, 3, 9, 5. The rule refers to places, such as high-roads, where studying is ordinarily forbidden.

13. Vishṇu XXX, 15; Āpastamba I, 3, 9, 6.

14. Gautama XVI, 17.

15. Gautama XVI, 34.

16. Manu IV, 117 somewhat resembles the verse quoted. But

sesamum, or food, or whatever be the (gift) at a *Srâddha*, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the *Veda*; for it is declared in the *Smṛiti*, that the hand of a *Brâhmaṇa* is his mouth.'

17. (Let him not recite the *Veda*) while he runs, (nor) while a foul smell and the like (are perceptible, nor) on barren ground,

18. (Nor) when he has ascended a tree,

19. (Nor) in a boat or in a camp,

20. Nor after meals while his hands are moist,

21. (Nor) while the sound of a *Vâṇa* (is heard),

22. (Nor) on the fourteenth day (of each half-month, nor) on the new moon day, (nor) on the eighth day (of each half-month, nor) on an *Ashṭakâ*,

23. (Nor) while he stretches his feet out, (nor) while he makes a lap, (nor) while he leans against (something), nor (in any other unbecoming posture),

24. (Nor) close to his *Gurus*,

25. (Nor) during that night in which he has had conjugal intercourse,

26. (Nor) dressed in that garment which he had on during conjugal intercourse, except if it has been washed,

its altered form shows clearly that the *Mânava Dharmaśāstra* known to *Vasishṭha* differed from the work which at present goes by that name. Compare also *Sāṅkhâyaṇa Grîhya-sûtra* IV, 7, 55.

17. *Yâgyavalkya* I, 150; *Gautama* XVI, 19; *Manu* IV, 120.

18. *Āpastamba* I, 3, 11, 16.

19. *Vishṇu* XXX, 18; *Manu* IV, 121.

20. *Āpastamba* I, 3, 10, 25.

21. *Gautama* XVI, 7, and note.

22. *Vishṇu* XXX, 4; *Gautama* XVI, 37-38. The *Ashṭakâs* are the eighth days of the dark halves of the winter months, *Mârgaśīrsha*, *Pausha*, *Mâgha*, and *Phâlguna*.

23. *Vishṇu* XXX, 17; *Manu* IV, 112.

26. *Manu* IV, 116.

27. (Nor) at the extremity of a village,
28. (Nor) after (an attack of) vomiting,
29. (Nor) while voiding urine or fæces.
30. (Let him not recite) the Rig-veda, the Yagur-veda, and (the Atharva-veda) while the sound of the Sâman melodies (is audible), nor (the Sâman while the other Vedas are being recited).
31. (Let him not study) before (his food is) digested,
32. (Nor) when a thunderbolt falls,
33. (Nor) when an earthquake happens,
34. Nor when the sun and the moon are eclipsed.
35. When a preternaturally loud sound is heard in the sky, when a mountain falls, (and) when showers of stones, blood or sand (fall from the sky, the Veda must not be read) during the twenty-four hours (immediately succeeding the event).
36. If meteors and lightning appear together, (the interruption shall last) three (days and) nights.
37. A meteor (alone and) a flash of lightning (alone cause an interruption lasting) as long as the sun shines (on that or the next day).
38. (If rain or other celestial phenomena come) out of season, (the Veda must not be read) during the twenty-four hours (immediately succeeding the event).

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| 27. Gautama XVI, 18. | 28. Vishnu XXX, 19. |
| 29. Gautama XVI, 11. <i>Krishnapandita</i> improperly divides the Sûtra into two. | |
| 30. Vishnu XXX, 26. | 31. Vishnu XXX, 21. |
| 32-34. Vishnu XXX, 5; Gautama XVI, 22. | |
| 35. Gautama XVI, 22; Manu IV, 105, 115. <i>Krishnapandita</i> mentions digdâha, 'when the sky appears preternaturally red,' as a various reading for 'dignâda.' | |
| 38. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 29. | |

39. If the teacher has died, (he shall not study the Veda) during three (days and) nights.

40. If the teacher's son, a pupil, or a wife (have died, he shall not study) during a day and a night.

41. Let him honour an officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles, (though they may be) younger than himself, by rising and saluting them,

42. Likewise the wives of those persons whose feet must be embraced, and the teacher's (wives),

43. And his parents.

44. Let him say to one acquainted with (the meaning of) a salute, 'I N. N. ho! (salute thee);'

45. But him who does not know it (he shall address with the same formula, omitting his name).

46. When a salute is returned, the last vowel (of the noun standing) in the vocative is produced to the length of three moras, and if it is a diphthong (e or o) changeable according to the Sandhi rules, it becomes ây or âv, e. g. bho, bhâv.

47. A father who has committed a crime causing loss of caste must be cast off. But a mother does not become an outcast for her son.

48. Now they quote also (the following verses):

39. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 2-4.

40. Vishnu XXXII, 4.

42. The persons intended are, the teacher and so forth. See Âpastamba I, 4, 14, 7, note.

44. Gautama VI, 5.

45. Âpastamba I, 4, 14, 23. *Krishnapandita* combines this Sûtra with the preceding.

46. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 18. In returning a salute, the name of the person addressed is pronounced, and if it ends in a, the vowel is made pluta, while e and o are changed to âya and âva, e. g. Hare to Harâya.

47. Gautama XX, 1; XXI, 15; Âpastamba I, 10, 28, 9.

48. Manu II, 145.

‘The teacher (*ākārya*) is ten times more venerable than a sub-teacher (*upādhyāya*), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, and the mother a thousand times more than the father.’

49. ‘A wife, sons, and pupils who are defiled by sinful deeds, must first be reproved, and (if they do not amend, then) be cast off. He who forsakes them in any other way, becomes (himself) an outcast.’

50. An officiating priest and a teacher who neglect to teach the recitation of the Veda, or to sacrifice, shall be cast off. If he does not forsake them, he becomes an outcast.

51. They declare that the male offspring of outcasts are (also) outcasts, but not the females.

52. For a female enters (the family of) a stranger.

53. He may marry such a (female) without a dowry.

54. ‘If the teacher’s teacher is near, he must be treated like the teacher (himself). The Veda declares that one must behave towards the teacher’s son just as towards the teacher.’

55. A Brâhmaṇa shall not accept (as gifts) weapons, poison, and spirituous liquor.

56. Learning, wealth, age, relationship, and occupation must be honoured.

57. (But) each earlier named (quality) is more venerable than (the succeeding ones).

58. If he meets aged men, infants, sick men, load-carriers, women, and persons riding in chariots, he

49. Âpastamba I, 2, 8, 29-30.

50. Gautama XXI, 12.

51. Âpastamba I, 10, 29, 14.

53. Manu II, 238; Yâgyñavalkya III, 261.

54. Vishṇu XXVIII, 29, 31.

56. Vishṇu XXXII, 16.

58-59. Vishṇu LXIII, 51.

must make way (for them, i.e.) for each later (named before those enumerated earlier).

59. If a king and a Snâtaka meet, the king must make (way) for the Snâtaka.

60. All (must make way) for a bride who is being conveyed (to her husband's house).

61. Grass, room (for resting), fire, water, a welcome, and kind words never fail in the houses of good men.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. Now, therefore, we will declare what may be eaten and what may not be eaten.

2. Food given by a physician, a hunter, a woman of bad character, a mace-bearer, a thief, an Abhisasta, a eunuch, (or) an outcast must not be eaten,

3. (Nor that given) by a miser, one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Srauta-sacrifice, a prisoner, a sick person, a seller of the Soma-plant, a carpenter, a washerman, a dealer in spirituous liquor, a spy, a usurer, (or) a cobbler,

4. Nor (that given) by a Sûdra,

5. Nor (that given) by one who lives by his weapons,

6. Nor (that given) by the (kept) paramour of a

61. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 14; Gautama V, 35-36.

XIV. 2. Vishnu LI, 7, 10-11. *Dandika*, 'a mace-bearer,' may mean 'a police officer' or 'a messenger.' I read with MSS. Bh. and F. *shandha*, 'a eunuch,' instead of *satha*, 'a rogue,' the reading of the other MSS. and of *Krishnapandita*.

3. Vishnu LI, 8-9, 12, 19; Gautama XVII, 17. I write *sûkaka*, 'a spy,' instead of *sûkika*, 'a tailor,' according to the other Smritis, e.g. Vishnu LI, 12; Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 30.

4. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 13.

5. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 19.

6. Vishnu LI, 16; Gautama XVII, 18. I read with the majority

married woman, or by a husband who allows a paramour (to his wife),

7. Nor (that given) by an incendiary,

8. Nor (that given) by (a ruler) who does not slay those worthy of capital punishment,

9. Nor (food) offered publicly with these words, 'Who is willing to eat?'

10. Nor food given by a multitude of givers, or by harlots, and so forth.

11. Now they quote also (the following verse) : 'The gods do not eat (the offerings) of a man who keeps dogs, nor of him whose (only) wife is of the Sûdra caste, nor of him who lives in subjection to his wife, nor of (a husband) who (permits) a paramour (of his wife to reside) in his house.'

12. He may accept (the following presents even) from such (people, viz.) firewood, water, fodder, Kusa grass, parched grain, (food) given without asking, a vehicle, (shelter in) the house, small fish, millet, a garland, perfumes, honey, and meat.

13. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'For the sake of a Guru, when he desires to save his wife (and family from starvation), when he wishes to honour the gods or guests, he may accept (presents) from anybody; but let him not satisfy his (own hunger) with such (gifts).'

of the MSS. *yaskopapatim* [pattim F.] manyate, instead of B.'s and *Krishnapandita*'s *yaskopari* manyate.

9. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 17.

10. Vishnu LI, 7. 'And so forth (iti), i. e. by cruel men and the like.'—*Krishnapandita*.

11. Vishnu LI, 15.

12. Gautama XVII, 3; Vishnu LVII, 10.

13. Vishnu LVII, 13; Manu IV, 251.

14. Food given by a hunter who uses the bow must not be rejected.

15. For it is declared in the Veda, 'At a sacrificial session (*sattra*), which lasted one thousand years, *Agastya* went out to hunt. He had sacrificial cakes prepared with the meat of beasts and fowls good (to eat).'

16. With reference to this (subject) they quote also some verses proclaimed by *Pragâpati*, '*Pragâpati* (the Lord of created beings) has declared that food freely offered and brought (by the giver himself) may be eaten, though (the giver) be a sinful man, provided the gift has not been asked for beforehand.'

17. 'Food offered by a man who has faith must certainly be eaten, even though (the giver) be a thief, but not that given by (a *Brâhmaṇa*) who sacrifices for many and who initiates many.'

18. 'The manes do not eat during fifteen years (the food) of that man who disdains a (freely offered gift), nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods).'

19. 'But alms, though offered without asking, must not be accepted from a physician, from a hunter, from a surgeon or a (very) wicked man, from a eunuch, and from a faithless wife.'

20. Fragments of food left by other persons than the teacher must not be eaten,

21. Nor remnants of one's own (meal) and food touched by leavings,

15. *Manu* V, 22-23. I connect *vigñâyate* with this *Sûtra*, instead of with the preceding one, as *Kṛishṇapandita* does.

16. *Vishṇu* LVII, 11; *Manu* IV, 248; *Âpastamba* I, 6, 19, 14.

18. *Vishṇu* LVII, 12; *Manu* IV, 249; *Âpastamba* I, 6, 19, 14.

19. *Âpastamba* I, 6, 19, 15.

20. *Vishṇu* XXVIII, 11.

22. Nor (food) defiled by contact with a garment, hair, or insects.

23. But at pleasure he may use (such food) after taking out the hair and the insects, sprinkling it with water, dropping ashes on it, and (after it has been declared) fit for use by the word (of a Brâhmaṇa).

24. With reference to this (subject) they quote also some verses proclaimed by Pragâpati, 'The gods created for Brâhmaṇas three means of purifying (defiled substances), viz. ignorance (of defilement), sprinkling (them) with water, and commending (them) by word of mouth.'

25. 'Let him not throw away that food which, at a procession with images of the gods, at weddings, and at sacrifices, is touched by crows or dogs.'

26. 'After the (defiled) portion has been removed, the remainder shall be purified, liquids by straining them, but solid food by sprinkling it with water.'

27. 'What has been touched by the mouth of a cat is even pure.'

28. (Cooked food which has become) stale (by being kept), what is naturally bad, what has been placed once only in the dish, what has been cooked more than once, raw (food), and (food) insufficiently cooked (must not be eaten).

29. But at pleasure he may use (such food) after pouring over it sour milk or clarified butter.

22. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 28; Gautama XVII, 9.

23. Vishṇu XXIII, 38; Yâgñavalkya I, 189.

24. Yâgñavalkya I, 191.

26. Vishṇu XXIII, 30. *Krishṇapandita* thinks that plâvanena, 'by straining them (through a cloth),' may also mean 'by heating them on the fire.'

28. Gautama XVII, 13, and note, 15-16.

29. Manu V, 24.

30. With reference to this (subject) they quote also some verses proclaimed by Pragâpati, 'A Brâhmaṇa shall not eat clarified butter or oil which drips from the nails (of the giver). Yama has declared such (food to be) impure; (to eat it is as sinful) as to partake of cow's flesh.'

31. 'But fatty substances, salt, and condiments proffered with the hand do not benefit the giver, and he who partakes of them will eat sin.'

32. 'Let him give, therefore, such substances placed on a leaf or on grass, but never with his hands or in an iron vessel.'

33. For eating garlic, onions, mushrooms, turnips, Sleshmântaka, exudations from trees, the red sap flowing from incisions (in trees or plants), food pecked at by crows or worried by dogs, or the leavings of a Sûdra, an Atikrikkhṛa (penance must be performed).

34. (Let him not drink) the milk of a cow that is in heat, nor of one whose calf has died,

35. Nor that which cows, buffalo-cows, and goats give during the first ten days (after giving birth to young ones),

36. Nor water collected at the bottom of a boat.

37. Let him avoid wheat-cakes, (fried) grain, porridge, barley-meal, pulse-cakes, oil, rice boiled in milk, and vegetables that have turned sour (by standing),

33. Vishṇu LI, 34, 36; Gautama XVII, 32-33. Regarding the Atikrikkhṛa penance, see below, XXIV, 1.

34. Vishṇu LI, 40. For other explanations of the term sandhini, 'a cow that is in heat,' see Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 23; Vishṇu LI, 40.

35. Vishṇu LI, 39. The Sûtra implies that the milk of other animals must not be drunk under any circumstances.

37-38. Vishṇu LI, 35, 42.

38. Likewise other kinds of (sour) food prepared with milk and barley-flour.

39. Among five-toed animals, the porcupine, the hedgehog, the hare, the tortoise, and the iguana may be eaten,

40. Among (domestic) animals those having teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels.

41. And among fishes, the long-nosed crocodile, the Gavaya, the porpoise, the alligator, and the crab (must not be eaten),

42. Nor those which are misshaped or have heads like snakes,

43. Nor the bos Gaurus, the Gayal, and the Sarabha,

44. Nor those that have not been (specially mentioned (as fit for food),

45. Nor milch-cows, draught-oxen, and animals whose milk teeth have not dropped out.

46. It is declared in the Vâgasaneyaka, that (the flesh of) milch-cows and oxen is fit for offerings.

47. But regarding the rhinoceros and the wild boar they make conflicting statements.

48. And among birds, those who seek their food by scratching with their feet, the web-footed ones, the Kalaviṅka, the water-hen, the flamingo, the

39. Gautama XVII, 27. Haradatta on Âpastamba and Gautama explain svâvidh, 'the porcupine,' to be a kind of boar, and salyaka, 'the hedgehog,' to be 'the porcupine.'

40. Vishṇu LI, 30; Manu V, 18.

41-42. Gautama XVII, 36; Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 38-39.

43. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29.

44. Manu V, 11, 17.

45. Gautama XVII, 30-31.

46. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 31.

48. Gautama XVII, 34-35; Vishṇu LI, 28-31. I read mân-dhâla, 'the flying fox,' while Krishṇapandita gives mâghâra, a

Brahmanî duck, the Bhâsa, the crow, the blue pigeon, the osprey, the Kâtaka, the dove, the crane, the black partridge, the grey heron, the vulture, the falcon, the white egret, the ibis, the cormorant, the peewit, the flying-fox, those flying about at night, the woodpecker, the sparrow, the Railâtaka, the green pigeon, the wagtail, the village-cock, the parrot, the starling, the cuckoo, those feeding on flesh, and those living about villages (must not be eaten).

CHAPTER XV.

1. Man formed of uterine blood and virile seed proceeds from his mother and his father (as an effect) from its cause.

2. (Therefore) the father and the mother have power to give, to sell, and to abandon their (son).

3. But let him not give or receive (in adoption) an only son;

4. For he (must remain) to continue the line of the ancestors.

5. Let a woman neither give nor receive a son except with her husband's permission.

6. He who desires to adopt a son, shall assemble | ✓

reading which he cannot explain. The MSS. read as follows: B. E. mâghâra, Bh. F. mâdhâm, I. O. 913 (*âtibh*)ândha (*naktam*). Haradatta on Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 33 explains *plava*, 'the water-hen,' to be a kind of heron, called also *sakatabila*.

XV. 1-9. Vyavahâramayûkha IV, 5, 16; Colebrooke V, Digest CCLXXIII; Dattakamimâmsâ IV, 14; V, 31-40.

3. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ I, 11, 11; Dattakamimâmsâ IV, 2-3.

4. Dattakamimâmsâ IV, 4. I. e. to offer funeral sacrifices to his ancestors and to have sons who do it after him.

5. Dattakamimâmsâ I, 15; IV, 9.

6. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ I, 11, 13, and note; Dattakamî-

his kinsmen, announce his intention to the king, make burnt-offerings in the middle of the house, reciting the Vyâhr̥itis, and take (as a son) a not remote kinsman, just the nearest among his relatives.

7. But if a doubt arises (with respect to an adopted son who is) a remote kinsman, (the adopter) shall set him apart like a Sûdra.

8. For it is declared in the Veda, 'Through one he saves many.'

9. If, after an adoption has been made, a legitimate son be born, (the adopted son) shall obtain a fourth part,

10. Provided he be not engaged in (rites) procuring prosperity.

mâmsâ II, 51; Dattakāṇḍrikâ II, 11. 'To the king,' i.e. to the person who holds the village, either to the king of the country or to the feudal chief (Thâkor) who holds it under the sovereign. 'Reciting the Vyâhr̥itis,' i.e. saying with the first oblation *Om bhûh svâhâ*, with the second *Om bhuvaḥ svâhâ*, with the third *Om svaḥ svâhâ*, and with the fourth *Om bh., bh., sv. svâhâ*; see Vyavahâramayûkha IV, 5, 42. 'A not remote kinsman, just the nearest among his relatives,' i.e. a boy as nearly related as possible, in the first instance a *Sapinda*, on failure of such a one, a *Samânodaka* or a *Sagotra*.

7. Dattakamîmâmsâ II, 18; Dattakāṇḍrikâ II, 11. 'If a doubt arises,' i.e. if the adopter afterwards feels uncertain regarding the caste or other qualifications of his adopted son. 'Set him apart like a Sûdra,' i.e. shall neither have him initiated nor employ him for any sacred rites.

8. Dattakāṇḍrikâ II, 11.

9. Colebrooke, Mitāksharâ I, 11, 24. Dattakamîmâmsâ X, 1; Dattakāṇḍrikâ II, 11; V, 17. For the explanation of the term 'a fourth part,' see Colebrooke, Mitāksharâ I, 77.

10. 'Rites procuring prosperity,' i.e. *Srâddhas*, expiatory rites, &c. See also above, III, 71, and Gautama XI, 17. According to *Krishnapañḍita* the estate is in this case to be divided equally between the legitimate son and the adopted son. An entirely

11. He who divulges the Veda (to persons not authorised to study it), he who sacrifices for Sûdras, (and all those) who have fallen from the rank of the highest caste (shall be excommunicated by the ceremony of) emptying the water-vessel.

12. A slave or the son of a wife of a lower caste, or a relative not belonging to the same caste, who is destitute of good qualities, shall fetch a broken pot from a heap of vessels unfit for use, place Kusa grass, the tops of which have been cut off, or Lohita grass (on the ground), and empty the pot for the (outcast, overturning it) with his left foot;

13. And the relatives of the (outcast), allowing their hair to hang down, shall touch him who empties (the pot).

14. Turning (when they leave) their left hands towards (that spot), they may go home at pleasure.

15. Let them not afterwards admit the (excommunicated person) to sacred rites.

16. Those who admit him to sacred rites become his equals.

17. But outcasts who have performed (the prescribed) penance (may be) readmitted.

18. Now they quote also (the following verse):

different explanation, 'Provided (the estate) may not have been expended in acts of merit,' is given Dattaka~~andrikâ~~ V, 17-18. It is doubtlessly erroneous, for 'the estate' is nowhere mentioned in the preceding Sûtras.

11. Gautama XX, 1.

12. Gautama XX, 4. 'For the (outcast),' i. e. pronouncing his name, and saying, 'I deprive N. N. of water.'

13. Gautama XX, 5. *Krishnapandita* takes the Sûtra differently, but his explanation is refuted by the parallel passage of Gautama and Haradatta's commentary thereon.

14. Gautama XX, 7.

15. Gautama XX, 8-9.

‘Let him walk before those who readmit him, like one gamboling and laughing. Let him walk behind those who excommunicate him, like one weeping and sorrowing.’

19. Those who strike their teacher, their mother, or their father may be readmitted in the following manner, either after being pardoned by the (persons offended) or after expiating their sin.

20. Having filled a golden or an earthen vessel (with water taken) from a sacred lake or river, they pour (the water) over him, (reciting the three verses) ‘Ye waters are’ &c.

21. All the (other ceremonies to be performed on the) readmission of one who has bathed (in this manner) have been explained by (those ordained on) the birth of a son.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Now (follow the rules regarding) legal proceedings.

2. Let the king (or) his minister transact the business on the bench.

3. When two (parties) have a dispute, let him not be partial to one of them.

20. Gautama XX, 10-14. I read ‘punyahradât,’ instead of ‘pûrnâhradât,’ as the MSS. and *Krishnapandita* have. The passage of the Veda referred to occurs Rig-veda X, 9, 1.

21. I. e. the person readmitted shall receive all the various sacraments just like a new-born child.

XVI. 2. *Vishnu* III, 72-73. *Krishnapandita* gives a second explanation of the Sûtra, which also appears admissible, ‘Let the king transact the business on the bench, taking counsel (with learned Brâhmanas as assessors);’ see *Vishnu* III, 72.

3. Translated as above the Sûtra is nearly equivalent to Gautama

4. Let him reason properly regarding an offence ; finally the offence (will become evident thereby).

5. He who properly reasons regarding an offence, in accordance with the sum of the science of the first two castes, is equitable towards all created beings.

6. And let him protect what has been gained ;

7. (Likewise) the property of infants (of the) royal (race).

XI, 5. But the phrase 'when two parties have a dispute' may also indicate, as *Kṛishnapandita* suggests, that the king or judge shall not promote litigation, see Gautama XIII, 27. As *Kṛishnapandita* states, the *Sûtra* may, however, mean also, 'When one case is being argued, let him not begin another (without finishing the first);' see Manu VIII, 43. Owing to the particular nature of the *Sûtra* style and the inclination of the Brâhmanical mind to double-entendres, I do not think it improbable that the author may have intended, both in this and in the preceding *Sûtras*, that his words should be interpreted in two ways.

4. Gautama XI, 23-24. I divide the words of the text, as follows, 'yathâsanam (i. e. yathâ-âsanam) aparâdhohî; antena aparâdhah,' and interpolate syât at the end of the first clause.

5. *Kṛishnapandita* wrongly divides this *Sûtra* into two, and wrongly adopts the reading of MSS. B. and E., consequently he obtains a sense only by the most astonishing tricks of interpretation. I read with MSS. Bh. and F., yathâsanam aparâdhohyâdyavarnayor vidyântatah, to which the reading of I. O. 913 âdyavarnayor vidhânatah points also. The meaning of the expression, 'according to the sum of the science of the first two castes,' I take to be according to the rules of sacred learning and of the mîmâmsâ, which is peculiar to the Brâhmanas and of logic (ânvikshikî) and polity (dandânîti), which are peculiar to or at least recommended to the particular attention of the Kshatriyas.

6. I read with MSS. Bh. and F., sampannam ka rakshayet. I consider this *Sûtra* to contain an admonition addressed to the king for himself; see Manu VII, 99. *Kṛishnapandita* and B. read sapattram ka rakshayet, 'Let him protect that which is attested by writings,' i. e. the donations of former kings, attested by writings; see Vishnu III, 83.

7. *Kṛishnapandita* thinks that the rule refers to the property of

8. (Likewise the property) of persons unfit to transact legal business (minors, widows, and so forth).

9. But if (a minor) comes of age, his property must be made over to him.

10. 'It is declared in the *Smṛiti* that there are three kinds of proof which give a title to (property, viz.) documents, witnesses, and possession; (thereby) an owner may recover property which formerly belonged to him (but was lost).'

11. From fields through which (there is a right of) road (a space sufficient for the road) must be set apart, likewise a space for turning (a cart).

12. Near new-built houses (and) other things (of the same description there shall be) a passage three feet broad.

13. In a dispute about a house or a field, reliance (may be placed on the depositions of) neighbours.

14. If the statements of the neighbours disagree, documents (may be taken as) proof.

the infant children of a hostile king who has been conquered and slain. It is, however, not improbable that it has a wider sense, and exhorts the king to look after the property of the children of his predecessor and of deceased feudal barons.

8-9. Gautama X, 48; Vishnu III, 65.

10. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 22.

11. *Krishnapandita* quotes in illustration of this *Sûtra* the following passage of *Saṅkha* and *Likhita*: 'In a field through which (there is a right of) road, (space) for the road must be set apart, and on the king's high-road a space sufficient for turning a chariot.'

12. *Arthântareshu*, 'near other things (of the same description),' means, according to *Krishnapandita*, 'near pleasure-gardens and the like.' No doubt, buildings of all kinds, fenced or walled gardens, and so forth are meant. I read *tripâdamâtram*.

13. *Manu* VIII, 258, 262; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 150, 152, 154.

15. If conflicting documents are produced, reliance (may be placed) on (the statements of) aged (inhabitants) of the village or town, and on (those of) guilds and corporations (of artisans or traders).

16. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Property inherited from a father, a thing bought, a pledge, property given to a wife after marriage by her husband's family, a gift, property obtained for performing a sacrifice, the property of reunited coparceners, and wages as the eighth.'

17. Whatever belonging to these (eight kinds of property) has been enjoyed (by another person) for ten years continuously (is lost to the owner).

18. They quote also (a verse) on the other side: 'A pledge, a boundary, and the property of minors, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king, (and) the wealth of a Srotriya are not lost by being enjoyed (by others).'

19. Property entirely given up (by its owner) goes to the king.

20. If it be otherwise, the king with his ministers and the citizens shall administer it.

15. Manu VIII, 259.

16. In translating *anvādheya* by 'property given to a wife by her husband or his family after marriage,' I have followed *Krishna-pañḍita*'s explanation. It may, however, mean also 'a deposit to be delivered to a third person' (*anvāhita* or *anvādhi*). *Pratigraha*, 'a gift,' is elsewhere explained as 'property promised, but not actually given.'

17. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 24; see also *Vishṇu* V, 187; *Manu* VIII, 148.

18. Identical with *Manu* VIII, 149; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 25.

19. *Manu* VIII, 30.

20. 'If it be otherwise,' i.e. if the owner gave his property up temporarily only, e.g. went on a journey or a pilgrimage, leaving it without anybody to take care of.

21. A king will be superior even to Brahman if he lives surrounded by servants (who are keen-eyed) like vultures.

22. But a king will not be exalted if he lives surrounded by servants (who are greedy) like vultures.

23. Let him live surrounded by servants (who are keen-eyed) like vultures, let him not be a vulture surrounded by vultures.

24. For through his servants blemishes become manifest (in his kingdom),

25. (Such as) theft, robbery, oppression, and (so forth).

26. Therefore let him question his servants beforehand.

27. Now (follow the rules regarding) witnesses :

28. Srotriyas, men of unblemished form, of good character, men who are holy and love truth (are fit to be) witnesses,

29. Or (men of) any (caste may give evidence) regarding (men of) any (other caste).

30. Let him make women witnesses regarding women ; for twice-born men twice-born men of the same caste (shall be witnesses), and good Sûdras for Sûdras, and men of low birth for low-caste men.

31. Now they quote also (the following verse) :
'A son need not pay money due by a surety, anything idly promised, money due for losses at play or for spirituous liquor, nor what remains unpaid of a fine or a toll.'

32. 'Depose, O witness, according to the truth ; expecting thy answer, thy ancestors hang in suspense ;

28. Vishnu VIII, 8 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 68 ; Manu VIII, 62-63.

29. Yâgñavalkya II, 69.

30. Manu VIII, 68.

31. Vishnu VI, 41 ; Manu VIII, 159 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 47.

(in accordance with its truth or falsehood) they will rise (to heaven) or fall (into hell).'

33. 'Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.'

34. 'He kills five by false testimony regarding a maiden; he kills ten by false testimony regarding kine; he kills a hundred by false evidence regarding a horse, and a thousand by false evidence regarding a man.'

35. (Men) may speak an untruth at the time of marriage, during dalliance, when their lives are in danger or the loss of their whole property is imminent, and for the sake of a Brâhmaṇa; they declare that an untruth spoken in these five cases does not make (the speaker) an outcast.

36. Those who give partial evidence in a judicial proceeding for the sake of a relative or for money, deprive the ancestors of their spiritual family and those of their natural family of their place in heaven.

33. Identical with Manu VIII, 93.

34. Identical with Manu VIII, 98. Regarding the explanation of the words 'he kills,' see Manu VIII, 97, and Haradatta on Gautama XIII, 14.

35. Gautama XXIII, 29. Between this and the preceding Sûtras the MSS. as well as *Kṛishnapandita* insert another one, which is so corrupt that I am unable to translate it. *Kṛishnapandita*'s explanation is opposed to all rules of interpretation, and not worth giving.

36. This verse, too, is corrupt, though the general sense is not doubtful. I read *svaganasyârthe yadi vârtahetoḥ pakshâsrayenaiva vadanti kâryam—te sabdavamsasya kulasya pûrvân svargasthitâm-stânapi pâtayanti*. 'The ancestors of their spiritual family,' i. e. the teacher, the teacher's teacher, and so forth.

CHAPTER XVII.

✓ 1. The father throws his debts on the (son) and obtains immortality if he sees the face of a living son.

✓ 2. It is declared in the Veda, 'Endless are the worlds of those who have sons; there is no place for the man who is destitute of male offspring.'

3. There is a curse (in the Veda), 'May our enemies be destitute of offspring.'

4. There is also (the following) passage of the Veda, 'May I obtain, O Agni, immortality by offspring.'

5. 'Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a grandson he obtains immortality, but through his son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.'

6. There is a dispute (among the wise; some say), 'The son belongs to the husband of the wife;' (and some say), 'The son belongs to the begetter.'

7. With respect to this (matter) they quote also on both sides verses like the following:

8. (Some say), 'If (one man's) bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows; in vain would the bull have spent his strength.'

XVII. 1. Identical with Vishnu XV, 45; Manu IX, 107; Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCIV.

2. The latter part of the quotation occurs Aitareya-brāhmaṇa VII, 3, 9.

3. Rig-veda I, 21, 5.

4. Rig-veda V, 4, 10; Taittirīya-saṃhitā I, 4, 46, 1.

5. Identical with Manu IX, 137, and Vishnu XV, 46.

6. The same point is argued Manu IX, 31-56.

8. Identical with Manu IX, 50.

9. (Others say), 'Carefully watch the procreation of your offspring, lest strangers sow seed on your soil; in the next world the son belongs to the begetter; (by carelessness) a husband makes (the possession of) offspring in vain.'

10. If amongst many brothers who are begotten by one father, one have a son, they all have offspring through that son; thus says the Veda.

11. If among many wives of one husband, one have a son, they all have offspring through that son; thus says the Veda.

12. Twelve (kinds of) sons only are noticed by the ancients.

13. The first (among these is the son) begotten by the husband himself on his legally married wife.

14. The second is the son of a wife (who is begotten) on failure of the (first) on a (wife or widow duly) authorised (thereto, by a kinsman).

15. The third is an appointed daughter.

9. Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 7.

10. Vishnu XV, 42.

11. Vishnu XV, 41.

12. Colebrooke V, Dig. CXCIH; Vishnu XV, 1. Elsewhere the expression *purânadrishâh*, 'noticed by the ancients,' has been taken to mean 'seen in the Purâna' ('the holy writ,' Colebrooke).

13. Colebrooke V, Dig. CXCIH; Vishnu XV, 2.

14. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCXXX; Vishnu XV, 3.

15. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCIII; Mitâksharâ I, 11, 3; Vyavahâra Mayûkha IV, 4, 43. The curious fact that Vasishtha here calls the appointed daughter a son may perhaps be explained by a custom which, though rarely practised, still occurs in Kasmîr, and by which a brotherless maiden is given a male name. A historical instance of this kind is mentioned in the Râgatarânginî, where it is stated that Kalyânadevî, princess of Gaudâ and wife of king Gayâpîdâ, was called by her father Kalyânamalla. When I collated this passage with the help of a Kasmîrian, I was told that a certain Brâhmana, still living in Srinagar, had changed the

16. It is declared in the Veda, 'A maiden who has no brothers comes back to the male ancestors (of her own family); returning she becomes their son.'

17. With reference to this (matter there is) a verse (to be spoken by the father when appointing his daughter), 'I shall give thee a brotherless damsel, decked with ornaments; the son whom she may bear, shall be my son.'

18. The fourth is the son of a remarried woman.

19. She is called remarried (*punarbhû*) who leaving the husband of her youth, and having lived with others, re-enters his family;

20. And she is called remarried who leaving an impotent, outcast or mad husband, or after the death of her husband takes another lord.

21. The fifth is the son of an unmarried damsel.

22. They declare that the son whom an unmarried damsel produces through lust in her father's house, is the son of his maternal grandfather.

name of his only child, a daughter called *Amrî*, to the corresponding masculine form, *Amargû*, in order to secure to himself through her the same spiritual benefits as if he had a son. It seems to me not improbable that *Vasishtha*'s *Sûtra* alludes to the same legal fiction, and that he recommends in the first instance that the father is to make his daughter a son by changing her name, and next to secure for himself her son, by the verse quoted *Sûtra* 17.

16. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCIIL, where the preceding *Sûtra* has been placed after this. Compare *Rig-veda* I, 124, 5.

17. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCXVI; *Mitâksharâ* I, 11, 3; *Dâyabhâga* X, 4; *Vyavahâra Mayûkha* IV, 4, 43; *Vishnu* XV, 5.

18. *Vishnu* XV, 7.

19. *Nârada* XII, 48 (Jolly), where, however, *kaumâram patim* has been wrongly translated by 'an infant husband.'

20. *Manu* IX, 175.

21. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCLIX; *Vishnu* XV, 10.

22. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCLIX; *Vishnu* XV, 11.

23. Now they quote also (the following verse):
 'If an unmarried daughter bear a son begotten by
 a man of equal caste, the maternal grandfather has
 a son through him; he shall offer the funeral cake,
 and take the wealth (of his grandfather).'

24. (A male child) secretly born in the house is
 the sixth.

25. They declare that these (six) are heirs and
 kinsmen, preservers from a great danger.

26. Now among those (sons) who are not heirs,
 but kinsmen, the first is he who is received with
 a pregnant bride.

27. (The son of a damsel) who is married pregnant
 (is called) a son received with the bride (*sahodha*).

28. The second is the adopted son,

29. (He) whom his father and his mother give
 (in adoption).

30. (The son) bought is the third.

31. That is explained by (the story of) *Sunah-
 sepa*.

32. 'Harisandra, forsooth, was a king. He
 bought the son of *Aṭgarta Sauyavasi*.

33. The fourth is (the son) self-given.

24. *Vishṇu* XV, 13.

25. 'From a great danger,' i.e. 'from the danger of losing
 heaven through failure of the funeral oblations.'

26. *Vishṇu* XV, 15.

28. *Vishṇu* XV, 18.

29. *Vishṇu* XV, 19.

30. *Vishṇu* XV, 20.

32. The MSS. and editions read the last word of the *Sūtra* as
 follows: B. *vikriyya*; Ben. ed. *vikriya*; Bh. E. F. *vikrādyā*; Calc.
 ed. and I. O. 913 *vikrāyya svayam kṛitavān*. I believe that, as
 the letters *ka* and *va* are constantly mistaken by the copyists the
 one for the other, the original reading was *kikrāya*. Regarding
 the story told in this *Sūtra* and continued below, *Sūtra* 35, see
 Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 408-416
 and 573-588.

33. *Vishṇu* XV, 22.

34. That is (likewise) explained by (the story of) *Sunaḥsepa*.

35. ' *Sunaḥsepa*, forsooth, when tied to the sacrificial stake, praised the gods; there the gods loosened his bonds. To him spoke (each of) the officiating priests, "He shall be my son." He did not agree to their (request. Then) they made him make (this) agreement, "He shall be the son of him whom he chooses." *Visvâmitra* was the *Hotri* priest at that (sacrifice). He became his son.'

36. The son cast off is the fifth.

37. (He is called so) who, cast off by his father and his mother, is received (as a son).

38. They declare that the son of a woman of the *Sûdra* caste is the sixth. These (six) are kinsmen, not heirs.

39. Now they quote also (the following rule): 'These (last-mentioned) six (sons) shall take the heritage of him who has no heir belonging to the first-mentioned six (classes).

40. Now (follow the rules regarding) the partition of the (paternal) estate among brothers :

41. And (let it be delayed) until those (widows) who have no offspring, (but are supposed to be pregnant), bear sons.

42. Let the eldest take a double share,

43. And a tithe of the kine and horses.

36-37. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCXC; *Vishnu* XV, 24-25.

38. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCXCII; *Dattakandrikâ* V, 14; *Vishnu* XVII, 27; *Manu* IX, 178-179; *Gautama* XXVIII, 39.

40. Colebrooke V, Dig. L; *Vyavahâra Mayûkha* IV, 4, 37.

41. Colebrooke V, Dig. CXVII; *Vyavahâra Mayûkha* IV, 4, 37.

42-45. Colebrooke V, Dig. L; *Dâyabhâga* II, 41; *Gautama* XXVIII, 9 and 5-7.

44. The goats, the sheep, and the house belong to the youngest,

45. Black iron, the utensils, and the furniture to the middlemost.

46. Let the daughters divide the nuptial present of their mother.

47. If a Brâhmana has issue by wives belonging to the Brâhmana, Kshatriya, and Vaisya classes respectively,

48. The son of the Brâhmana wife shall receive three shares,

49. The son of the Kshatriya wife two shares,

50. The other (sons) shall inherit equal shares.

51. And if one of the (brothers) has gained something by his own (effort), he shall receive a double share.

52. But those who have entered a different order receive no share,

53. Nor (those who are) eunuchs, madmen, or outcasts.

54. Eunuchs and madmen (have a claim to) maintenance.

55. The widow of a deceased person shall sleep

46. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCXCII; Dâyabhâga IV, 2, 15; Vishnu XVII, 21.

47-50. Colebrooke V, Dig. CLIV; Vishnu XVIII, 1-5.

51. Colebrooke V, Dig. LXXV, CXXXVIII, CCCLVI; Dâyabhâga II, 41; Vyavahâra Mayûkha IV, 7, 8. 'By his own effort,' i.e. by learning or disputations with learned men, by bravery in battle, &c.

52. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCXXXVIII; Mitâksharâ II, 8, 7; 10, 3; Vyavahâra Mayûkha IV, 11, 5. The persons intended are a perpetual student, a hermit, and ascetic.

53. Vyavahâra Mayûkha IV, 11, 10.

54. Vyavahâra Mayûkha IV, 11, 10; Vishnu XV, 33.

55. 'Practising religious vows,' i.e. 'eating only once a day, and so forth.'—*Krishnapandita*.

on the ground during six months, practising religious vows and abstaining from pungent condiments and salt.

56. After the completion of six months she shall bathe, and offer a funeral oblation to her husband. (Then) her father or her brother shall assemble the Gurus who taught or sacrificed (for the deceased) and his relatives, and shall appoint her (to raise issue to her deceased husband).

57. Let him not appoint a (widow who is) mad, ill-conducted, or diseased,

58. Nor one who is very aged.

59. Sixteen years (after maturity is the period for appointing a widow);

60. Nor (shall an appointment be made) if the (male entitled to approach the widow) is sickly.

61. Let him approach (the widow) in the muhūrta sacred to Pragâpati, (behaving) like a husband, without (amorously) dallying with her, and without abusing or ill-treating her.

62. Let her obtain (the expenses for) food, raiment, baths, and unguents from (the estate of) her former (husband).

63. They declare that a son begotten on (a widow who has) not been (duly) appointed, belongs to the begetter.

56. Gautama XVIII, 4-7. The Gurus intended are the teacher, sub-teachers (upâdhyâya), and officiating priests.

57. Avasâm, 'ill-conducted,' may also mean 'out of her mind through grief or any other passion.' The former explanation has been adopted by *Kṛishṇapandita*, whom I have followed above.

61. Manu IX, 60. Regarding the muhūrta sacred to Pragâpati, see above, XII, 47.

63. Gautama XVIII, 9-12.

64. If she was (appointed, the child belongs) to both the males connected with the appointment.

65. No appointment (shall be made) through a desire to obtain the estate.

66. Some say, 'Or, one may appoint (a widow out of covetousness), after imposing a penance.'

67. A maiden who has attained puberty shall wait for three years.

68. After three years (have passed), she may take a husband of equal caste.

69. Now they quote also (the following verses) : 'But if through a father's negligence a maiden is here given away after the suitable age has passed, she who was waiting (for a husband) destroys him who gives her away, just as the fee which is paid too late to the teacher (destroys the pupil).'

70. 'Out of fear of the appearance of the menses let the father marry his daughter while she still runs about naked. For if she stays (in the house) after the age of puberty, sin falls on the father.'

64. Gautama XVIII, 13. 'To both the males connected with the appointment,' i.e. to the deceased husband for whose sake the appointment is made, and to the natural father of the child, to whom the widow is made over.

65. Colebrooke, *Mitāksharâ* II, 1, 11. *Krishnapañḍita* thinks that the *Sūtra* forbids an appointment which is made with the intention to secure the estate or a share of the estate of the natural father, from whom the *kshetrāga* son inherits also (*Yāgñavalkya* II, 127). But it seems equally probable that it is intended to prevent a widow from agreeing to an appointment in order to obtain control over her husband's estate.

66. *Krishnapañḍita* thinks that the rule refers to all cases of appointment.

67-68. *Vishṇu* XXIV, 40, and note.

70. Gautama XVIII, 23.

71. 'As often as the courses of a maiden, who is filled with desire, and demanded in marriage by men of equal caste, recur, so often her father and her mother are guilty of (the crime of) slaying an embryo; that is a rule of the sacred law.'

72. 'If the betrothed of a maiden die after she has been promised to him verbally, and by (a libation of) water, but before she was married with (the recitation of) sacred texts, she belongs to her father alone.'

73. 'If a damsel has been abducted by force, and not been wedded with sacred texts, she may lawfully be given to another man; she is even like a maiden.'

74. 'If a damsel at the death of her husband had been merely wedded by (the recitation of) sacred texts, and if the marriage had not been consummated, she may be married again.'

75. The wife of an emigrant shall wait for five years.

76. After five years (have passed), she may go (to seek) her husband.

77. If for reasons connected with spiritual or with money matters she be unwilling to leave her home, she must act in the same manner as if (her husband were) dead.

78. In this manner a wife of the Brâhmana caste who has issue (shall wait) five years, and one who has no issue, four years; a wife of the Kshatriya caste who has issue, five years, and one who has no issue, three years; a wife of the Vaisya caste who

71. Colebrooke IV, Dig. XVI; Dâyahâga XI, 2, 6; Yâgyñavalkya I, 64.

72. Colebrooke IV, Dig. CLXXIV.

75-76. Colebrooke IV, Dig. CLVI, where the Sûtras have been altered intentionally; Gautama XVIII, 15-12.

has issue, four years, and one who has no issue, two years; a wife of the *Sûdra* caste who has issue, three years, and one who has no issue, one year.

79. After that among those who are united (with her husband) in interest, or by birth, or by the funeral cake, or by libations of water, or by descent from the same family, each earlier named person is more venerable than the following ones.

80. But while a member of her family is living, she shall certainly not go to a stranger.

81. Let the *Sapindas* or the subsidiary sons divide the heritage of him who has no heir of the first-mentioned six kinds.

82. On failure of them the spiritual teacher and a pupil shall take the inheritance.

83. On failure of those two the king inherits.

84. But let the king not take (the estate) of a *Brâhmana*.

85. For the property of a *Brâhmana* is a terrible poison.

86. 'Poison they do not call the (worst) poison; the property of a *Brâhmana* is said to be the (most destructive) poison. Poison destroys only one person, but the property of a *Brâhmana* (him who takes it) together with sons and grandsons.'

79. The persons intended are, (1) brothers united in interest with her husband and other coparceners, (2) separated brothers of the husband, (3) separated blood-relations of the husband within six degrees, (4) separated blood-relations of the husband within fourteen degrees, and (5) persons bearing the same family name or, in the case of *Brâhmanas*, descended from the same *Rîshi*.

81. Gautama XXVIII, 21; Vishnu XVII, 10. The subsidiary sons are those mentioned above, 26-38, who under ordinary circumstances do not inherit; see also above, *Sûtra* 39, and Gautama XXVIII, 34.

82. *Âpastamba* II, 6, 14, 3.

83-84. Vishnu XVII, 13.

87. He should give it to men who are well versed in the three Vedas.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. They declare that the offspring of a Sûdra and of a female of the Brâhmana caste becomes a *Kândâla*,

2. (That of a Sûdra and) of a female of the Kshatriya caste, a *Vaina*,

3. (That of a Sûdra and) of a female of the Vaisya caste, an *Antyâvasâyin*.

4. They declare that the (son) begotten by a Vaisya on a female of the Brâhmana caste becomes a *Râmaka*,

5. (The son begotten by the same) on a female of the Kshatriya caste, a *Pulkasa*.

6. They declare that the (son) begotten by a Kshatriya on a female of the Brâhmana caste becomes a *Sûta*.

7. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'One may know by their deeds those who have been begotten secretly, and to whom the stigma of springing from unions in the inverse order of the castes attaches, because they are destitute of virtue and good conduct.'

87. Vishnu XVII, 14.

XVIII. 1. Vishnu XVI, 6.

4. *Krishnapandita* reads *Romaka*, 'a Roman,' for *Râmaka*, and the B. MS. supports him. The other MSS., including I. O. 913, give the reading adopted above. I prefer it, as there is no reason to assume that the *Vâsishtha* Dharma-râstra belongs to the late period when the Hindus had become aware of the existence of the Roman empire. On the other hand, it may be urged that *Romaka* is a correction which would easily suggest itself to a Pandit, who was unable to find a parallel passage in which the word *Râmaka* occurs.

6. Vishnu XVI, 6.

7. Manu X, 40.

8. (Children) begotten by Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas on females of the next lower, second lower, and third lower castes become (respectively) Ambashthas, Ugras, and Nishâdas.

9. (The son of a Brâhmana and) of a Sûdra woman (is) a Pârasava.

10. They declare that the condition of a Pârasava is that of one who, though living, is (as impure) as a corpse.

|| 11. Some call that Sûdra race a burial-ground.

12. Therefore (the Veda) must not be recited in the presence of a Sûdra.

13. Now they quote also the (following) verses, which Yama proclaimed :

‘The wicked Sûdra-race is manifestly a burial-ground. Therefore (the Veda) must never be recited in the presence of a Sûdra.’

14. ‘Let him not give advice to a Sûdra, nor what remains from his table, nor (remnants of) offerings (to the gods); nor let him explain the holy law to such a man, nor order him (to perform) a penance.’

15. ‘He who declares the law to such a man, and he who instructs him in (the mode of) expiating (sin), sinks together with that very man into the dreadful hell, (called) Asamvrita.’

16. ‘If ever a worm is produced in an open wound (on his body), he shall purify himself by the Prâgâpatya penance, and give gold, a cow, (and) a garment as presents (to Brâhmanas).’

8. Gautama IV, 16.

10. I omit the words *sava iti mrîtâkhyâ*, ‘a corpse is another name for one who has died,’ as an interpolation.

11. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 9.

12. Vishnu XXX, 14.

14-15. Identical with Manu IV, 80-81.

16. A Prâgâpatya penance, i. e. a *Krikâhâra*, see below, XXI, 20.

17. Let him not approach a wife of the Sûdra caste after he has built the fire-altar for a Srauta-sacrifice.

18. For a Sûdra-wife who belongs to the black race, (is espoused) for pleasure, not in order to fulfil the law.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The particular duty of a king is to protect (all) beings; by fulfilling it (he obtains) success (in this world and in the next).

2. Those learned (in the sacred law) declare that to be free from fear and pity is, indeed, a life-long sacrificial session (sattrā, to be performed by the king).

3. Therefore let him appoint a domestic priest to (perform the rites) obligatory on the order of householders.

4. It is declared in the Veda, 'A realm where a Brâhmaṇa is appointed domestic priest, prospers;'

5. For thus both (the special duties of a king and those of a householder) will be fulfilled,

6. And (the king alone is) unable (to do both).

7. Let the king, paying attention to all the laws of countries, (subdivisions of) castes (gâti) and families, make the four castes (varṇa) fulfil their (respective) particular duties.

The verse belongs rather to the section on penances, and seems to have been entered here merely because it stood in Yama's text with the other two, and the author, to use a homely Indian comparison, 'did not disdain to catch a fish, though he went to fetch water.'

XIX. 1. Vishṇu III, 2.

2. Manu VIII, 306.

3. Vishṇu III, 70.

4. Gautama XI, 14.

7. Vishṇu III, 3; Gautama XI, 20.

8. Let him punish those who stray from (the path of duty).

9. But punishment must be awarded in cases of assault and abuse after (due consideration of) the particular place and time (where and when the offence was committed), of the duties, age, learning (of the parties), and the seat (of the injury),

10. In accordance with (the precepts of) the (sacred) records and with precedents.

11. Let him not injure trees that bear fruit or flowers.

12. (But) he may injure them in order to extend cultivation and (for sacrifices).

13. The measures and weights of objects necessary for households must be guarded (against falsification).

14. Let him not take property for his own use from (the inhabitants of) his realm.

15. The measures and price (of such property) only shall be liable to deductions (in the shape of taxes).

8. Vishnu III, 37.

9. Gautama XII, 51. *Krishnapandita* has two Sûtras instead of one, and reads the second *himsâkrosayoḥ kalpāḥ*. The majority of the MSS. have, however, *kalpâ(ḥ)*, which I consider to be a mistake for *kalpyaḥ*, 'must be awarded.'

11. Vishnu V, 55-56. The meaning of the Sûtra is that the king is to punish those who commit such acts.

12. The explicit permission to cut down trees for sacrificial purposes is given Vishnu LI, 63.

13. Manu VIII, 403.

14-15. The translation of these two Sûtras is not certain, because the words *nirhâra* and *naihârîka* are not found elsewhere in the sense which has been attributed to them here. Still I think it very probable that *Krishnapandita*'s explanation *nirhâra* and *nirhâre sâdhu* is right, and that the king is exhorted not to take the property of his subjects by force, but to levy taxes according to the value or the measure of the articles sold.

16.

17. On the march against the enemy the army which consists of companies of ten, shall be able to perform a double (duty).

18. In every (camp) there shall be places where water is distributed.

19. Let him make one hundred men at the least engage in battle.

20. The wives (of slain soldiers) shall be provided for.

21.

22. A ferry shall be taken away (from a river) in which there is no water.

23. A Srotriya is free from taxes, (and so are) a servant of the king, one who has no protector,

16. The Sûtra has been left out, as the text is corrupt, and I am unable to suggest any emendation. *Krishnapandita's* explanation is not worth giving.

17. 'The army which consists of companies of ten,' i.e. the lowest subdivision of which consists of ten parts, viz. one elephant, one chariot, two horsemen, and three foot soldiers. Such a body is called a patti. The larger divisions, like the *senâ mukha*, 'battalion,' &c., are formed by three, nine, or twenty-seven patti. Though I am unable to adduce any positive proof for it, *vâha must*, according to the connexion in which it stands, be a synonym of patti. 'The double duty' of the army is, according to *Krishnapandita*, marching and fighting.

21. The Sûtra is utterly corrupt, and cannot be restored with the help of the MSS. at my disposal. It probably referred to the amount of duties to be levied on goods sold in the market.

22. The meaning of the Sûtra seems to be, that on those rivers, where the water either runs off or is very low during the dry season, the ferrymen must not be allowed to exact a toll from people crossing without their help. Such a rule would not be superfluous, as most Indian rivers are perfectly fordable between December and June, but impassable without boats in the other five months.

23. *Âpastamba* II, 10, 26, 10, 12-17; *Manu* VIII, 394. *Krishna-*

one who has left (the order of householders), an infant, a very aged man, a young man (who studies), and *pradâtâs*;

24. (Moreover widows) who return to their former (family), unmarried maidens, and the wives of servants,

25. He who swims with his arms (across a river in order to escape payment of a toll at a ferry) shall pay one hundred times (the amount due).

26. No taxes (shall be paid) on the usufruct of rivers, dry grass, forests, (places of) combustion, and mountains;

27. Or those who draw their subsistence from them may pay (something),

28. But he shall take a monthly tax from artisans.

29. And when a king has died, let him give what is required for the occasion.

pandita correctly points out that, though according to I, 43, all *Brâhmanas* are to be free from taxes, the *Srotiya* or *Vaidik* is mentioned once more in order to show that a king, however distressed, must not take anything from him (*Manu* VII, 133). *Krishnapandita* reads instead of *pradâtâs*, *pradâtâraḥ*, 'very liberal men.' *Manu* loc. cit. exempts 'those who confer great benefits on priests of eminent learning' from paying taxes. His emendation would, therefore, be acceptable if the word *pradâtâḥ* did not occur in the same connexion above, XI, 7.

24. *Āpastamba* II, 10, 26, 11.

25. I read with the majority of the MSS. *bāhubhyāmutteraṅṅha-tagunam dadyât*.

26. *Krishnapandita* explains *dâha*, '(places of) combustion,' by *agni*, 'fire.' I am not certain what he means thereby. To me it seems most probable that *Vasishṭha* intends 'a place of cremation' (*dâhasthala*), though it is just possible to refer the expression to the jungle fires, which the aboriginal tribes light in the forests, in order to sow their *Nāglī* in the ground manured by the ashes.

28. *Gautama* X, 31.

29. *Krishnapandita* refers this and the following five *Sûtras* to

30. It is hereby explained that (his) mother (must receive) maintenance.

31. Let the king maintain the paternal and maternal uncles of the chief-queen,

32. As well as her other relatives.

33. The wives of the (deceased) king shall receive food and raiment,

34. Or if they are unwilling, they may depart.

35. Let the king maintain eunuchs and madmen,

36. Since their property goes to him.

37. Now they quote also a verse proclaimed by Manu, which refers to duties and taxes, 'No duty (is paid) on a sum less than a *Karshâpana*, there is no tax on a livelihood gained by art, nor on an infant, nor on a messenger, nor on what has been received as alms, nor on the remnants of property left after a robbery, nor on a *Srotriya*, nor on an ascetic, nor on a sacrifice.'

the case where a king has conquered a foreign country ; compare also Vishnu III, 47-48. I think that Sûtras 30-31 conclusively show that these rules are intended to regulate the conduct of a king on the death of his predecessor and his own accession to the throne.

34. *Krishnapandita* thinks that the queens unwilling to accept a bare subsistence may go wherever they like. I think the word used in the text points rather to their becoming ascetics.

35. This rule refers apparently to eunuchs and insane persons left with money, but without near relatives, with whom they are united in interest. Vishnu III, 65.

37. I translate the one word *sulka* by 'duties and taxes.' The term has a great many different meanings in the law books, and is in this verse apparently used in two senses. *Krishnapandita* is of a different opinion, and thinks that the persons named are free from paying a *sulka* in case they trade. The chief objection is that trading ascetics and *Srotriyas* are not known to the ancient writers, though they are common enough in modern India.

38. A thief becomes free from guilt by entering (the royal presence) after (his deed and asking to be punished).

39. But according to some (lawyers) he (who is caught) with weapons in his hands, with stolen goods in his possession, or covered with wounds is proved (to be a criminal).

40. In case (a criminal) worthy of punishment is allowed to go free, the king shall fast during one (day and one) night;

41. (And) his domestic priest during three (days and) nights.

42. If an innocent man is punished, the domestic priest (shall perform) a *Krikkhra* penance;

43. (And) the king (shall fast) during three (days and) nights.

44. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'The slayer of a learned Brâhmaṇa casts his guilt on him who eats his food; an adulterous wife on her (negligent) husband; a student and a sacrificer on an (ignorant) teacher (and officiating priest); and a thief on the king (who pardons him).'

45. 'But men who have committed offences and have received from kings the punishment (due to them), go pure to heaven, and (become) as holy as the virtuous.'

46. 'The guilt falls on the king who pardons an

38. This Sûtra apparently alludes to a penitent thief who confesses his crime and asks for punishment; see below, XX, 41.

39. Manu IX, 270; Nârada V, 29-33 (Jolly). As given in the MSS. and by *Kṛishṇapandita*, the Sûtra is doubtlessly corrupt. I read *vraṇasampanno vyapadish/aḥ*.

44. Identical with Manu VIII, 317.

45. Identical with Manu VIII, 318.

offender. If he causes him to be slain, he destroys sin in accordance with the sacred law.'

47. 'It is ordained that kings become at once pure (by bathing) when they have done acts causing death. They are likewise (pure while engaged in business) not causing death. Time is the reason for that.'

48. And with reference to this (matter) they quote a verse proclaimed by Yama, 'No taint of impurity, forsooth, falls on kings, on those engaged in practising vows, or on those engaged in the performance of sacrificial session (*sattrā*); for (the first) are seated on the throne of Indra, (and the others) are always equal to Brahman.'

CHAPTER XX.

1. A penance (shall be performed) for an offence committed unintentionally.

2. Some (declare that it shall be performed) also for (a fault) committed intentionally.

3. 'The spiritual teacher corrects the learned; the king corrects the evil-minded; but Yama, the son of Vivasvat, forsooth, punishes those who offend secretly.'

4. And among those (sinful persons), let him who slept at sunrise stand during the (following) day and recite the verse sacred to *Savitri*.

47. *Vishṇu* XXII, 48; *Manu* V, 94.

48. Identical with *Manu* V, 93. 'Those engaged in practising vows' are, according to *Kullūka* and *Kṛishṇapāṇḍita*, students learning the *Veda*.

XX. 1-2. *Manu* XI, 45; *Yāgñavalkya* III, 226.

4. 'Among those,' i.e. the sinful men (*enasvīnaḥ*) enumerated above, I, 18; *Vishṇu* LIV, 11.

5. Let him who slept at sunset remain in a sitting posture during the (next) night, likewise (reciting the *Gâyatri*).

6. But let a man with deformed nails or black teeth perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days' duration.

7. He whose younger brother married first shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance during twelve days, marry and take to himself even that (woman whom his brother wedded).

8. Now he who has taken a wife before his elder brother shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance and an *Atikrikkhra* penance, give (his wife) to that (elder brother), marry again, and take (back) the same (woman whom he wedded first).

9. The husband of a younger sister married before her elder sister shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance during twelve days, marry and take to him that (elder sister).

10. The husband of an elder sister married after the younger one shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance and an *Atikrikkhra* penance, give (his wife) to that (husband of the younger sister and marry again).

5-10. Manu XI, 201.

6. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, XXI, 20.

7-8. Vishnu LIV, 16. According to *Krishnapandita* both brothers shall perform penances. The elder brother shall marry after his penance is finished. The younger one shall offer his wife to the elder, in order to atone for the slur put upon the elder. The latter shall accept her for form's sake and return her to the younger brother, who must once more wed her. Regarding the *Atikrikkhra* penance, see below, XXIV, 2.

10. Vishnu LIV, 16. *Krishnapandita* thinks that he should marry another wife, but adds that others say that, after offering his wife to the husband of the younger sister and receiving his permission, he should wed her once more.

11. We shall declare below (the penance prescribed for) him who extinguishes the sacred fire.

12. He who has forgot the Veda (by neglecting to recite it daily), shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days' duration, and again learn it from his teacher.

13. He who violates a Guru's bed shall cut off his organ, together with the testicles, take them into his joined hands and walk towards the south; wherever he meets with an obstacle (to further progress), there he shall stand until he dies.

14. Or, having shaved all his hair and smeared his body with clarified butter, he shall embrace the heated (iron) image (of a woman). It is declared in the Veda that he is purified after death.

15. The same (expiation is prescribed if the offence was committed) with the wife of the teacher, of a son, and of a pupil.

16. If he has had intercourse with a female (who is considered) venerable in the family, with a female friend, with the female friend of a Guru, with an Apapâtra female, or with an outcast, he shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance during three months.

17. The same (penance must be performed) for eating food given by a *Kândâla* or by an outcast. Afterwards the initiation (must be performed) once more; but the tonsure and the rest may be omitted.

11. See below, XXI, 27.

12. Vishnu LIV, 13.

13. Gautama XXIII, 10.

14. Gautama XXIII, 9, 11.

15-16. Gautama XXIII, 12.

16. *Krishnapandita* explains *sakhîm*, 'a female friend,' by 'a woman who has affection (for the offender), i.e. a sister and so forth.' Apapâtras are low-caste people, whose vessels must not be used; see *Âpastamba* I, 1, 3, 25, note.

18. And with reference to this (matter) they quote a verse proclaimed by Manu, 'The tonsure, (the tying on of) the sacred girdle, (the wearing of) a staff, and the begging of alms, these acts may be omitted on a second initiation.'

19. If (a Brâhmana) intentionally (drinks) other spirituous liquor than that distilled from rice, or if he unintentionally (drinks) spirituous liquor extracted from rice (surâ), he (must perform) a *Krikkh* and an *Atikrikkh*, and, after eating clarified butter, be initiated again.

20. The same (expiation is prescribed) for swallowing ordure, urine, and semen.

21. If a Brâhmana drinks water which has stood in a vessel used for (keeping) spirituous liquor, he becomes pure by drinking, during three days, water (mixed with a decoction) of lotus, Udumbara, Bilva, and Palâsa (leaves).

22. But a Brâhmana who repeatedly (and intentionally partakes) of liquor extracted from rice, shall drink (liquor of) the same (kind) boiling hot. 'He becomes pure after death.'

23. We will declare (who must be considered) the slayer of a learned Brâhmana (*bhrûnahan*). He is called *Bhrûnahan* who kills a Brâhmana or destroys an embryo (the sex of) which is unknown.

24. 'For embryos (the sex of) which is unknown

18. Identical with Manu XI, 152, and Vishnu LI, 5.

19-20. Manu XI, 151; Vishnu LI, 2. Regarding the other of liquors, see Manu XI, 95-96.

21. Manu XI, 148.

22. Gautama XXIII, 1.

23. Gautama XXII, 13. It must be understood a real Brâhmana who knows the Veda is meant.

24. 'Therefore they offer burnt-oblations for the production of males,' i.e. they perform the *Pûmsavana*, one of the sacraments;

become males; therefore they offer burnt-oblations for the production of males.'

25. Let the slayer of a learned Brâhmana kindle a fire and offer (therein the following eight oblations, consisting of portions of his own body),

26. The first (saying), 'I offer my hair to Death, I feed Death with my hair;' the second (saying), 'I offer my skin to Death, I feed Death with my skin;' the third (saying), 'I offer my blood to Death, I feed Death with my blood;' the fourth (saying), 'I offer my flesh to Death, I feed Death with my flesh;' the fifth (saying), 'I offer my sinews to Death, I feed Death with my sinews;' the sixth (saying), 'I offer my fat to Death, I feed Death with my fat;' the seventh (saying), 'I offer my bones to Death, I feed Death with my bones;' the eighth (saying), 'I offer my marrow to Death, I feed Death with my marrow.'

27. (Or) let him (fight) for the sake of the king, or for the sake of Brâhmanas, and let him die in battle with his face turned (to the foe).

28. It is declared in the Veda, '(A murderer) who remains thrice unvanquished or is thrice defeated (in battle) becomes pure.'

29. 'A sin which is openly proclaimed becomes smaller.'

see e.g. Âsvalâyana I, 13. The Sûtra is marked as a quotation, and probably belongs to some Vedic work.

25. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 12.

27. Gautama XXII, 8.

28. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 21.

29. Taken by itself the Sûtra would seem to refer to the maxim that a free confession reduces the guilt of the offender (Manu XI, 228). But on account of the next Sûtra it is necessary to assume, with *Krishnapandita*, that half the guilt of a crime, of which another man justly accuses an offender, falls on the accuser, while the

30. To this (effect) they quote also (the following verse): 'By saying to an outcast, "O thou outcast!" or to a thief, "O thou thief!" a man incurs a guilt as great as (that of the offender). (If he) falsely (accuses anybody of such offences), his guilt will be twice as great.'

31. In like manner having slain a Kshatriya, he shall perform (a penance) during eight years,

32. For (killing) a Vaisya during six (years),

33. For (killing) a Sûdra, during three (years),

34. For killing a female of the Brâhmana caste who is an Âtreya, and a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, engaged in a sacrifice (the same penance must be performed as for killing a learned Brâhmana).

35. We will explain (the term) Âtreya. They declare that she who has bathed after temporary uncleanness is an Âtreya.

36. 'For if (the husband) approaches her at that (time), he will have offspring.'

offender's guilt becomes less by the publication of his misdeed. It is, however, not improbable that the text is here defective, and one or several Sûtras have been left out.

30. Gautama XXI, 17-18.

31. Vishnu L, 12. The text is here evidently defective. The Sûtra or Sûtras left out must have contained the description of another penance for the murder of a Brâhmana, which is mentioned in nearly all the Smritis (see Vishnu L, 1-6, 15, and the parallel passages). Its chief conditions are, that the murderer is to live separate for twelve years, and to subsist on alms given by people who are acquainted with his crime. Without such an additional rule this and the following Sûtras are utterly unintelligible.

32. Vishnu L, 13.

33. Vishnu L, 14.

34. Vishnu L, 7, 9.

36. The author means to say that the word âtreya is derived from atra, 'at that time,' and the verb i, 'to approach.' The etymology is worthy of the Nirukta.

37. (For killing a female of the Brāhmaṇa caste) who is not an Ātreya, (the penance prescribed) for the murder of a Kshatriya (must be performed),

38. (For killing) a female of the Kshatriya caste, (the penance prescribed) for the murder of a Vaiśya,

39. (For killing) a female of the Vaiśya caste, (the penance prescribed) for the murder of a Sūdra.

40. (For killing) a female of the Sūdra caste (let him perform) during one year (the penance prescribed for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa).

41. If a man has stolen gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, he shall run, with flying hair, to the king, (exclaiming) 'Ho, I am a thief; sir, punish me!' The king shall give him a weapon made of Udumbara wood; with that he shall kill himself. It is declared in the Veda that he becomes pure after death.

42. Or (such a thief) may shave off all his hair, anoint his body with clarified butter, and cause himself to be burnt from the feet upwards, in a fire of dry cowdung. It is declared in the Veda that he becomes pure after death.

43. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Hear, (how) the bodies of those who having committed various crimes died a long time ago, and were (afterwards) born again, are (marked);'

37-40. Gautama XXII, 17.

41. Vishṇu LII, 1-2. *Kṛishṇapāṇḍita* remarks that *Sūlapāṇi* explains audumbaram, 'made of Udumbara wood,' by 'made of copper,' and that the weapon intended is a club. The last remark is probably true, as the parallel passages of the other *Smṛitis* state that the thief is to take a club to the king, with which he is to be struck.

42. Āpastamba I, 9, 25, 6.



44. 'A thief will have deformed nails, the murderer of a Brâhmana will be afflicted with white leprosy, but he who has drunk spirituous liquor will have black teeth, and the violator of his Guru's bed will suffer from skin diseases.'

45. Property received from outcasts, after forming alliances with them either by (teaching) the Veda (and by sacrificing) or by marriage, must be relinquished. Let him not associate with such (men).

46. It is declared in the Veda that (he who has associated with outcasts) becomes pure by reciting the Samhitâ (of his Veda), proceeding in a northerly direction and fasting.

47. They quote also (a verse) to this (effect), 'A sinner is liberated from guilt by tormenting his body, by austerities, and by reciting the Veda; he becomes also free by bestowing gifts. That has been declared in the Veda.'

CHAPTER XXI.

1. If a Sûdra approaches a female of the Brâhmana caste, (the king) shall cause the Sûdra to be tied up in Vîrâna grass and shall throw him into a fire. He shall cause the head of the Brâhmanî to be shaved, and her body to be anointed with butter; placing her naked on a black donkey, he shall cause her to be conducted along the highroad. It is declared that she becomes pure (thereby).

44. Manu XI, 49; Vishnu XLV, 4, 5, 6.

45. Vishnu LIV, 28.

46. Manu XI, 194.

XXI. 1-5. Gautama XXIII, 15. Krishnapandita reads, instead of prâsyet, 'he shall throw,' prâsyet, and explains it by dâhayet, 'he shall cause to be burnt.' It must be understood that these

2. If a Vaisya approaches a female of the Brâhmaṇa caste, (the king) shall cause the Vaisya to be tied up in Lohita grass and shall throw him into a fire. He shall cause the head of the Brâhmaṇī to be shaved, and her body to be anointed with butter; placing her naked on a yellowish donkey, he shall cause her to be conducted along the highroad. It is declared in the Veda that she becomes pure (thereby).

3. If a Kshatriya approaches a female of the Brâhmaṇa caste, (the king) shall cause the Kshatriya to be tied up in leaves of Sara grass and shall throw him into a fire. He shall cause the head of the Brâhmaṇī to be shaved, and her body to be anointed with butter; placing her naked on a white donkey, he shall cause her to be conducted along the highroad. It is declared in the Veda that she becomes pure (thereby).

4. A Vaisya who offends with a female of the Kshatriya class (shall be treated) in the same manner,

5. And a Sûdra (who offends) with females of the Kshatriya or Vaisya castes.

6. If (a wife) has been mentally unfaithful to her husband, she shall live on barley or rice boiled in milk during three days, and sleep on the bare ground. After the three days (have expired), the (husband) shall offer eight hundred burnt-oblations, (reciting) the Sâvitṛī (and the Mantra called) Siras, while she is immersed in water. It is declared in the Veda that she becomes pure (thereby).

extreme punishments are to be inflicted in particularly bad cases only.

6. 'Afterwards in order to purify her who is immersed in water, i. e. has plunged into water, he shall offer eight hundred, i. e. (such)

7. If (a wife) has held an (improper) conversation (with another man), she must perform the same penance during a month. After (the expiration of) the month, (the husband) shall offer four times eight hundred burnt-oblations, (reciting) the Sâvitṛī (and the Mantra called) Siras, while she is immersed in water. It is declared in the Veda that she becomes pure (thereby).

8. But if (a wife) has actually committed adultery, she shall wear during a year a garment smeared with clarified butter, and sleep on a mat of Kusa grass, or in a pit filled with cowdung. After (the expiration of) the year, (the husband) shall offer eight hundred burnt-oblations, (reciting) the Sâvitṛī (and the Mantra called) Siras, while she is immersed in water. It is declared in the Veda that she becomes pure (thereby).

9. But if she commits adultery with a Guru, she is forbidden (to assist her husband) in (the fulfilment of) his sacred duties.

10. But (these) four (wives) must be abandoned, (viz.) one who yields herself to (her husband's) pupil or to (his) Guru, and especially one who attempts

a number of burnt-oblations with the Siras, i. e. (the words) "Om, ye waters, who are splendour, juice, and ambrosia," &c., which are joined to the Gâyatrī.—*Krishnapandita*. The Siras, or 'head,' is again mentioned below, XXV, 13; see also Vishnu LV, 9. This and the following two rules refer to offences committed with males of equal caste.

9. *Yâgñavalkya* I, 70. *Colebrooke* IV, Dig. LXXXVI, where a different reading, *vyavâyatîrthagamanadharmebhyaḥ*, has been adopted, and the Sûtra has been combined with the next. The first clause may also be translated, 'If she actually commits adultery, (and especially) if she converses with a Guru.'

10. *Colebrooke* loc. cit.; *Manu* IX, 80; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 72.

the life of her lord, or who commits adultery with a man of a degraded caste.

11. That woman of the Brâhmana caste who drinks spirituous liquor, the gods will not admit (after death) to the same abode with her husband; losing all spiritual merit she wanders about in this world and is born again as a leech or a pearl-oyster.

12. The wives of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas who commit adultery with a Sûdra may be purified by a penance in case no child is born (from their adulterous intercourse), not otherwise.

13. (Those who have committed adultery) with a man of lower caste shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance, succeeded by one, two, or three *Kândrâyanas*.

14. Faithful wives who are constantly pure and truthful (reside after death) in the same abodes with their husbands; those who are unfaithful are born as jackals.

15. Half the body of the husband falls if his wife

11. Colebrooke IV, Dig. CXIII, where *sûkarî*, 'a sow,' is read instead of *suktikâ*, 'a pearl-oyster.'

13. Manu XI, 178. *Krishnapandita* states correctly that *kândrâyanottaram*, 'succeeded by one, two, or three *Kândrâyanas*,' may also mean 'following one, two, or three *Kândrâyanas*,' and that the number of *Kândrâyanas* to be performed depends on the caste of the person with whom the adultery was committed. Thus a Brâhmanî must perform one *Krikkhra* and one *Kândrâyana* for adultery with a Kshatriya, one *Krikkhra* and two *Kândrâyanas* for adultery with a Vaisya, and one *Krikkhra* and three *Kândrâyanas* for adultery with a Sûdra. His view that the rule refers to wives who commit the sin without intent or against their will, is open to doubt. It is probably an alternative, to be adopted in lighter cases, for the public punishment prescribed above, XXI, 1-3. Regarding the *Kândrâyana*, see below, XXIV, 44.

14. Colebrooke IV, Dig. CVIII; Manu V, 164-165.

15. Manu IX, 80; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 73.

drinks spirituous liquor. No purification is prescribed for the half which has fallen.

16. If a Brāhmaṇa unintentionally commits adultery with the wife of a Brāhmaṇa, (he shall perform) a *Krikkhṛa* penance in case (the husband) fulfils the religious duties (of his caste), and an *Atikrikkhṛa* penance in case (the husband) does not fulfil his religious duties.

17. The same (penances are prescribed) for Kshatriyas and Vaisyas (for adultery with women of their respective castes).

18. If he kills a cow, let him perform, during six months, a *Krikkhṛa* or a *Taptakrikkhṛa*, dressed in the raw hide of that (cow).

19. The rule for these two (penances is as follows):

20. 'During three days he eats in the day-time (only), and during the (next) three days at night (only), he subsists during (another) period of three days on food offered without asking, and (finally) he fasts during three days.' That is a *Krikkhṛa* penance.

21. 'Let him drink hot water during three days; let him drink hot milk during the (next) three days; after drinking during (another) period of three days hot clarified butter, he shall subsist on air during the (last) three days.' That is a *Taptakrikkhṛa* penance.

22. And he shall give (to a Brāhmaṇa) a bull and a cow.

23. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Through killing a spotted deer, a he-goat, and

16. Vishṇu LIII, 2.

18. Vishṇu L, 16-24; Gautama XXII, 18.

20. Vishṇu XLVI, 10.

21. Vishṇu XLVI, 11.

23. The above translation follows the commentary of *Krishna-*

a bird three maladies (befal men), viz. jealousy, hunger, and old age; (therefore) let him (who is guilty of such an offence) perform (a penance) during ninety-eight (days).'

24. Having slain a dog, a cat, an ichneumon, a snake, a frog, or a rat, let him perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days' duration, and give something (to a Brâhmana).

25. But having slain a quantity of boneless animals, equal to the weight of a cow, let him perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days' duration, and give something (to a Brâhmana).

26. But (the same penance must be performed) for each single (slain animal) that possesses bones.

27. He who extinguishes the (sacred) fires shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days, and cause them to be kindled again (by priests engaged for the occasion).

28. He who falsely accuses a Guru shall bathe, dressed in his clothes, and ask his Guru's pardon. It is declared in the Veda that he becomes pure by the Guru's forgiving him.

29. An atheist shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days' duration, and give up his infidelity.

pañḍita, who further states that the penance to be performed shall consist of a diet of barley gruel. I feel by no means certain that his interpretation, especially that of the last clause, is correct. Possibly ash/ânavatim âharet may mean 'he shall offer ninety-eight oblations.'

24. Vishṇu L, 30, 31.

25. Gautama XXII, 21. 'Something' means eight handfuls of grain.

26. Gautama XXII, 22.

27. Vishṇu LIV, 13; Gautama XXII, 34.

28. Vishṇu LIV, 14; Yâgñavalkya III, 283.

29-30. Vishṇu LIV, 15.

30. But he who receives subsistence from infidels (shall perform) an *Atikrikkh*ra penance (and not repeat his offence).

31. (The rule applicable to) a seller of Soma has been explained hereby.

32. A hermit, on violating the rules of his order, shall perform a *Krikkh*ra penance of twelve days' duration, and continue (the observances obligatory on him) in a great forest.

33. Ascetics, (offending in the same manner) as hermits, shall perform for a protracted period (the vow of regulating the quantity of their food according to) the growth of the moon, and shall again be initiated, in accordance with (the rules of) the Institutes applicable to them.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. Now, indeed, man (in) this (world) speaks an untruth, or sacrifices for men unworthy to offer a sacrifice, or accepts what ought not to be accepted, or eats forbidden food, or practises what ought not to be practised.

31. *Vishnu* LIV, 17.

33. The penance prescribed appears to be similar to the *Kāṇḍāyana*. The offender must eat one mouthful on the first lunar day, two on the second, and so forth. But it is not clear for how long a period the rule is to be observed. The *Sūtra* is interesting as it furnishes corroborative evidence for *Pāṇini's* statement (IV, 3, 110) that *Bhikshu-sūtras* which contained the rules applicable to *Bhikshus* formerly existed.

XXII. 1. As this chapter is almost identical with and probably copied from *Baudhāyana* III, 10, and *Gautama* XIX, the division of the *Sūtras* has not been made in accordance with *Krishna-pāṇḍita's* commentary, but agrees with that of the chapter in *Gautama's* *Dharmasāstra*. The notes to the translation of the

2. They are in doubt if he shall perform a penance for such (a deed), or if he shall not do it.

3. (Some) declare that he shall not do it,

4. Because the deed does not perish.

5. (The correct view is, that) he shall perform (a penance), because it is enjoined in the revealed texts,

6. 'He who offers a horse-sacrifice conquers all sin, he destroys the guilt of the murder of a Brâhmana.'

7. (Moreover), 'Let an Abhisasta offer a Gosava or an Agnishât-sacrifice.'

8. Reciting the Veda, austerity, a sacrifice, fasting, giving gifts are the means for expiating such a (blamable act).

9. (The purificatory texts are) the Upanishads, the Vedântas, the Samhitâ-text of all the Vedas, the (Anuvâkas called) Madhu, the (hymn of) Aghamar-

latter work must be consulted for the explanation of the more difficult passages.

5-7. The text appears here to be corrupt. After Sûtra 5, Baudhâyana III, 10, 6 (Gautama XIX, 7), Puna^h stomena yageta puna^h savanamâyântîti vigñâyate, 'It is declared in the Veda, "Let him offer a Puna^hstoma-sacrifice, (those who offer it) again come to partake of (the libations of) Soma,"' has been left out. This omission caused the insertion of the words tasmâ^hkrutinidarsanât [darśanât, Bh. F.], ('because it is enjoined in the revealed texts,') at the end of Sûtra 5. The proof that the sixth Sûtra of Baudhâyana has been accidentally omitted is furnished by the fact that several MSS. of Vasishtha read iti *ka* after yo 'svamedhena yagate (Vas. XXII, 6). This *ka* has no meaning, except if another Vedic passage preceded Sûtra 6. In order to escape this difficulty, Krishnapandita writes yo 'svamedhena yagata iti, and begins the next Sûtra with iti *ka*, which he explains by 'moreover.'

9. Krishnapandita gives before 'Vedântas' another word vedâ-daya^h, which he explains by 'the Vedas, Smritis, and Purânas.'

shana, the Atharvasiras, the (Anuvâkas called) Rudras, the Purusha-hymn, the two Sâmans called Râgana and Rauhineya, the Kûshmândas, the Pâvamânîs, and the Sâvitri.

10. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He who performs once in each season the offerings to Vaisvânara and Vratapati and the Pavitreshî sanctifies ten ancestors.'

11. To live on milk alone, as if one were fasting, to eat fruit only, (to live on) barley gruel prepared of a handful of grain, to eat gold, to drink Soma (are modes of subsistence which) purify.

12. All mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of Rishis, cowpens, and temples of the gods (are) places (which destroy sin).

13. A year, a month, twenty-four days, twelve days, six days, three days, a day and a night are the periods (for penances).

14. These (acts) may be optionally performed when no (particular penance) has been prescribed,

15. (Viz.) for great sins difficult (penances), and for trivial faults easy ones.

16. The *Krikkhra* and the *Atikrikkhra* (as well as) the *Kândrâyana* are penances for all (offences).

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. If a student has approached a woman, he shall slay in the forest, in a place where four roads meet,

10. *Krishnapandîta* takes the last word *dasapûrusham* to mean ten ancestors and ten descendants.

11. 'As if one were fasting,' i. e. in small quantities.—*Krishnapandîta*.

XXIII. 1. Gautama XXIII, 17.

(kindling) a common fire, an ass for the Rakshas (the goblins),

2. Or he may offer an oblation of rice (*karu*) to Nirriti (the goddess of hell).

3. Let him throw into the fire (four oblations consisting) of that (sacrificial food, saying), 'To Lust svâhâ; to him who follows his lust svâhâ; to Nirriti svâhâ; to the divine Rakshas svâhâ.'

4. If, before returning home (from his teacher, a student) voluntarily defiles himself, sleeps in the day-time, or practises any other vow (than that of studentship), the same (penance must be performed).

5. If he has committed a bestial crime, he shall give a white bull (to a Brâhmaṇa).

6. The guilt incurred by a bestial crime with a cow, has been explained by the (rule regarding) the killing of a female of the Sûdra caste.

7. A student breaks his vow by performing funeral rites,

8. Excepting those of his mother and his father.

9. If a (student) is sick, he may eat, at his pleasure, all that is left by his teacher as medicine.

10. If (a student) who is employed by his teacher (to perform some duty), meets with his death, (the teacher) shall perform three *Krikkhra* penances.

4. Manu XI, 121.

5. Vishṇu LIII, 7; Gautama XXII, 36.

6. Vishṇu LIII, 3; Gautama XXIII, 12.

7. Manu V, 88.

8. Manu V, 91.

9. The object of the Sûtra is to permit during sickness a relaxation of the rules regarding forbidden food. Hence a sick student may eat honey, meat, &c.

10. Yâgyñavalkya III, 283. 'Meets with his death,' e.g. is killed by a wild animal or a snake, while collecting fuel in the forest.

11. If a student eats meat which has been given to him as leavings (by his teacher), he shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days' duration, and afterwards finish his vow.

12. The same (penance must be performed) if he eats food given at a *Srâddha* or by a person who is impure on account of a recent death or birth.

13. It is declared in the Veda, that honey given without asking does not defile (a student) of the *Vâgasaneyi-sâkhâ*.

14. For him who committing suicide becomes an *Abhisasta*, his blood-relations (*sapinda*) shall not perform the funeral rites.

15. He is called a suicide who destroys himself by means of wood, water, clods of earth, stones, weapons, poison, or a rope.

16. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'The twice-born man who out of affection performs the last rites for a suicide, shall perform a *Kândrâyana* penance together with a *Taptakrikkhra*.'

17. We shall describe the *Kândrâyana* below.

18. A fast of three days (must be performed) for resolving to die by one's own hand.

11. Manu XI, 159; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 282; see also *Âpastamba's* discussion on the subject, I, 1, 4, 5.

12. Manu XI, 158.

13. This *Sûtra* may also mean, 'It is declared that, according to the *Vâgasaneyaka*, honey given (to a student) without his asking for it does not defile him.' But a parallel passage of *Devala*, which *Krishnapandita* quotes, makes, I think, the version given above appear preferable. In either case the passage is explained by the fact that, according to the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, *Svetaketu*, one of the great teachers of the White Yagur-veda, strongly pleaded for the use of honey; see Weber, *Indische Studien* X, 123 seq.

14. *Vishnu* XXII, 56; *Gautama* XIV, 12.

16. *Vishnu* XXII, 58-59.

17. See below, *Sûtra* 45.

19. 'He who attempts suicide, but remains alive, shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance during twelve days. (Afterwards) he shall fast for three (days and) nights, being dressed constantly in a garment smeared (with clarified butter), and suppressing his breath, he shall thrice recite the *Aghamarshana* ;'

20. Or, following the same rule, he may also frequently recite the *Gâyatri* ;

21. Or, having kindled a fire, he may offer clarified butter with the *Kûshmândas*.

22. 'And the guilt (of) all (offences) excepting mortal sins is removed thereby.'

23. Now he may also sip water in the morning, thinking of (the Mantra), 'May fire and wrath and the lords of wrath protect me,' &c., and meditating on his sin ; (then) he may mutter the *Vyâhrîtis* that end with *satya* (truth), prefixing (the syllable) *Om* (to each), or he may recite the *Aghamarshana*.

24. If he touches a human bone to which fat still adheres, he becomes impure during three (days and) nights ;

25. But (on touching a bone) to which no fat adheres, a day and a night,

26. Likewise if he has followed a corpse (to the burial-ground).

27. If he passes between men reciting the *Veda*, he shall fast during a day and a night.

28. (Those who recite the *Veda*) shall sprinkle each other with water and stay away (from their houses) during three (days and) nights.

22. Regarding the efficacy of the *Kûshmânda* texts, see above, XXII, 9.

23. The text occurs *Taitt. Âr. X, 24, 1*.

24-25. *Manu V, 87* ; *Vishnu XXII, 75*.

26. *Manu V, 101*.

28. *Gautama I, 58*.

29. (The same penance must be performed) for a day and night, if a dog, a cat, or an ichneumon pass quickly (between those who recite the Veda).

30. If he has swallowed the flesh of a dog, a cock, a village pig, a grey heron, a vulture, a Bhâsa, a pigeon, a man, a crow or an owl, (he must) fast during seven days, (and thus) empty his entrails; (afterwards he must) eat clarified butter, and be initiated again.

31. 'But a Brâhmaṇa who has been bitten by a dog, becomes pure, if he goes to a river that flows into the ocean, (bathes there), suppresses his breath one hundred times, and eats clarified butter.'

32. 'Time, fire, purity of mind, water, looking at the sun, and ignorance (of defilement) are the six means by which created beings are purified.'

33. It is declared in the Veda that, on touching a dog, a *Kândâla*, or an outcast, he becomes at once pure, if he bathes, dressed in his clothes.

34. If (while reciting the Veda) they hear noises

29. Gautama I, 59.

30. Vishṇu LI, 3-4; Gautama XXIII, 4-5; Manu XI, 157. The Sûtra is badly corrupted in *Kṛishnapandita's* edition. I read *kaṅka* instead of *vaṅka*, leave out *vâyasa* after *bhâsa*, and change *kâkolûkânâm sâdane* to *kâkolûkamâmsâdane*. The latter change is absolutely necessary; firstly, because the penances for killing dogs and men have been given above; secondly, because the word *mânusha* requires a noun which it qualifies at the end of the compound; thirdly, because the penance which is prescribed, fasting until the entrails are empty, is absurd for murder, but appropriate for eating forbidden food; and fourthly, because the parallel passages of other Smṛitis actually do prescribe it for eating the flesh of excessively impure animals and for cannibalism. The change of *amâ* to *ânâ* is a very common mistake in Devanâgarî MSS.

31. Vishṇu LIV, 12.

32. Vishṇu XXII, 88.

33. Âpastamba I, 5, 15, 16.

made by outcasts or *Kāṇḍālas*, they shall sit silent and fasting during three days ;

35. Or if they repeat that (text of the *Gâyatri*) at least one thousand times, they become pure ; thus it is stated in the *Veda*.

36. By this rule (the penance to be performed by) those who teach or sacrifice for vile men has been explained. It is declared in the *Veda* that they become pure by also relinquishing the fees (which they received).

37. By this same (rule the penance prescribed for) an *Abhisasta*, (one accused of a heinous crime,) has been explained.

38. (If he has been accused of) killing a learned *Brāhmaṇa*, let him subsist during twelve days on water (only), and fast during (another) twelve days.

39. If he has falsely accused a *Brāhmaṇa* of a crime which causes loss of caste, or of a minor offence which does not cause loss of caste, he shall subsist during a month on water (only), and constantly repeat the (*Rikas* called) *Suddhavatis* ;

40. Or he may go to bathe (with the priests) at (the conclusion of) a horse-sacrifice.

41. By this (rule the penance for) intercourse with a female of the *Kāṇḍāla* caste has been declared.

42. Now (follows the description of) another *Krikkhra* penance, applicable to all (men), where (the rule given above) has been altered.

43. On one day (let him eat) in the morning (only), on the (following) day at night (only), on the (next) day food given without asking, and on the (fourth) day (let him) fast ; the succeeding (three) periods of

36. *Vishṇu* LIV, 25, 28.

39. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 286.

38. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 287.

41. *Vishṇu* LIII, 5, 6.

four days (must be passed) in the same manner. Wishing to show favour to the Brâhmanas, Manu, the chief among the pillars of the law, has thus described the *Sisukrikkhra* (the hard penance of children) for infants, aged, and sick men.

44. Now follows the rule for (the performance of) the *Kândrâyana* (lunar penance).

45. On the first day of the dark half (of the month) let him eat fourteen (mouthfuls), let him diminish the (number of) mouthfuls (each day by one), and continue in this manner until the end of the fortnight. In like manner let him eat one mouthful on the first day of the bright half, and (daily) increasing (the number of) mouthfuls, continue until the end of the fortnight.

46. Meanwhile let him sing *Sâmans*, or mutter the *Vyâhr̥itis*.

47. A month during which he thus performs a *Kândrâyana*, the *Rishis* have called by way of laudation, 'a means of purification' (*pavitra*). It is prescribed as an expiation of all (offences) for which no (special penance) has been mentioned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. Now (follows the description of) an *Atikrikkhra* penance.

2. Let him eat as much as he can take at one (mouthful, and follow the rules given) above for a *Krikkhra*, (viz.) to eat during three days in the morning, (during another three days) in the evening, (during further three days) food given without

44-47. Vishnu XLVII. It must be understood that during the bright half of the month the number of mouthfuls must be increased every day by one.

XXIV. 1-2. Gautama XXVI, 18-19. 'Above,' i. e. XXI, 20.

asking, and to fast during the last three days. That is an *Atikrikkhra*.

3. A *Krikkhra* penance (during the performance of which one) subsists on water (only is called) a *Krikkhrâतिक्रिक्क़्हा*.

4. The peculiar observances (prescribed during the performance) of *Krikkhra* penances (are as follows):

5. 'Having cut his nails, (the performer) shall cause his beard and all his hair to be shaved off, excepting the eyebrows, the eyelashes, and the lock at the top of the head; (wear) one garment only; he shall eat blameless food; what one obtains by going to beg once (is called) blameless food; he shall bathe in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; he shall carry a stick (and) a waterpot; he shall avoid to speak to women and *Sûdras*; carefully keeping himself in an upright or sitting posture, he shall stand during the day, and remain seated during the night.' Thus speaks the divine *Vasishtha*.

6. Let him not instruct in these Institutes of the sacred law anybody but his son or a pupil who stays (in his house at least) for a year.

7. The fee (for teaching it) is one thousand (*panas*), (or) ten cows and a bull, or the worship of the teacher.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. I will completely explain the purification of those whose guilt has not been made public, both from great crimes and for minor offences.

3. Gautama XXVI, 20; see also Vishnu XLVI, 13-14.

4-5. Gautama XXVI, 6, 8; Vishnu XLVII, 24-25.

6. The MSS. read in the beginning of this *Sûtra*, *satayânudeti* or *satayâtudeta*, while *Krishnapandita*, probably as a guess, writes *satapâ nudati*. I do not think that his correction is satisfactory, and propose in its stead, *sa tadyadetad* (*dharmaśāstram*).

2. A penance prescribed in (the section on) secret (penances) is for an Agnihotrin, an aged and a learned man, who have subdued their senses ; but other men (must perform the expiations) described above.

3. Those constantly engaged in suppressing their breath, reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, making burnt-oblations, and muttering (sacred texts) will, undoubtedly, be freed from (the guilt of) crimes causing loss of caste.

4. Seated with Kusa grass in his hands, let him repeatedly suppress his breath, and again and again recite purificatory texts, the Vyâhr̥tis, the syllable Om, and the daily portion of the Veda.

5. Always intent on the practice of Yoga, let him again and again suppress his breath. Up to the ends of his hair and up to the ends of his nails let him perform highest austerity.

6. Through the obstruction (of the expiration) air is generated, through air fire is produced, then through heat water is formed ; hence he is internally purified by (these) three.

7. Neither through severe austerities, nor through the daily recitation of the Veda, nor through offering sacrifices can the twice-born reach that condition which they attain by the practice of Yoga.

8. Through the practice of Yoga (true) knowledge is obtained, Yoga is the sum of the sacred law, the practice of Yoga is the highest and eternal austerity ; therefore let him always be absorbed in the practice of Yoga.

XXV. 4. Read prânâyâmân in the text.

5. The MSS. read at the end of this verse, tapas tapyatam uttamam, while *Krishnapandita* gives tapas tapyât tu uttamam. The correct reading is probably tapas tapyatu uttamam.

9. For him who is constantly engaged in (reciting the syllable) Om, the seven Vyâhr̥tis, and the three-footed Gâyatrî no danger exists anywhere.

10. The Vedas likewise begin with the syllable Om, and they end with the syllable Om, the syllable Om is the sum of all speech; therefore let him repeat it constantly.

11. The most excellent (portion of the) Veda, which consists of one syllable, is declared to be the best purificatory text.

12. If the guilt of all sins did fall on one man, to repeat the Gâyatrî ten thousand times (would be) an efficient means of purification.

13. If, suppressing his breath, he thrice recites the Gâyatrî together with the Vyâhr̥tis together with the syllable Om and with the (text called) Siras, that is called one suppression of breath.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. If, untired, he performs three suppressions of his breath according to the rule, the sins which he committed during a day and a night are instantly destroyed.

2. Seated during the evening prayer, he removes by (three) suppressions of his breath all guilt which

9. I read with the MSS. bhayam for bhave.

10. Manu II, 74.

13. Identical with Vishnu LV, 9. Regarding the text called Siras, see above, XXI, 6.

XXVI. 1. The verb dhârayet, 'performs,' seems to be used in order to indicate that, according to the Yogasâstra, three Prânâ-yâmas make one Dhâranâ; see Yâgyñavalkya III, 201.

2-3. Regarding the position at the Sandhyâ prayers, see also above.

he incurred during the day by deeds, thoughts, or speeches.

3. But standing during the morning prayer, he removes by (three) suppressions of his breath all guilt which he incurred during the night by deeds, thoughts, or speeches.

4. But sixteen suppressions of breath, accompanied by (the recitation of) the *Vyâhr̥itis* and the syllable *Om*, repeated daily, purify after a month even the slayer of a learned *Brâhmaṇa*.

5. Even a drinker of spirituous liquor becomes pure, if he mutters the (hymn seen) by *Kutsa*, 'Apanaḥ sosukāḍ agham,' and (the hymn seen) by *Vasishtha* (which begins with the word) 'Prati,' the *Mâhitra* (hymn), and the *Suddhavattis*.

6. Even he who has stolen gold becomes instantly free from guilt, if he once mutters (the hymn beginning with the words) 'Asya vâmasya' and the *Sivasamkalpa*.

7. The violator of a *Guru's* bed is freed (from sin) if he repeatedly recites the (hymn beginning) 'Havish pântam agaram' and that (beginning) 'Na tam amhaḥ' and mutters the hymn addressed to *Purusha*.

8. Or plunging into water he may thrice mutter the *Aghamarshana*. *Manu* has declared that the (effect is the) same as if he had gone to bathe at a horse-sacrifice.

4. Identical with *Manu* XI, 249; see also *Vishṇu* LV, 2.

5. Identical with *Manu* XI, 250. The Vedic texts mentioned are *Rig-veda* I, 97, 1; VII, 80; X, 185; VIII, 84, 7-9.

6. *Manu* LI, 251. The Vedic texts alluded to are *Rig-veda* I, 164; and an *Upanishad*.

7. Identical with *Manu* XI, 252. The Vedic texts mentioned are *Rig-veda* X, 88; X, 126; X, 90.

8. *Manu* XI, 260-261; *Vishṇu* LV, 7.

9. An offering consisting of muttered prayers is ten times more efficacious than a sacrifice at which animals are killed; a (prayer) which is inaudible (to others) surpasses it a hundred times, and the mental (recitation of sacred texts) one thousand times.

10. The four Pākayagñas and those sacrifices which are enjoined by the rules of the Veda are all together not equal in value to the sixteenth part of a sacrifice consisting of muttered prayers.

11. But, undoubtedly, a Brāhmaṇa reaches the highest goal by muttering prayers only; whether he perform other (rites) or neglect them, he is called a Brāhmaṇa who befriends all creatures (maitra).

12. The sins of those who are intent on muttering prayers, of those who offer burnt-oblations, of those who are given to meditation, of those who reside in sacred places, and of those who have bathed after performing the vows called Śīras, do not remain.

13. As a fire, fanned by wind, burns brighter, and (as its flame grows) through offerings (of butter), even so a Brāhmaṇa who is daily engaged in

9. Manu II, 85; Vishṇu LV, 19. The term ārambhayagña, translated by 'an offering at which animals are slain,' is taken by *Krishnapandita* to mean pāthayagña, 'an offering consisting of Vedic mantras recited aloud.' The word may be taken in several ways, but the various reading vidhiyagña in Manu's verse induces me to adopt the translation given above.

10. Identical with Manu II, 86, and Vishṇu LV, 20. Regarding the four Pākayagñas, see Professor Jolly's note on Vishṇu. In my opinion the four classes of rites huta, ahuta, prahuta, and prâsita are meant.

11. Identical with Manu II, 87.

12. 'After performing the vows (called) Śīras,' i. e. those which are known in the Upanishads, which are called agnidhârana and so forth, and whose head (siras) consists in the worship of the teacher.—*Krishnapandita*. *Mundaka Upanishad* III, 2, 10.

muttering sacred texts shines with a brilliant lustre.

14. The destruction of those who fulfil the duty of daily study, who constantly restrain themselves, who mutter prayers and offer sacrifices has never been known (to happen).

15. Let him who is desirous of purification repeat, though he be charged with all sins, the divine (Gâyatri), at the most one thousand times, or one hundred times as a medium (penance), or at least ten times (for trivial faults).

16. A Kshatriya shall pass through misfortunes which have befallen him by the strength of his arms, a Vaisya and Sûdra by their wealth, the highest among twice-born men by muttered prayers and burnt-oblations.

17. As horses (are useless) without a chariot, as chariots (are useless) without horses, even so austerity (is useless) to him who is destitute of sacred learning, and sacred learning to him who practises no austerities.

18. As food mixed with honey, or honey mixed with food, even so are austerities and learning, joined together, a powerful medicine.

19. No guilt taints a Brâhmaṇa who possesses learning, practises austerities, and daily mutters sacred texts, though he may constantly commit sinful acts.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. If a hundred improper acts, and even more, have been committed, and the (knowledge of the)

14. Manu IV, 146.

XXVII. 1-2. Manu XI, 247.

Veda is retained, the fire of the Veda destroys all (the guilt) of that man just as a (common) fire consumes fuel.

2. As a fire that burns strongly consumes even green trees, even so the fire of the Veda destroys one's guilt caused by (evil) deeds.

3. A Brâhmana who remembers the Rig-veda is not tainted by any guilt, though he has destroyed these (three) worlds and has eaten the food of all, (even of the most sinful) men.

4. If (a Brâhmana) relies on the power of the Veda, he cannot find pleasure in sinful acts. Guilt (incurred) through ignorance and negligence is destroyed, not (that of) other (intentional offences).

5. If a hermit subsisting on roots and fruit practises austerities in a forest, and (a householder) recites a single *Rik*, the merit of the acts of the one and of the other is equal.

6. Let him strengthen the Veda by (studying) the Itihâsas and Purâṇas. For the Veda fears a man of little learning, (thinking) 'He will destroy me.'

7. The daily recitation of the Veda and the performance, according to one's ability, of the series of Mahâyagñas quickly destroy guilt, even that of mortal sins.

8. Let him daily perform, without tiring, his particular rites which the Veda enjoins. For if he does that according to his ability, he will reach the most blessed state.

9. Through sacrificing for wicked people, through teaching them, through intermarrying with them, and through receiving gifts from them, (learned)

3. Identical with Manu XI, 262.

8. 'The most blessed state,' i. e. final liberation, or moksha.

Brâhmaṇas do not contract guilt, for (a learned Brâhmaṇa) resembles a fire and the sun.

10. I will now declare the purification prescribed for (eating) food, regarding which doubts have arisen, whether it may be called fit to be eaten or not. Listen to my words!

11. Let a Brâhmaṇa drink during three days the astringent decoction of the Brahmasuvarṅgalâ plant, unmixed with salt or pungent condiments, and (a decoction of) the Saṅkha pushpî plant, together with milk.

12. Let him drink water, after boiling in it Palâsa and Bilva leaves, Kusa grass, and (leaves of) lotuses and Udumbara trees; after three days and no more he becomes pure.

13. (Subsisting) during one day on each (of the following substances), cow's urine, cowdung, milk, sour milk, butter, and water in which Kusa grass has been boiled, and fasting on the seventh day purify even (him who fears that he has partaken of the food of) a Svapâka.

14. He who lives during five days on cow's urine, cowdung, milk, sour milk, and clarified butter, is purified by means of (that) Pañḍagavya, (the five products of the cow.)

15. He who, in accordance with the rule, uses barley (for his food), becomes pure even by ocular proof. (For) if he is pure, those (barley grains) will be white, if he is impure they will be discoloured.

16. (If he makes) three morning meals of food

12. Vishṇu XLVI, 23. I read abhogyabhogyasamṅgiake.

13. Vishṇu XLVI, 19.

15. The rule is described by Vishṇu XLVIII.

16. The meaning of the Sûtra is that each mode of subsistence is to be continued during three days.

fit for a sacrifice and three evening meals in like manner, and if food given without asking (is his subsistence) in the same manner, (he will thus perform) three fasts.

17. Now if he is in haste to make (himself pure), (let him) subsist on air during a day, and pass the night standing in water; (that penance) is equal to a *Prâgâpatya* (*Krikkhra*).

18. But if at sunrise he mutters the *Gâyatrî* eight thousand times, he will be freed from all mortal sins, provided he be not the slayer of a *Brâhmaṇa*.

19. He, forsooth, who has stolen (the gold of a *Brâhmaṇa*), has drunk spirituous liquor, has slain a learned *Brâhmaṇa*, or has violated his Guru's bed, will become free from all (these) mortal sins if he studies the Institutes of the sacred law.

20. For unlawful acts, for unlawful sacrifices, and for great sins (let him perform) a *Krikkhra* and a *Kândrâyana*, which destroy all guilt.

21. Let him add daily one mouthful (to his food) during the bright (half of the month), let him diminish it (daily by one mouthful) during the dark (half), and let him fast on the new-moon day; that is the rule for the *Kândrâyana* (or lunar penance).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. A woman is not defiled by a lover, nor a *Brâhmaṇa* by Vedic rites, nor water by urine and ordure, nor fire by consuming (impure substances).

18. *Ash/asahasram*, 'eight thousand times,' may also mean 'one thousand and eight times.'

21. See above, XXIII, 44-47.

XXVIII. 1. 'Is not defiled by a lover,' i.e. does not become irrevocably an outcast, but may be restored to her position after

2-3. A wife, (though) tainted by sin, whether she be quarrelsome, or have left the house, or have suffered criminal force, or have fallen into the hands of thieves, must not be abandoned; to forsake her is not prescribed (by the sacred law). Let him wait for the time of her courses; by her temporary uncleanness she becomes pure.

4. Women (possess) an unequalled means of purification; they never become (entirely) foul. For month by month their temporary uncleanness removes their sins.

5. Women belong first to three gods, Soma (the moon), the Gandharva, and Fire, and come afterwards into the possession of men; according to the law they cannot be contaminated.

6. Soma gave them cleanliness, the Gandharva their melodious voice, and Fire purity of all (limbs); therefore women are free from stains.

7. Those versed in the sacred law state that there are three acts (only) which make women outcasts, (viz.) the murder of the husband, slaying a learned Brâhmana, and the destruction of the fruit of their womb.

8. A calf is pure when the milk flows, a bird when it causes fruit to fall, women during dalliance, and a dog when he catches a deer.

9. Pure is the mouth of a goat and of a horse, pure is the back of a cow, pure are the feet of a Brâhmana, but women are pure in all (limbs).

performing a penance, provided her lover was a man of equal caste.—*Krishnapandita*.

2-3. For the last clause compare *Yâgñavalkya I, 72*.

4. See above, V, 3-4.

5. *Pâraskara Grihya-sûtra I, 4, 16*.

6. *Yâgñavalkya I, 71*.

8. *Vishnu XXIII, 49*.

7. *Yâgñavalkya I, 72*.

9. *Vishnu XXIII, 40*.

10. I will now declare the purificatory texts (which are found) in each Veda ; by muttering them or reciting them at a burnt-oblation (men) are doubtlessly cleansed (from sin).

11. (They are) the Aghamarshana, the Devakrita, the Suddhavattis, the Taratsamas, the Kûshmândas, the Pâvamânîs, and the Durgâsâvitri ;

12. The Attishaṅgas, the Padastobhas, and the Sâmans (called) Vyâhṛiti, the Bhârunda Sâmans, the Gâyatra (Sâman), and the Raivata ;

13. The Purushavrata and the Bhâsa, and likewise the Devavrata (Sâmans), the Abliṅga, the Bârhaspatya, the hymn addressed to Vâk, likewise the *Rikâs* (called) Madhu ;

14. The Satarudriya, the Atharvasiras, the Tri-suparna, the Mahâvrata, the Gosûkta, and the Asvasûkta, and the two Sâmans (called) Suddhâsuddhîya.

15. The three (Sâmans called) Âgyadohas, the Rathantara, the Agnervrata, the Vâmadevya, and the *Bṛihat*, being muttered, purify (all) living beings. (He who sings them) may obtain the recollection of former existences, if he desires it.

16. Gold is the firstborn of Fire, through Vishṇu exists the earth, and the cows are children of the

10-15. Vishṇu LVI, and preface, p. xviii. The explanation of the various terms used will be found in the notes to Professor Jolly's translation of Vishṇu.

12. MSS. and *Krishnapandita*, Abhishaṅgâḥ. *Krishnapandita* and MS. B. bhâradandâni ; E. bhâdâni ; Bh. and F. omit vv. 12 and 13 a.

13. *Krishnapandita* and B. artvigam ; Bh. E. F. as above. The Bhâsa begins, according to *Krishnapandita*, agne vratapate.

14. *Krishnapandita* and B. indrasuddhe ; Bh. E. F. suddham-suddhena.

Sun ; he who bestows as gifts gold, a cow, and land will obtain rewards without end for them.

17. A cow, a horse, gold, (and) land, bestowed on an unlearned Brâhmana who neglects his sacred duties, prevent the giver (from attaining heaven).

18-19. (If he presents), on the full moon of the month of Vaisâkha, (to) seven or five Brâhmanas, black or white sesamum grains (mixed) with honey, (saying), ' May the king of justice (Yama) rejoice !' or (expressing) some other (wish) which he may have in his mind, the guilt which he has incurred during his (whole) life will instantly vanish.

20. But hear (now) the reward of the merit acquired by that man who gives the skin of a black antelope, to which the hoofs are (still) attached and the navel of which is adorned with gold, covering it with sesamum grains.

21. ' Without doubt he has bestowed (through that gift) the four-faced earth, together with its caves filled with gold, and together with its mountains, groves, and forests.'

22. ' He who, placing on the skin of a black antelope, sesamum, gold, honey, and butter, gives it to a Brâhmana, overcomes all sin.'

17. Manu IV, 190, 193-194. *Krishnapandita* and MSS. B. and E. read *uparudanti dâtâram*, MSS. Bh. and F. *uparundanti*. I change the latter reading to *uparundhanti*.

18-19. *Vishnu* XC, 10.

20-22. *Vishnu* LXXXVII, 8-10, and Professor Jolly's preface, p. xviii.

21. ' The four-faced earth,' i. e. the earth which is surrounded by the four oceans.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. Through liberality (man) obtains all his desires,
2. (Even) longevity, (and he is born again as) a student of the Veda, possessed of beauty.
3. He who abstains from injuring (sentient beings) obtains heaven.
4. By entering a fire the world of Brahman (is gained).
5. By (a vow of) silence (he obtains) happiness.
6. By staying (constantly) in water he becomes a lord of elephants.
7. He who expends his hoard (in gifts) becomes free from disease.
8. A giver of water (becomes) rich by (the fulfilment of) all his desires.
9. A giver of food (will have) beautiful eyes and a good memory.
10. He who gives a promise to protect (somebody) from all dangers (becomes) wise.
11. (To bestow gifts) for the use of cows (is equal to) bathing at all sacred places.
12. By giving a couch and a seat (the giver becomes) master of a harem.
13. By giving an umbrella (the giver) obtains a house.

XXIX. 4. This Sûtra, which recommends self-cremation, is of some importance, as it confirms the teaching of the Purânas and explains the accounts of the Greeks regarding the self-immolation of Brâhmanas who visited Europe.

9. Vishnu XCII, 21.

12. Vishnu XCII, 27 ; Manu IV, 232. 'Master of a harem,' i. e. the possessor of many beautiful wives and concubines.

14. He who gives a house obtains a town.

15. He who gives a pair of shoes obtains a vehicle.

16. Now they quote also (the following verses) :
'Whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits, (from that) he is purified by giving land, (be it) even "a bull's hide."'

17. 'He who gives to a Brâhmana a vessel filled with water for sipping, will obtain after death complete freedom from thirst and be born again as a drinker of Soma.'

18. 'If a gift of one thousand oxen fit to draw a carriage (has been bestowed) according to the rule on a perfectly worthy man, that is equal to giving a maiden.'

19. 'They declare that cows, land, and learning are the three most excellent gifts. For to give learning is (to bestow) the greatest of all gifts, and it surpasses those (other gifts).'

20. 'A learned man who, free from envy, follows this rule of conduct which procures endless rewards, and which through final liberation frees him from transmigration ;'

21. 'Or who, full of faith, pure, and subduing his

14. Vishnu XCII, 31.

15. Vishnu XCII, 28.

16. Vishnu XCII, 4. *Krishnapandita* quotes a passage of the *Matsya-purâna* according to which 'a bull's hide' is a measure equal to 140 square hastas ; see, however, notes to Vishnu loc. cit. and V, 183.

17. *Manu* IV, 229.

18. Read in the text *vidhivaddânam kanyâdânena tatsamam*.

19. *Krishnapandita* wrongly makes two Sûtras out of this verse.

20. *Krishnapandita* and MS. B. read, against the metre and sense, *yoginâm sampûritam vidvân*, another reading *yoginâm sammatam vidvân*. F. reads *yonasamyurimam vidvân*. I read *yo'na-sûyurimam vidvân*.

senses, remembers or even hears it, will, freed from all sin, be exalted in the highest heaven.'

CHAPTER XXX.

1. Practise righteousness, not unrighteousness; speak truth, not untruth; look far, not near; look towards the Highest, not towards that which is not the Highest.

2. A Brâhmana is a fire.

3. For the Veda (says), 'Agni, forsooth, is a Brâhmana.'

4. And how is that?

5. And it is also declared in the Kâthaka, 'On that (occasion) the body of the Brâhmana who represents the sacrificial seat is the altar, the vow to perform the rite is the sacrifice, the soul is the animal to be slain, the intellect the rope (with which the animal is bound), the mouth of (the Brâhmana) who represents the seat is the Âhavanîya fire, in his navel (is the Dakshinâ fire), the fire in his abdomen is the Gârhapatya fire, the Prâna is the Adhvaryu priest, the Apâna the Hotri priest, the Vyâna the Brahman, the Samâna the Udgâtri priest, the organs of sensation the sacrificial vessels. He who knowing this offers a sacrifice to the organs through the organs.' . . .

6. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'An offering placed in the mouth-fire of a Brâh-

XXX. 2. See above, III, 10.

3. Satapatha-brâhmana I, 4, 22.

5. Krishnapandita divides the passage into thirteen Sûtras, and connects tatra, 'on that occasion,' with the preceding Sûtra. 'On that (occasion),' i. e. if a Brâhmana is fed,

mana which is rich in Veda-fuel, protects and saves the giver and (the eater) himself from sin.'

7. 'But the offering made through the mouth of a Brâhmana, which is neither spilt nor causes pain (to sentient creatures), nor assails him (who makes it), is far more excellent than an Agnihotra.'

8. After performing a mental sacrifice at which meditation (takes the place of the sacred) fire, truthfulness (the place of) the sacred fuel, patience (the place of) the oblation, modesty (the place of) the sacrificial spoon, abstention from injuring living beings (the place of the) sacrificial cake, contentment (the place of) the sacrificial post, (and a promise of) safety given to all beings which is hard to keep (the place of) the reward given to the priests, a wise man goes to his (eternal) home.

9. The hair of an aging man shows signs of age, (and) the teeth of an aging man show signs of age, (but) the desire to live and the desire for wealth do not decay even in an aging man.

7. Manu VII, 84; Yâgñavalkya I, 315. *Krîṣṇapandita's* reading, *nainam adhyâkate ka yaḥ*, which occurs also in B., is nonsense. I read with Bh. *nainam adhyâpatekka yat*, and take *adhyâpatet*, 'assails (the giver),' in the sense of 'troubles him by causing the performance of penances, on account of mistakes committed.' Manu's version, *na vinasati karhiḥit*, 'and never perishes,' is of course an easier one, but it seems to me doubtful whether it is older than *Vasishṭha's*.

8. The passage, which is probably a quotation from an Upanishad, is very corrupt in the MSS. and *Krîṣṇapandita's* text. I correct it as follows:

*Dhyânâgniḥ satyopâkayanam kshântyâhutiḥ
sruvamhrîḥ puroḍâsamahimsâ samtoshô
yûpaḥ krîkḥram bhûtebhyo 'bhayadâkshinyam iti
krîtvâ kratum mânasam yâti kshayam budhaḥ.*

But I am not confident that all the difficulties have been removed.

10. Happiness (is the portion) of that man who relinquishes (all) desire, which fools give up with difficulty, which does not diminish with age, and which is a life-long disease.

11. Adoration to Vasishtha Satayātu, the son of Mitra and Varuna and Urvast!

BAUDHÂYANA.

BAUDHÂYANA.

PRASNA I, ADHYÂYA 1, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. The sacred law is taught in each Veda.
 2. We will explain (it) in accordance with that.
 3. (The sacred law), taught in the Tradition (*Smṛiti*, stands) second.
 4. The practice of the *Sishṭas* (stands) third.
 5. *Sishṭas*, forsooth, (are those) who are free from envy, free from pride, contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days, free from covetousness, and free from hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, perplexity, and anger.
 6. '(Those are called) *Sishṭas* who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together
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1. 1. *Vasishṭha* I, 4. Each Veda, i. e. each *jâkhâ* or redaction of the Veda.—Govinda.

3. *Vasishṭha* I, 4. Govinda takes *smṛiti*, 'the tradition,' in the sense of works (*grantha*) explaining the recollections of the *Rishis*, and is no doubt right in doing so.

4. *Vasishṭha* I, 5. The explanation of *âgama* by 'practice' rests on the authority of Govinda and the parallel passages where *śīla* and *âkâra*, 'conduct,' are used.

5. *Âpastamba* I, 7, 20, 8; *Gautama* XXVIII, 48. *Kumbhîdhânya*, translated according to Govinda by 'contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days,' means, according to others, 'contented with a store of grain sufficient for six days or for a year.'

6. *Vasishṭha* VI, 43. Govinda omits the word '*iti*,' given by the

with its appendages, know how to draw inferences from that, (and) are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.'

7. On failure of them, an assembly consisting at least of ten members (shall decide disputed points of law).

8. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Four men, who each know one of the four Vedas, a Mīmāṃsaka, one who knows the Aṅgas, one who recites (the works on) the sacred law, and three Brāhmaṇas belonging to (three different) orders, (constitute) an assembly consisting, at least, of ten members.'

9. 'There may be five, or there may be three, or there may be one blameless man, who decides (questions regarding) the sacred law. But a thousand fools (can)not (do it).'

10. 'As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such is an unlearned Brāhmaṇa : those three having nothing but the name (of their kind).'

MSS. after the verse, whereby it is marked as a quotation. 'The appendages,' i. e. the Itihāsas and Purāṇas.—Govinda.

8. Vasishṭha III, 20. Govinda, quoting Gautama XXVIII, 49, says that Vānaprasthas cannot serve as members of Parishads, because they live in the forest. He also notices a different reading, not found in my MSS., 'Āsramasthās trayo mukhyāḥ.' He asserts that thereby professed students are intended, because professed students are declared to be particularly holy in the Dharmaskandha-brāhmaṇa.

9. Vasishṭha III, 7. Itare, translated by 'fools,' means literally, 'those different from the persons enumerated in the preceding verse.' Govinda remarks that according to Sūtra 12 one learned Brāhmaṇa must be taken only in cases of the most pressing necessity.

10. Vasishṭha III, 11.

11. 'That sin which dunces, perplexed by ignorance and unacquainted with the sacred law, declare (to be duty), falls, increased a hundredfold, on those who propound it.'

12. 'Narrow and difficult to find is the path of the sacred law, towards which many gates lead. Hence, if there is a doubt, it must not be propounded by one man (only), however learned he may be.'

13. 'What Brâhmanas, riding in the chariot of the law (and) wielding the sword of the Veda, propound even in jest, that is declared to be the highest law.'

14. 'As wind and sun will make water, collected on a stone, disappear, even so the sin that (cleaves) to an offender completely vanishes like water.'

15. 'He who knows the sacred law shall fix the penances with discernment, taking into consideration the constitution, the strength, the knowledge, and the age (of the offender), as well as the time and the deed.'

11. Vasishṭha III, 6.

12. The 'gates' of the sacred law are the Vedas, the Smṛitis, and the practice of the Śiṣṭas. They are many, because the redactions of the Vedas and Smṛitis are numerous and the practices vary in different countries.

14. I. e. provided the offender performs the penance imposed by learned and virtuous Brâhmanas. *Pranârayet*, 'will make disappear,' is ungrammatical, as the subject stands in the dual. Grammatical accuracy has probably been sacrificed to the exigencies of the metre.

15. Vasishṭha XIX, 9. *Sarîram*, literally 'the body,' means here the constitution, which may be bilious, 'windy,' and so forth. *Âyuh*, literally 'life' or 'long life,' has been translated by 'knowledge,' in accordance with Govinda's explanation, *gñânam*. As the word *vayaḥ*, 'age,' also occurs in this verse, it is clear that *âyuh* cannot have its usual meaning.

16. 'Many thousands (of Brāhmanas) cannot form a (legal) assembly (for declaring the sacred law), if they have not fulfilled their sacred duties, are unacquainted with the Veda, and subsist only by the name of their caste.'

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 1, KANDIKĀ 2.

1. There is a dispute regarding five (practices) both in the south and in the north.

2. We will explain those (peculiar) to the south.

3. They are, to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.

4. Now (the customs peculiar) to the north are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, to go to sea.

16. Vasishṭha III, 5. The two copies of the commentary omit this Sūtra, though it is quoted in the explanation of Sūtra 9. The best MSS. repeat the last words of the Sūtra in order to show that the *Kandikā* ends here. The same practice is observed, though not quite regularly, in the sequel.

2. 1. The boundary between the north and south of India is, as Govinda also points out, the river Narmadā.

3. Some of the customs mentioned here still prevail in parts of southern India. Thus the marriages between cousins occur among the Desastha and Karhāḍā Brāhmanas of the Dekhan.

4. The first two customs mentioned still prevail in the north, especially in Kasmîr, where Brāhmanas commonly deal in wool and woollen cloth. Spirituous liquor is not now drunk openly, but its use is sanctioned in the Kasmîrian *Nilamata-purāna*. Many Brāhmanical families in the north, especially in the North-western Provinces, subsist by enlisting as soldiers in the British and native armies.

5. He who follows (these practices) in any other country than where they prevail, commits sin.

6. For each (of these customs) the (rule of the) country should be (considered) the authority.

7. Gautama declares that that is false.

8. And one should not take heed of either (set of practices) because they are opposed to the tradition of the *Sishṭas*.

9. The country of the *Āryas* (*Āryāvarta*) lies to the east of the region where (the river *Sarasvatī*) disappears, to the west of the Black-forest (*Kāla-kavana*), to the north of the *Pāripātra* (mountains), to the south of the *Himālaya*. The rule of conduct which (prevails) there, is authoritative.

10. Some (declare) the country between the (rivers) *Yamunā* and *Ganges* (to be the *Āryāvarta*).

11. Now the *Bhāllavins* quote also the (following) verse :

12. 'In the west the boundary-river, in the east the region where the sun rises,—as far as the black antelopes wander (between these two limits), so far spiritual pre-eminence (is found).'

5-6. A similar argument is given by the *Kasmīrians* for the lawfulness of the consumption of meat, which they justify by a *deraguṇa* or 'virtue of their country.'

7. *Gautama* XI, 20.

9. *Vasishṭha* I, 8, 10. Many MSS., and among them the Telugu copy of the commentary, read *Pāriyātra* instead of *Pāripātra*, which latter I consider to be the correct form of the word.

10. *Vasishṭha* I, 12.

11. *Vasishṭha* I, 14. *Govinda* remarks that the *Bhāllavins* are a school studying the *Sāma-veda*. See also *Max Müller*, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 193, 364.

12. *Vasishṭha* I, 15. There is a great uncertainty in the MSS. about the word following *sindhuḥ*. I have adopted the reading of

13. The inhabitants of Avantī, of Aṅga, of Magadha, of Surāshtra, of the Dekhan, of Upāvrīṭ, of Sindh, and the Sauvīrās are of mixed origin.

14. He who has visited the (countries of the) Ārattas, Kāraskaras, Pundras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, (or) Prānūnas shall offer a Punastoma or a Sarvapriṣṭhā (ishṭi).

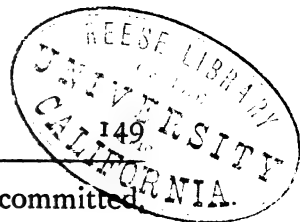
15. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'He commits sin through his feet, who travels to the (country of the) Kaliṅgas. The sages declare the Vaisvānari ishṭi to be a purification for him.'

M., *sindhur vidharanī*, 'the boundary-river,' which occurs also in the parallel passage of *Vasishṭha*. The Dekhan and Gugarāt MSS. read *viṭharanī* or *viṭharanā*, and the two copies of the commentary *visaranī*. The sense of these various readings appears to be 'the river that vanishes or looses itself,' i. e. the Sarasvatī.

13. This and the following two Sūtras are intended to show that the customs prevailing in the countries named have no authority and must not be followed. Avanti corresponds to western Mālvā, Aṅga to western Bengal, Magadha to Bihār, and Surāshtra to southern Kāśhīāvād. The Sauvīras, who are always associated with the Sindhians, probably dwelt in the south-west of the Pañgāb, near Multān. The Upāvrīṭs probably are the same as the Upāvrīttas mentioned Mahābhārata VI, 49. But I am unable to determine their seats.

14. The Ārattas dwelt in the Pañgāb (Lassen, Ind. Alth. I, p. 973, sec. ed.), and are greatly blamed, Mahābhārata VIII, 44, 36 seq. The Kāraskaras are named in the same chapter of the Mahābhārata as a degraded tribe, but seem to belong to the south of India. The Kaliṅgas are the inhabitants of the eastern coast of India, between Orissa and the mouth of the Kṛishṇā river. The Pundras, who are mentioned as a degraded tribe in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa VII, 18, and occur frequently in the Mahābhārata, and the Vaṅgas belong to Bengal (see Lassen, Ind. Alth. I, 669, sec. ed.; Cunningham, Anc. Geog. p. 480). Regarding the Punastoma, see Gautama XIX, 7 note; and regarding the Sarvapriṣṭhā ishṭi, Taittirīya-saṃhitā II, 3, 7, 1-2.

15. Āpastamba I, 11, 32, 18.



16. 'Even if many offences have been committed, they recommend for the removal of the sin the Pavitreshî. For that (sacrifice) is a most excellent means of purification.'

17. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He who performs (by turns) in each season the Vaisvânari (ishî), the Vrâtapati (ishî), and the Pavitreshî is freed from (all) sins.'

PRASNA I, ADHYÂYA 2, KANDIKÂ 3.

1. The (term of the) studentship for (learning the) Veda, as kept by the ancients, (is) forty-eight years,

2. (Or) twenty-four (years), or twelve for each Veda,

3. Or at the least one year for each Kânda,

4. Or until (the Veda has been) learned; for life is uncertain.

5. A passage of the revealed texts declares, 'Let him kindle the sacred fires while his hair is (still) black.'

17. *Vasishtha* XXII, 10. The meaning is that in each of the three seasons of the year, Grîshma, Varsha, Hemanta, one of the three sacrifices is to be offered.

3. 1. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 12. Govindasvâmin gives four explanations of the adjective *paurânam*, 'kept by the ancients,' viz. 1. old, i. e. kept by the men of the *Krîta* or Golden age; 2. revealed to and kept by the ancients, such as Manu; 3. found in the ancient, i. e. eternal Veda; 4. found in the known *Itihâsas* and *Purânas*.

2. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 14-16.

3. Each Kânda, i. e. each of the seven books of the *Taittirîya-samhitâ*.

4. Manu III, 1.

5. The object of the Sûtra is to prove that the period of studentship must not be protracted too long, lest the duty of offering the *Srauta Agnihotra* be neglected.

6. They do not put any (religious) restrictions on the acts of a (child) before the investiture with the girdle (is performed). For he is on a level with a Sûdra before (his second) birth through the Veda.

7. The number of years (must be calculated) from the conception. Let him initiate a Brâhmaṇa in the eighth (year) after that,

8. A Kshatriya three (years) later (than a Brâhmaṇa),

9. A Vaisya one year later than a (Kshatriya).

10. Spring, summer, and autumn are the seasons (for the initiation) according to the order of the castes.

11. (Let him perform the initiation reciting), according to the order (of the castes), a Gâyatrî, a Trishṭubh, (or) a Gagatî (verse).

12. Up to the sixteenth, the twenty-second, and the twenty-fourth (years) respectively (the time for the initiation) has not passed.

13. The girdles (shall consist of a rope) made of Muñga grass, a bow-string, (or a rope) made of hemp.

14. The skins (shall be) those of a black antelope, of a spotted deer, (or) of a he-goat.

15. The staff shall reach the crown of the head, the forehead, (or) the tip of the nose, (and be made) of a tree fit for a sacrifice. The details have been stated above.

6. Vasishṭha II, 6 ; Gautama II, 1.

7-9. Vasishṭha XI, 49-51.

10. Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 18.

12. Vasishṭha XI, 71-73.

13. Vasishṭha XI, 58-60. With this and the next two Sûtras the words 'according to the order of the castes' must be understood.

14. Vasishṭha XI, 61-63.

15. Vasishṭha XI, 55-57. The details referred to are to be

16. Let him beg, (employing a formula) consisting of seven syllables, with the word *bhavat* in the beginning, with the word *bhikshâ* in the middle, and with the (verb expressing) the request at the end; and let him not pronounce loudly (the syllables) *kshâ* and *hi*.

17. A *Brâhmana* (student) shall ask for alms, placing (the word) 'Lady' first, a *Kshatriya* placing

found in the *Baudhâyana Grîhya-sûtra* II, 7, where the various kinds of trees from which the staff may be taken are specified. The *Sûtra* shows that the *Grîhya-sûtra* preceded the *Dharma-sûtra* in the collection.

16. The text of this *Sûtra* is corrupt. I read, '*bhavatpurvâm bhikshâmadhyâm yâkñântâm karet saptâksharâm bhikshâm kshâm ka him ka na vardhayet.*' The various readings of the MSS. are, *bhikshâm madhyâm yakñhântâm karet saptâksharâm bhim ka na vardhayet*, C. T.;—*yâkñântâm karet saptâksharamni kshâm ka bhim ka narvayet*, D.;—*yâkñântâm karet saptâksharâstm rkshâ ba him na vardhayet*, K.;—*yâkñântâm tikshâm karet saptâksharân kshâm ka him ka na vardhayan*, M.;—*yâkanâskântâm karet saptâksharân bhikshâm ka him ka na vardhayet*, C. I. The most serious corruption lies in the syllables following *saptâksharâm*, and I am not certain that my emendation *bhikshâm* is correct. The commentary on the first half of the *Sûtra* runs as follows: *bhikshâmantram vyaktam evokkaret bhavakñhabdapûrvâm bhikshâsabdāmadhyâm yâkñâprati-pa[pâ]dakarsabdāmtâm sabdâksharâm [saptâksharâm] ka evam hi bhavati bhikshâm dehi sampanno bhavati*, 'let him pronounce distinctly the formula employed in begging, beginning with the word *bhavat*, having the word *bhikshâ* in the middle, and ending with the word conveying the sense of giving, and containing seven syllables. For thus (the formula), "Lady, give alms," becomes complete.' It is curious that *Govinda* says nothing about the form *saptâksharâm* and the feminine terminations of the other adjectives, which do not agree with *mantram*, a masculine.

17. *Vasishṭha* XI, 68–70; *Gautama* II, 35. *Govinda* thinks that a student should, if possible, beg from people of his own caste. Three castes only are intended by the term 'from all castes.' But see *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 25; *Gautama* VII, 1 seqq.

it in the middle, (and) a Vaisya placing it at the end (of the formula), from (men of) all castes.

18. The (persons fit to be asked) are Brâhmanas and so forth, who follow (their lawful) occupations.

19. Let him daily fetch fuel out of the forest and offer (it in the sacred fire).

20. (A student shall be) truthful, modest, and devoid of pride.

21. He shall rise before (his teacher in the morning) and go to rest after (him in the evening).

22. He shall never disobey the words of his teacher except (when he is ordered to commit) a crime causing loss of caste.

23. Let him converse with women so much (only) as his purpose requires.

24. Let him avoid dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, the use of perfumes, garlands, shoes, (or) a parasol, applying collyrium (to his eyes), and anointing (his body).

25. Let him take hold (of his teacher's) right (foot) with the right (hand), and of the left (foot) with the left hand.

26. If he desires long life and (bliss in) heaven,

19. Vishnu XXVIII, 4.

20. Gautama II, 8; Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 20.

21. Vishnu XXVIII, 13.

22. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 19; Vasishtha VII, 10.

23. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 16.

24. Vishnu XXVIII, 11; Vasishtha VII, 15.

25. Vishnu XXVIII, 15. The details regarding the times when this kind of salutation is to be performed are found Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 21 seqq.

26. The two copies of the commentary connect the clause, 'if he is desirous of long life and (bliss in) heaven,' with the preceding Sûtra. But see Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 15, where the identical words

(he may act) at his pleasure (in the same manner) towards other holy (men), after having received permission from his teacher.

27. (Let him say), 'I N. N., ho! (salute thee),' touching his ears, in order to compose the internal organ.

28. (Let him embrace his teacher's leg) below the knee down to the feet.

29. (A student shall not embrace his teacher) when he (himself) is seated, or lying down, or impure, nor when (his teacher) is seated, lying down, or impure.

30. If he can (find water to sip), he shall not remain impure even during a muhūrta.

31. If he carries a load of fuel or holds a pot, flowers, or food in his hands, he shall not salute; nor (shall he do it) on similar occasions.

32. Let him not salute (the teacher) standing too close,

33. Nor, if he has reached the age of puberty, the young wives of brothers and the young wives of the teacher.

occur. The commentary omits the remainder of the Sûtra, which all my MSS. give here, and inserts it below, after Sûtra 29.

27. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 12; Vasishṭha XIII, 44. Regarding the phrase, 'in order to compose his internal organ,' see Manu II, 120.

28. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 22. The meaning seems to be that the pupil is first to stroke his teacher's legs from the knee downwards, and then to take hold of it at the ankle.

29. Âpastamba I, 4, 14, 14-20. 30. Âpastamba I, 5, 15, 8.

31. Âpastamba I, 4, 14, 22. 'On similar occasions,' i.e. when he himself is engaged in the worship of the manes, of the gods, or of the fire, or when his teacher is occupied in that way.

33. The salutation which is meant, is probably the embrace of the feet; see also Gautama II, 32. Govinda thinks that the words samavâye 'tyantyasaḥ, 'standing too close,' must be understood.

34. To sit together with (these persons) in a boat, on a rock, on a plank, on an elephant, on the roof of a house, on a mat, or in wheeled vehicles is permissible.

35. (The pupil) must assist his teacher in making his toilet, shampoo him, attend him while bathing, eat his leavings, and so forth.

36. (But he) should avoid the remnants of food left by his (teacher's) son, though he may know the Veda together with the Āngas,

37. And to assist at the toilet of, to shampoo, to attend in the bath, and to eat the remnants of food left by a young wife of his (teacher).

38. Let him run after (his teacher) when he runs, walk after him when he walks, attend him standing when he stands.

39. Let him not sport in the water while bathing.

40. Let him swim (motionless) like a stick.

41. To study under a non-Brāhmanical teacher (is permitted) in times of distress.

34. Govinda adds that to sit with young wives of his teachers on other occasions is sinful.

35. I read *utsādana*, 'to shampoo,' while the MSS. have either a lacuna or read *ukḥhādana*, and the commentary *âkḥhādana*, which is explained by *khattradhâraṇa*, 'to hold a parasol,' or *malâpa-karshana*, 'to clean.' The *khḥa* is, however, merely owing to a very common faulty pronunciation of *tṣa*. Govinda remarks correctly that the word 'iti,' which follows the enumeration of the services to be performed by the pupil, has the force of 'and so forth.'

36-37. The meaning of the two Sûtras is that the pupil shall serve the son of his teacher, especially if he is learned, and aged wives of his teacher, but not eat their leavings. The explanation of *anûkṣâna*, 'who knows the Āngas,' is given by Baudhâyana, *Gṛhya-sûtra* I, 11, 4.

38. *Āpastamba* I, 2, 6, 7-9; *Vasishṭha* VII, 12.

39-40. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 30; *Vishṇu* XXVIII, 5.

41. *Āpastamba* II, 2, 4, 25. Govinda combines this Sûtra with the next two and makes one of the three.

42. (The pupil shall) obey and walk after him as long as the instruction (lasts).

43. (According to some this is improper, because) just that (mutual relation) sanctifies both of them.

44. And (the behaviour) towards brothers, sons, and (other) pupils (of the teacher shall be regulated) in the same manner.

45. But officiating priests, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger than (oneself must be honoured by) rising and (by being) addressed.

46. Kâtya (declares that) the salutation shall be returned.

47. For (the propriety of that rule) is apparent (from the story) about Sisu Âṅgīrasa.

PRASNA I, ADHYÂYA 2, KANDIKÂ 4.

1. If merit and wealth are not (obtained by teaching), nor (at least) the due obedience, one should die with one's learning; one should not sow it on barren soil.

42. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 26; Gautama VII, 2-3.

43. The words between brackets belong to Govinda.

44. I. e. if they are younger than oneself.

45. Instead of *pratyutthâyâbhibhâṣanam*, '(shall be honoured by) rising and being addressed,' which is the reading of the two copies of the commentary and of M., the MSS. from the Dekhan and Gugarât read, *pratyutthâyâbhivâdanam*. The latter reading might be translated by 'shall be saluted by rising;' see Gautama VI, 9. Govinda says, in explanation of this rule: 'This restrictive rule also (refers) to teachers only, officiating priests, and the rest; to address (means) to use words such as "welcome."'

46. 'Kâtya, i. e. a descendant of the Rîshi Kâta. He was of opinion that officiating priests and the rest must return the salute. As the return of a salute is prescribed for them, it is understood that the other (party) must salute.'—Govinda.

47. The story of Sisu Âṅgīrasa is told, Manu II, 151-153.

4. 1. Manu II, 112.

2. As fire consumes dry grass, even so the Veda, asked for, (but) not honoured, (destroys the enquirer). Therefore let him not proclaim the Veda to those who do not show him honour according to their ability.

3. They proclaim to him a command to the following effect;

4. 'Brahman, forsooth, made the created beings over to Death. The student alone it did not make over to him.' He (Death) spake, 'Let me have a share in him.' (Brahman answered), 'That night in which he may neglect to offer a piece of sacred fuel (shall belong to thee).'

5. 'Therefore a student who passes a night without offering a piece of sacred fuel, cuts it off from the length of his life. Therefore let the student offer a piece of sacred fuel, lest he spend a night, shortening his life.'

6. 'A long sacrificial session begins he who commences his studentship. That (night) in which, after being initiated, he (first) offers a piece of sacred fuel corresponds to the Prâyanīya (Ātirātra of a sacrificial session); that night in which (he offers it last), intending to take the final bath, corresponds to the Udayanīya (Ātirātra). Those nights which (lie) between (these two terms correspond) just to the nights of his sacrificial session.'

2. Vasishṭha II, 12.

3. 'They, i. e. the Vâgasaneyins; to him, i. e. to the student.'—Govinda.

4. The quotation, which begins here and ends with the end of the section, is taken from Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XI, 2, 6. In the text the word Brahman is a neuter.

6. MSS. M. and K., as well as the commentary, read dirghasat-

7. 'A Brāhmaṇa who becomes a student of the Veda, enters existent beings in a fourfold manner, (viz.) with one quarter (he enters) Fire, with one quarter Death, with one quarter the Teacher, the fourth quarter remains in the Soul. When he offers to Fire a piece of sacred fuel, he thereby buys back even that quarter which (resides) in Fire, hallowing it, he places it in himself; that enters into him. Now when making himself poor and, becoming shameless, he asks for alms (and) lives as a student of the Veda, he thereby buys back the quarter which (resides) in Death; hallowing it, he places it in himself; that enters into him. Now when he obeys the orders of his Teacher, he thereby buys back that quarter which (resides) in the Teacher; hallowing it, he places it in himself; that enters into him. [Now when he recites the Veda, he thereby buys back the quarter which resides in the Soul. Hallowing it, he places it in himself; that enters into him.] Let him not go to beg, after he has bathed (on finishing his studentship). . . . If he does not find another woman whom he can ask for alms, let him beg even from his own teacher's wife or from his own mother. The seventh (night) shall not pass without his asking for alms. [(He commits) sin if he does not go out to ask for alms and does not place fuel on the fire. If he neglects that during seven (days and) nights, he must perform the

tram ha vā eṣha upaiti, while the MSS. from the Dekhan and Gugarāt, like the printed edition of the Sat. Br., omit the particle 'ha.' Prāyaṇīya means, literally, 'initial,' and udayaṇīya, 'final.' Each sattra or sacrificial session begins and ends with an Âtirâtra sacrifice.

7. This portion of the quotation shows, besides some minor deviations from the published text of the Mādhyandinas, several

penance prescribed for one who has broken the vow of studentship.] All the Vedas come to him who knows that and acts thus.'

8. 'As a blazing fire shines, even so shines he who, knowing this, thus fulfils the duties of studentship, after he has bathed (on leaving his teacher).' Thus speaks the Brāhmaṇa.

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 3, KANDIKĀ 5.

1. Now (follow the duties) of a Snātaka.

interpolations and corruptions. The minor discrepancies are, 'brāhmaṇo vai brahmaṭaryam upayan' (upayaḥkhan, C. I. and T.); padātmanyeva katurthaḥ pādaḥ; yadagnaye samidham ādadhāti; atha yad ātmānam daridrīkrītyāhrīr bhūtvā bhikshate brahmaṭaryam karati; atha yad ātāryavataḥ karoti ya evāsyātkārye. In the second passage the Dekhan MSS. read, however, like the printed text. The interpolations are, 'Now when he recites the Veda,' &c., and the verse, 'He commits sin if he neglects,' &c. The former passage entirely destroys the sense of the whole and the connexion of the parts. Both have, however, been retained, as they occur in all the MSS. and the two copies of the commentary, and have been enclosed in brackets. The corrupt passage is so bad that it makes no sense at all. The best MSS. read as follows: 'api hi vai snātvā bhikshām karatyavignānanāsanāyayā pitrīnāmanyabhyah kriyābhyah' sa yadanyām, &c., D.; 'api ha vai snātvā bhishām karasapi gnāni nāsanāya yā [vā sec. m.] pitrīnām anyābhyah kriyābhyah,' K.; api ha vai snātvā bhikshāñ karati—pagñāti —nām sanāyāpi pitrīnām anyābhyah kriyāsas, M.; api ha vai snātvā bhikshām karatyavignātināmasanayāpi pitrīnām anyābhyah kriyābhyah, C. I. As it is by no means certain that Baudhāyana's reading agreed with that of the printed text, I have left the passage out.

5. 1. Regarding the term Snātaka, see Āpastamba I, 11, 30, 1-4. Govinda thinks that the following rules are intended to apply in the first instance to a student who has performed the Samāvartana on completion of his studentship and lives unmarried at home. For though the Smṛiti declares it necessary for a student to enter, on completing his term, at once into one of the remaining three

2. He shall wear a lower garment and upper garment.

3. Let him carry a staff made of bamboo,

4. And a pot filled with water.

5. Let him wear two sacrificial threads.

6. (He shall possess) a turban, an upper garment (consisting of) a skin, shoes, and a parasol. (He shall keep) a sacred fire and (offer) the new and full moon (Sthâlpâkas).

7. He shall cause the hair of his head, of his beard, and of his body, and his nails to be cut on the Parva days.

8. His livelihood (he shall obtain in the following manner):

9. Let him beg uncooked (food) from Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or carpenters,

10. Or (cooked) food (even from many).

11. Let him remain silent (when he goes to beg).

12. Let him perform with that all Pâkayagñas, offered to the gods and manes, and the rites, securing welfare.

orders, it may happen, as the commentator observes, that the Snâtaka's marriage cannot take place immediately. The correctness of this view is proved by Âpastamba I, 2, 8, and by the fact that below, II, 3, 5, the rules for a married Snâtaka are given separately.

2-5. Vasishṭha XII, 14.

6. Âpastamba I, 2, 8, 2.

7. Regarding the Parva days, see Vasishṭha XII, 21 note.

8. Vasishṭha XII, 2-4. 'Though the Snâtaka is the subject of the discussion, the word "his" is used (in this Sûtra) in order to introduce the remaining duties of a householder also.'—Govinda.

9. The carpenter (rathakâra) is a Sûdra, but connected with the Vedic sacrifices.

10. "Food" (bhaiksham), i.e. a quantity of begged food. The meaning is that in times of distress he may beg from many.'—Govinda.

12. With that, i.e. with the food obtained by begging. Regarding

13. Baudhāyana declares that by (following) this rule the most excellent sages reach the highest abode of Prajāpati Parameshthin.

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 4, KANDIKĀ 6.

1. Now (those who know the law) prescribe the carrying of a waterpot.

2. It is declared (in the Vedas) that fire (resides) in the right ear of a goat, in the right hand of a Brāhmaṇa, likewise in water (and) in a bundle of Kusa grass. Therefore after personal purification let him wipe (his water-vessel) on all sides with his (right) hand, (reciting the mantra), 'Blaze up, O fire;' for that (is called) encircling it with fire and is preferable to heating (the pot on the fire).

3. With reference to this matter they prescribe also (the following rules): 'If he thinks in his heart that (the pot) has been slightly defiled, let him light Kusa or (other) grass and heat (the pot) on all sides, keeping his right hand turned towards it.'

4. 'If (pots) have been touched by crows, dogs, or

the Pākayagñas, see Gautama VIII, 18. Govinda gives as an instance of the rites securing welfare (bhūtikarmāṇi) the āyushyākaru, a rice-offering intended to procure long life.

13. Govinda explains Baudhāyana by Kāṇvāyana, and adds that either the author speaks of himself in the third person or a pupil must have compiled the book.

6. 1. As Govinda observes, the rules regarding the waterpot (ka-maṇḍalu) are introduced here in connexion with I, 3, 5, 4.

2. Vasishtha XII, 15-16. The mantra is found, Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka X, 1, 4.

3. The word upadisanti, 'they prescribe,' stands at the end of Sūtra 4, as it refers to both rules.

4. Vasishtha III, 59. The paryagnikarāṇa is the rite prescribed in Sūtra 2.

other (unclean animals, they shall be heated, until they are of) the colour of fire, after the (paryagnikarana has been performed).'

5. (Pots) which have been defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen, and the like must be thrown away.

6. If his waterpot has been broken, let him offer one hundred (oblations) reciting the Vyâhr̥itis, or mutter (the Vyâhr̥itis as often).

7. (Reciting the text), 'Earth went to earth, the mother joined the mother; may we have sons and cattle; may he who hates us be destroyed,' he shall collect the fragments, throw them into water, repeat the Gâyatrī at least ten times and take again another (pot).

8. Taking refuge with Varuṇa, (he shall recite the mantra), 'That (belongs) to thee, Varuṇa; again to me, Om,' (and) meditate on the indestructible.

5. Vasishṭha III, 59.

6. Regarding the Vyâhr̥itis, see Gautama I, 51.

7. Govinda says that Vâmadeva is the R̥ishi of the mantra. The fragments of the pot are to be thrown into a river or tank, in order to preserve them from defilement. See also Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc., No. XXXIV A, p. 55 note.

8. 'Taking refuge with Varuṇa, i. e. saying, "I flee for safety to Varuṇa." (The words), "That for thee, Varuṇa, again to me, Om," (are) the mantras (to be recited) on taking (a new vessel). Its meaning is this: "Those fragments which I have thrown into the water shall belong to thee, Varuṇa." (Saying), "Come, thou (who art) a lord of water-vessels, again to me, Om," he shall meditate on another visible pot as indestructible, i. e. at the end of the Vedic (word) "Om," let him meditate, (i. e.) recollect, that not everything will be turned topsy-turvy, (but that some things are) also indestructible, i. e. that that is not destroyed, does not perish.'—Govinda. The explanation of the last clause of our Sūtra seems to be that, on pronouncing the syllable (akshara) Om, the reciter is

9. 'If he has received (the new vessel) from a Sûdra, let him recite (the Gâyatri) one hundred (times). (If he has received it) from a Vaisya, fifty (repetitions of the Gâyatri) are prescribed, but (on receiving it) from a Kshatriya twenty-five, (and on taking it) from a Brâhmaṇa ten.'

10. Those who recite the Veda are doubtful whether he shall fetch water after the sun has set or shall not fetch it.

11. The most excellent (opinion is) that he may fetch it.

12. Let him restrain his breath, while he fetches water.

13. Fire, forsooth, takes up water.

14. It is declared (in the Veda), 'When he has washed his hands and feet with water from his water-vessel, he is impure for others, as long as the moisture (remains). He purifies himself only. Let him not perform other religious rites (with water from his pot).'

to recollect the etymological import of the word *akshara*, 'indestructible,' and thus to guard the new vessel against the mishap which befell the old one.

9. According to Govinda, either the *praṇava*, the syllable *Om*, or the *Gâyatri* are the mantras to be recited, and the recitation is a penance to be performed when the vessel is received. The MSS. of the text mark the verse as a quotation by adding the word 'iti,' which the commentary omits.

13. According to Govinda, a Brâhmaṇa who goes to fetch water at night, which he may want for personal purification, is ordered to restrain his breath, because thereby the air in the body becomes strong, and fire or heat (*agni*) is produced. Now as at night the sun is stated to enter the fire and to become subject to it, a Brâhmaṇa, who by restraining his breath has produced fire, has secured the presence of the sun, when he goes to fetch water.

14. Govinda expressly states that the word *vigñāyate*, 'it is declared,'

15. Baudhâya (says), 'Or if on the occasion of each personal purification (he washes himself with other water) up to the wrist, (he will become) pure.'

16. Now they quote also (the following verses):

PRASNA I, ADHYÂYA 4, KANDIKÂ 7.

1. 'Formerly (the use of) a waterpot has been prescribed by Brahman and the chief sages for the purification of twice-born men. Therefore he shall always carry one.'

'He who desires his own welfare, shall use it without hesitation, for purifying (his person), for drinking, and for performing his twilight devotions.'

2. Let him do it with a believing heart; a wise man must not corrupt his mind. The self-existent

literally, 'it is distinctly known,' always indicates that the passage quoted is taken from the Veda. The rites for which water from the waterpot is not to be used, are libations to the manes, the gods, and the fire. See also below, I, 4, 7, 5.

15. The words enclosed between parentheses are Govinda's.

7. 1. The division of this chapter into two sections occurs in the M. manuscript only. The Dekhan MSS., which give the division into *Kandikâs*, do not note it, and have at the end of the Prasna the figure 20, while M. has 21 and in words *ekavimsati* after the enumeration of the *Pratīkas*.

2. 'A wise man must not corrupt his mind,' i. e. must not doubt or adopt erroneous views regarding the teaching of the *Sâstras* with respect to the waterpot. It seems to me that this passage indicates the existence of an opposition to the constant carrying of the waterpot in Baudhâya's times. This is so much more probable, as the custom is now obsolete, and is mentioned in some *Purāṇas* and versified *Smṛtis* as one of the practices forbidden in the Kali age; see e.g. the general note appended to Sir W. Jones' translation of Manu.

(Brahman) came into existence with a water-vessel. Therefore let him perform (his rites) with a water-vessel.

3. Let him hold it in his right hand when he voids urine and excrements, in the left when he sips water. That is (a) settled (rule) for all good men.

4. For as the sacrificial cup (*kamasa*) is declared to be pure on account of its contact with the Soma-juice, even so the water-vessel is constantly pure through its contact with water.

5. Therefore let him avoid (to use) it for the worship of the manes, the gods, and the fire.

6. Therefore let him not go on a journey without a waterpot, nor to the boundary of the village, nor from one house to the other.

7. Some (declare that he must not go without it) a step further than the length of an arrow.

8. Baudhāyana (says that he shall not go without it) if he wishes to fulfil his duties constantly.

9. (The divine) Word declares that (this is confirmed) by a *Rīk*-shaped (passage).

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 5, KANDIKĀ 8.

1. Now (follows the description of) the means of purification.

5. According to Govinda the word 'therefore' refers back to Sūtra I, 4, 6, 14.

9. '*Rīgvidham*, "a *Rīk*-shaped (passage)," means *Rīgvidhānam*, "a prescription consisting of a *Rīk*." The *Brāhmaṇa* is indicated by (the word) *vāk*, ("the goddess of) speech." The meaning is, "The *Brāhmaṇa* says that there is also a *Rīk*-verse to this effect. That is as follows, *tasyaishā bhavati yat te silpam ityādi*' (Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka I, 7, 1).—Govinda.

2. The body is purified by water, the understanding by knowledge, the soul by abstention from injuring living beings, the internal organ by truth.

3. Purifying the internal organ (is called) internal purification.

4. We will explain (the rules of) external purification.

5. The sacrificial thread (shall be made) of Kusa grass, or cotton, (and consist) of thrice three strings.

6. (It shall hang down) to the navel.

7. (In putting it on) he shall raise the right arm, lower the left, and lower the head.

8. The contrary (is done at sacrifices) to the manes.

9. (If the thread is) suspended round the neck, (it is called) nivṛta.

10. (If it is) suspended below (the navel, it is called) adhōpavṛta.

11. Let him perform (the rite of personal) purification, facing the east or the north, (and) seated in a pure place; (let him) place his right arm between his knees and wash both hands up to the wrist and both feet (up to the ankles).

12. Let him not use for sipping the remainder of the water with which he has washed his feet.

13. But if he uses (that) for sipping, let him do it, after pouring (a portion of it) on the ground.

8. 2. Vasishṭha III, 60.

7-9. Manu II, 63.

11. Vasishṭha III, 26. Govinda points out that the word *saukām*, '(rite of) purification,' has here the meaning of *âkamanam*, 'sipping water.' He thinks that the *ka*, 'and,' which stands after *pâdau*, 'both feet,' indicates that other portions of the body which have been defiled must be washed also.

14. He shall sip out of the Tīrtha sacred to Brahman.

15. The part (of the hand) at the root of the thumb (is called) the Tīrtha sacred to Brahman.

16. The part above the thumb (is called the Tīrtha) sacred to the manes, the part at the tips of the fingers that sacred to the gods, the part at the root of the fingers that sacred to the *Rishis*.

17. (Let him not use for sipping water that has trickled) from the fingers, nor (water) that is covered with bubbles or foam, nor (water that is) hot, or alkaline, or salt, or muddy, or discoloured, or has a bad smell or taste.

18. (Let him not sip water) laughing, nor talking, nor standing, nor looking about, nor bending his head or his body forward, nor while the lock on his crown is untied, nor while his throat is wrapped up, nor while his head is covered, nor when he is in a hurry, nor without wearing the sacrificial thread, nor stretching his feet out, nor while his loins are girt (with a cloth), nor without holding his right arm between his knees, nor making a sound.

19. Let him thrice drink water that reaches his heart.

20. Let him wipe (his lips) thrice.

21. Some (declare that he shall do it) twice.

14. Vasishṭha III, 26.

16. Vishṇu LXII, 3-4. All the MSS. except M. place the Tīrtha sacred to the gods at the root of the fingers, and that sacred to the *Rishis* at the tips of the fingers, and Govinda has the same erroneous reading.

17. Vasishṭha III, 36.

18. Vasishṭha III, 30.

19-20. Vasishṭha III, 26; Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 3.

21. Vasishṭha III, 27; Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 4.

22. A woman and a Sûdra (shall perform) both (acts) once (only).

23. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'A Brâhmaṇa is purified by water that reaches his heart, a Kshatriya by (water) reaching his throat, a Vaisya by (water barely) taken into the mouth, a woman and a Sûdra by touching (it) with the extremity (of the lips).

24. 'If (drops) adhere to his teeth, (they must be considered pure) like the teeth, because they are fixed (in the mouth) like the teeth. Let him not sip water on their account in case they fall. If they flow out, he will be pure.'

25. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'If anything adheres to the teeth, (it is pure) like the teeth; and if he swallows (it or) whatever else may be in the mouth (or) may remain after sipping water, (he will become) pure.'

26. (After sipping) he shall touch the cavities (of the head) with water, the feet, the navel, the head, (and) lastly the left hand.

27. If he becomes impure while holding (a vessel) made of metal, he shall put it down, sip water and sprinkle it, when he is going to take it up.

28. Now if he becomes impure (while he is occupied) with food, he shall put it down, sip water and sprinkle it, when he is going to take it up.

29. Now if he becomes impure (while occupied)

23. Vasishṭha III, 31-34.

24. The MSS. read in the last pāda of this verse, *teshām samsrāye* [ya or va]-*kkukīṣṭi*. I think *samsrāvanâkkhukīṣṭi* iti is the correct reading.

25. Vasishṭha III, 41.

26. Vasishṭha III, 28-29.

28. Vasishṭha III, 43-44.

with water, he shall put it down, sip water and sprinkle it, when he is going to take it up.

30. That is contrary (to the rule) in (the case of an earthen) vessel.

31. In (the case of a vessel) made of wood there is an option.

32. Defiled (objects) made of metal must be scoured with cowdung, earth, and ashes, or with one of these (three).

33. Copper, silver, and gold (must be cleaned) with acids.

34. Earthen vessels must be heated.

35. (Objects) made of wood must be planed.

36. (Objects) made of bamboo (must be cleaned) with cowdung,

37. (Objects) made of fruits with a rope of cow-hair,

38. Skins of black deer with (ground) Bel nut and rice,

39. Blankets (of the hair of the mountain goat) with Areka nuts,

40. (Cloth) made of (sheep's) wool by the (rays of the) sun,

41. Linen (cloth) with a paste of yellow mustard,

30. '(The word) *amatram*, literally "a vessel," denotes here an earthen vessel. The meaning is that such a one, if it is very much defiled, shall only be put down and not be taken back. Any other (earthen vessel) shall be heated.'—Govinda.

32. *Vasishṭha* III, 49.

33. *Manu* V, 114; *Vasishṭha* III, 63.

34-35. *Vasishṭha* III, 49.

36. *Vasishṭha* III, 53.

37. *Vasishṭha* III, 54. Govinda thinks that the word *raggu*, 'a rope,' is used here in the sense of 'a conglomeration,' and merely indicates that a quantity of cowhair must be used.

39. *Manu* V, 120.

41. *Vasishṭha* III, 55.

42. Cotton cloth with earth,
 43. Skins (other than deer-skins shall be treated) like cotton cloth,
 44. Stones and gems like (objects) made of metal,
 45. Bones like wood,
 46. Conch-shells, horn, pearl-shells, and ivory like linen cloth,
 47. Or (they may be cleaned) with milk.
 48. (Objects) which have been defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen, or a dead body, (but) are agreeable to the eye and the nose, shall be rubbed seven times with one of the substances mentioned above.
 49. (Objects) not made of metal which are in the same condition must be thrown away.
 50. The cups and vessels (used) at a sacrifice (must be cleaned) according to the injunction (of the Veda).
 51. The Veda (declares), 'They do not become impure through Soma.'
 52. 'Time, fire, purity of mind, water and the like (fluids), smearing with cowdung and ignorance (of defilement) are declared to be the sixfold (means of) purification for created beings.'
 53. Now they quote also (the following verse):

42. Vasishṭha III, 49.

43. Vasishṭha III, 53.

44. Vasishṭha III, 50.

45. Vasishṭha III, 52.

46. Vasishṭha III, 51.

49. Vasishṭha III, 59.

50. Govinda explains this Sūtra differently. He says: 'The fault of defilement by remnants does not affect sacrificial cups and vessels. This must be understood. If they are defiled by urine and the like, they must be thrown away.' My explanation is based on the parallel passage of Āpastamba I, 5, 17, 13. See also below, I, 6, 13, 11 seq.

52. Vishṇu XXII, 88.

‘A clever man, who knows (the rules of) purification and is desirous of righteousness, shall perform (the rites of) purification, after having fully considered the time, and the place (of the defilement), likewise himself, (as well as) the object (to be cleaned) and the substance (to be employed), the purpose of the object, the cause (of the defilement), and the condition (of the thing or person defiled).’

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 5, KANDIKĀ 9.

1. The Veda declares that the hand of an artisan is always pure, so is every vendible commodity exposed for sale and food obtained by begging, which a student holds in his hand.

2. A calf is pure on the flowing (of the milk), a bird on the fall of the fruit, women at the time of dalliance, and a dog when he catches a deer.

3. All mines and places of manufacture are pure excepting distilleries of spirituous liquor; continuously flowing streams of water and dust raised by the wind cannot be contaminated.

4. The flowers and fruit of flowering and fruit-bearing trees which grow in unclean places are likewise not impure.

9. 1. Vishṇu XXIII, 48.

2. Vishṇu XXIII, 49.

3. Vishṇu XXIII, 48. The term ākara, translated by ‘mines and places of manufacture,’ is explained in the commentary by ‘places of production, i.e. of sugar and honey.’ It is no doubt intended to apply to any place where articles of consumption or use are produced. Govinda adds that as ‘continuous streams of water’ are always pure, one must take care that the water for sipping flows out of the vessel in an unbroken stream.

5. On touching a tree standing on a sacred spot, a funeral pile, a sacrificial post, a *Kandâla* or a person who sells the Veda, a *Brâhmana* shall bathe dressed in his clothes.

6. One's own couch, seat, clothes, wife, child, and waterpot are pure for oneself; but for strangers they are impure.

7. A seat, a couch, a vehicle, ships (and boats), the road and grass are purified by the wind, if they have been touched by *Kandâlas* or outcasts.

8. Grain on the threshing-floor, water in wells and reservoirs, and milk in the cowpen are fit for use even (if they come) from a person whose food must not be eaten.

9. The gods created for *Brâhmanas* three means of purification, (viz.) ignorance of defilement, sprinkling with water, and commending by word of mouth.

10. Water collected on the ground with which

5. *Vasishtha* IV, 37. *Kaityavriksha*, 'a tree standing on sacred ground,' means literally, 'a memorial-tree.'

7. Govinda points out that couches and seats and the like, on which *Kandâlas* and outcasts have lain or sat down, must be purified.

8. 'That must be referred to grain on a threshing-floor, and so forth, which has been produced by men whose food must not be eaten, and again is considered to be common to all. In this case, too, what has been received from outcasts and *Kandâlas*, that is defiled. Milk which has been received just at milking-time may be drunk out of a vessel that stands in the cowpen.'—Govinda. As regards the grain produced by low-caste people, the rule probably refers to cases where the land of an *Agrahâra* or other village is cultivated by men of the lowest castes. The author means to say that in such cases a *Brâhmana* may take his share from the threshing-floor, where the whole produce of the village-land is stored, without hesitation.

9. *Vasishtha* XIV, 24; *Manu* V, 127.

10. *Vasishtha* III, 35-36.

cows slake their thirst is a means of purification, provided it is not strongly mixed with unclean (substances), nor has a (bad) smell, nor is discoloured, nor has a (bad) taste.

11. But land becomes pure, according to the degree of the defilement, by sweeping the (defiled) spot, by sprinkling it with water, by smearing it with cowdung, by scattering (pure earth) on it, or by scraping it.

12. Now they quote also (the following verse) :

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 5, KANDIKĀ 10.

1. 'A drop of water which is allowed to fall (on the ground) purifies a bull's hide of land, whether (the land) has been (previously) swept or not, provided no impure substance is visible on it.'

2. Food which is cooked out of sight must be illuminated (with fire) and be sprinkled with water,

3. Likewise eatables bought in the market.

4. For the Veda (declares), 'For the gods who are (easily) disgusted and desirous of purity do not

11. Vasishṭha III, 56.

10. 1. Regarding the term 'a bull's hide' of land, see Vishṇu V, 181-183, XCII, 4.

2. Āpastamba II, 2, 3, 9. 'Out of sight,' i. e. not before the eyes of him who eats it.—Govinda. It would, however, seem that this rule refers to food prepared by Sūdras, without the supervisions of Āryans. For Āpastamba's Sūtra, which contains the same word, paroksham, 'out of sight,' certainly has reference to that case only, and there is no reason why food prepared by Brahman cooks should be purified before it is eaten.

3. Āpastamba I, 5, 17, 19. The eatables here intended are, according to Govinda, Lāḍus and other sweet-meats which are frequently bought ready made.

enjoy the offerings made by a man destitute of faith.'

5. After reflecting (for a long time on the respective value of) the (food) of a pure man destitute of faith and of an impure person who has faith, the gods declared both to be equal. But the Lord of created beings said to them, 'That is not equal, it is unequal. The food of a man destitute of faith is worthless, that which is purified by faith is preferable.'

6. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Want of faith is the greatest sin; for faith is the highest austerity. Therefore the gods do not eat offerings given without faith.'

7. 'A foolish man does not reach heaven, though he may offer (sacrifices) or give (gifts).'

8. 'He is called a foolish man whose conduct is blemished by doubts, and who, clinging to his own fancies, transgresses (the rules of) the Sâstras, because he opposes the fulfilment of the sacred law.'

9. But pot-herbs, flowers, fruit, roots, and annual plants (must be) sprinkled (with water).

10. Having placed dry grass, wood of trees unfit for sacrifices or a clod of earth (on the ground), let him void faeces or urine, turning his face during the day towards the north and at night towards the south and wrapping up his head.

8. Dharmatantra, translated 'the fulfilment of the sacred law,' is explained in the commentary by dharmasya tantram anushṭhānam, by 'the performance of the sacred duties.' It may also mean 'the doctrine of or the treatises on the sacred law.' The Sâstras are the Vedas and the whole body of the sacred literature.

9. Vishṇu XXIII, 15.

10. Vasishṭha VI, 10.

11. (After voiding) urine he shall clean (the organ once) with earth and water,
12. The hand three times.
13. In like manner (he shall clean himself with earth and water after voiding) faeces.
14. The number (of the applications of both is) thrice three for both feet and the hand.
15. After an effusion of semen (he shall purify himself) in the same manner as after voiding urine.
16. He shall wash himself, after he has untied or put on the cloth round his loins,
17. Or he may touch moist grass, cowdung, or earth.
18. While he is engaged in (the performance of) religious rites, he shall avoid to touch (the part of his body) below the navel.
19. The Veda (declares), 'A man's (body) is pure above the navel, it is impure below the navel.'
20. Sûdras living in the service of Âryans shall trim (their hair and nails) every month; their mode

11-12. Vasishṭha VI, 14, 18. According to Govinda one application of water suffices for the left hand and two for both together.

13-14. Vasishṭha VI, 18. Govinda reads in Sûtra 14, against the authority of all the MSS., *pâyoḥ*, 'for the anus,' instead of *pâdayoḥ*, 'for both feet.'

15. Âpastamba I, 5, 15, 23.

16. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 14.

17. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 15.

18. Vishṇu XXIII, 51.

19. Taittirîya Samhitâ VI, 1, 3, 4.

20. Âpastamba II, 1, 2, 4-5. The above translation follows Govinda's explanation. But *âryâdhishṭhitâḥ*, 'living in the service of Âryans,' may also mean 'superintended by Âryans,' and the rule be taken to refer to the special case of Sûdra cooks, as in the parallel passage of Âpastamba.

of sipping water (shall be) the same as that of Āryans.

21. A Vaisya may live by usury.

22. But (a sum of) twenty-five (kârshâpanas shall bear an interest) of five mâshas (per mensem).

23. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'He who, acquiring property cheap, employs (it so that it yields) a higher price, is called a usurer, and blamed in all (treatises on) the sacred law.' '(Brahman) weighed in the scales the crime of killing a learned Brâhmana against (the crime of) usury; the slayer of the Brâhmana remained at the top, the usurer sank downwards.'

24. 'Let him treat Brâhmanas who tend cattle, those who live by trade, (and) those who are artisans, actors (and bards), servants or usurers, like Sûdras.'

25. But men of the first two castes may, at their pleasure, lend (money at interest) to one who neglects his sacred duties, to a miser, to an atheist, or to a very wicked man.

26. Through the neglect of sacrifices, of (lawful) marriages, of the study of the Veda, and of (learned) Brâhmanas, (noble) families (even) are degraded.

27. The offence of neglecting a Brâhmana cannot be committed against a fool who is unacquainted

21. Vasishṭha II, 19.

22. Vasishṭha II, 51.

23. Vasishṭha II, 41-42.

24. Vasishṭha III, 3.

25. Vasishṭha II, 43. M. reads na dadyâtâm, 'shall not lend.' According to Govinda, 'a very wicked man' is equivalent to 'a Sûdra.'

26. Manu III, 63. Govinda says that this Sûtra is introduced in connexion with the expression, 'one who neglects his sacred duties,' which occurs in Sûtra 25.

27. Vasishṭha III, 9 note, 10. This Sûtra is added in explanation of the term 'the offence of neglecting a Brâhmana.'

with the Veda. For (in offering sacrifices) one does not pass by a brilliant fire and throw the oblations into ashes.

28. Families which are deficient in (the knowledge of) the Veda, are degraded by (keeping) cows, horses and vehicles, by agriculture and by serving the king.

29. But even poor families which are rich in (the knowledge of) the Veda obtain rank among the (noble) families and gain great fame.

30. The (study of) the Veda impedes (the pursuit of) agriculture, (the pursuit of) agriculture impedes (the study of) the Veda. He who is able (to do it), may attend to both; but he who is unable (to attend to both), shall give up agriculture.

31. A fat, bellowing, raging humped bull, who does not restrain himself, who hurts living creatures and speaks according to his pleasure, forsooth, does not reach the (abode of) the gods; (but) those who are small like atoms, (being) emaciated (by austerities and fasts), go thither.

32. If, erring, in his youth he commits at any time good or evil acts of any kind, (they will all remain without result). (For) if in his later age he lives righteously, he will obtain (the reward of) that (virtuous conduct) alone, not (the punishments of his former) crimes.

33. Let him always be sorrowing in his heart, when he thinks of his sins, (let him) practise austerities and be careful; thus he will be freed from sin.

34. 'Where drops of water touch the feet of a

28-29. Manu III, 64, 66.

34. Vasishṭha III, 42.

man who offers water for sipping to others, no defilement is caused by them. They are equally (pure) as (water) collected on the ground.'

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 5, KANDIKĀ 11.

1. Referring to deaths and births, they declare that the impurity of *Sapindas* lasts ten days; excepting officiating priests, men who have performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice, and students of the Veda.

2. But amongst *Sapindas* *Sapinda*-relationship (extends) to the seventh person.

3. (If children die) before the completion of the seventh month or before teething, (the relatives) shall bathe.

4. In (the case of a child) that dies before the completion of its third year or before teething, offerings of funeral cakes and water are not prescribed, and one should not burn its (body);

5. Nor when unmarried maidens die.

6. Some do it in the case of married daughters.

7. That (is done) in order to gain the good-will

11. 1. *Vasishṭha* IV, 16. Officiating priests, Soma-sacrificers, and students do not become impure by deaths or births occurring among their relatives; see *Vasishṭha* XIX, 48; *Gautama* XIV, 1.

2. *Vasishṭha* IV, 17. For the specification of the extent of the *Sapinda*-relationship, see below, *Sūtra* 9.

3. *Vishṇu* XXII, 27.

4. *Vishṇu* XXII, 28; *Gautama* XIV, 34, 43.

6. *Gautama* XIV, 36. 'That refers to the *Sapindas* on the father's side.'—*Govinda*.

7. *Manu* IX, 18.

of the people. Women are considered to have no business with the sacred texts.

8. 'The relatives of unmarried women become pure after three days. But the uterine brothers become pure by (following) the rule mentioned before.'

9. Moreover, the great-grandfather, the grandfather, the father, oneself, the uterine brothers, the son by a wife of equal caste, the grandson, (and) the great-grandson—these they call *Sapindas*, but not the (great-grandson's) son;—and amongst these a son and a son's son (together with their father are) sharers of an undivided oblation.

10. The sharers of divided oblations they call *Sakulyas*.

8. This verse, which occurs in all my MSS. of the text, is left out in the two copies of Govinda's commentary.

9. Colebrooke, *Dâyabhâga* XI, 1, 37; V. Digest CCCXCVII. The text on which Colebrooke's two versions are based differs from that of my MSS. and of Govinda by reading *avibhaktadâyâdân* instead of *teshâm ka putrapautram* [v. l. *°pautrakam*] *avibhaktadâyam*. The meaning of the latter clause, which is placed parenthetically before *sapindân âkashate*, '(these) they call *Sapindas*,' seems to be that a father with his son and grandson share the cakes offered at one funeral sacrifice by the fourth descendant. Its object is to show that the group called *Sapindas* consists of two such subdivisions, between whom the middlemost forms the connecting link. For the middlemost, the *svayam*, 'oneself,' of the text, first offers the cakes to his three ancestors and later receives the cakes, together with his first two descendants, from his great-grandson. Govinda gives no help. He merely remarks that the *Sûtra* contains a *paribhâshâ* or technical rule of interpretation, and that the words *api ka*, 'moreover,' indicate that it is an expansion of *Sûtra* 2.

10. Colebrooke, loc. cit. According to *Gîmûtavâhana* the *Sakulyas* are the three ascendants beyond the great-grandfather and the three descendants beyond the great-grandson. Others, among

11. If no other (relations) are living, the property (of a deceased male) descends to them (the *Sapindas*).

12. On failure of *Sapindas*, the *Sakulyas* (inherit).

13. On failure of them, the teacher who (holds the place of a spiritual) father, a pupil, or an officiating priest shall take it,

14. On failure of them, the king. Let him give that property to persons well-versed in the three Vedas.

15. But the king should never take for himself the property of a *Brâhmana*.

16. Now they quote also (the following verse):
'The property of a *Brâhmana* destroys (him who

whom Govinda takes his place, explain the word *sakulya* to mean 'members of one family' in general. Govinda says, *sambandha-vishagñâne sati sapindâ ukyante sambandhamâtragñâne sakulyâh* || *Atas ka sapindâ api sakulyâh* || 'If a particular relationship is known, they are called *Sapindas*; and if (the fact) only is known that relationship exists, *Sakulyas*. Hence the *Sapindas* are also *Sakulyas*.'

11. Colebrooke, loc. cit. Both the *Dâyabhâga* and the Digest read *satsvangageshu*, 'when there is male issue,' and the *Vîramitrodaya*, fol. 218, p. 2, l. 7, agrees with them. The MSS. read all *satsv anyeshu*, which may, however, be taken with Govinda for *asatsv anyeshu*, because the preceding word ends in *a*. Govinda explains *anyeshu*, 'others,' by *aurasâdishu*, 'legitimate sons of the body, and so forth.'

12. Colebrooke, *Dâyabhâga*, loc. cit. The digest omits this *Sûtra*.

13. Colebrooke, loc. cit. *Gîmûtavâhana* wrongly reads *pitâ kâkâryah*, 'the father and the teacher.' Govinda gives the explanation adopted above. Regarding the spiritual fatherhood of the teacher, see e. g. *Vasishtha* II, 4.

14. Colebrooke, loc. cit. Govinda reads *satsvam*, 'the property of a holy man,' instead of *tatsvam*, 'that property.'

15. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCCXLIV; *Vasishtha* XVII, 86.

takes it), together with sons and grandsons; poison kills one man only. (Therefore) they do not declare poison to be (the worst) poison. The property of a Brāhmaṇa is called (the worst) poison.'

17. If a birth and a death occur together, one and the same period of ten (days and) nights (shall serve for both).

18. Now if (other deaths or births) happen before the completion of the ten (days and) nights (of impurity), the first period of ten (days and) nights (shall suffice, provided the new cause of impurity occurs) before the end of the ninth day.

19. On a birth, indeed, the parents (alone) become impure during ten days.

20. Some (declare that) the mother (alone becomes impure), because (people) avoid (lying-in women alone).

21. Others (say that) the father (alone becomes impure) because the semen is the chief cause (of the generation).

22. For sons who were born without mothers, are mentioned in the revealed texts.

23. But (the correct opinion is that) both the parents (become impure) because they are equally connected (with the event).

18. *Vasishṭha* IV, 23-25. Govinda points out that in case the second birth or death happens after the completion of the ninth day, the rule given (*Gautama* XIV, 7) applies.

19. *Vasishṭha* IV, 20-21.

20. *Vasishṭha* IV, 21-22. *Tatpariharaṇāt*, literally, 'because she is avoided, i.e. because people avoid newly-confined women (not their husbands).—Govinda.

21. E.g. *Agastya* and *Vasishṭha*. See *Rig-veda* VII, 33, 11, and *Sâyana's* commentary thereon.

24. But when a death (has happened, the relatives of the deceased), allowing the youngest to begin, shall pass their sacrificial threads over the right shoulder and under the left arm, descend into the water at a bathing-place, submerge (their bodies), emerge (out of the water), ascend the bank, sip water, pour out libations for the (deceased, repeating the last four acts) severally three times thereafter, ascend the bank, sip water, touch a coal, water or the like at the door of their house, and sit during ten days on mats, eating food that does not contain pungent condiments or salt.

25. (Let him perform) a funeral sacrifice on the eleventh or the twelfth (day).

26. In (performing) the remaining rites (one should) conform to (the customs of) the people.

27. In case of a (death) let him also keep (a period of impurity) for (persons who are) not (his) *Sapindas*, according to the degree of nearness, three (days and) nights, a day and a night, one day and so forth,

24. *Vasishtha* IV, 9-15. When the libations of water are poured out, the name of the deceased must be pronounced. Govinda correctly states that *iti*, 'or the like,' which stands after 'a coal, water,' is intended to include 'cowdung, and yellow mustard seed,' which are mentioned by *Yâgñavalkya* III, 13. Regarding the clause *sakṛttriṣ*, '(repeating these last four acts) severally three times,' see *Âpastamba* II, 6, 15, 10.

25. *Vishnu* XXI, 2 seq., and especially 19.

26. Govinda, in explanation of this *Sûtra*, refers to the last words of *Âpastamba* II, 6, 15, 10, where it is said that relatives 'shall perform those rites for the dead which the women declare to be necessary,' and to *Âpastamba* II, 11, 29, 15.

27. *Gautama* XIV, 20. Govinda is of opinion that the duration of the impurity shall depend on the good qualities, learning, &c. of the deceased.

28. For a teacher, a sub-teacher (upādhyāya), and their sons, three (days and) nights,

29. Likewise for officiating priests,

30. Let him keep on account of a pupil, for one who has the same spiritual guide, for a fellow-student (sābrahmaṇin) three (days and) nights, one day and a night, one day and so forth (as periods of impurity).

31. On a miscarriage females (remain impure) as many (days and) nights as months (elapsed after conception).

32. If he unintentionally touches the corpse of a stranger, he becomes at once pure after bathing dressed in his clothes.

33. (If he does it) intentionally, (he will remain impure) during three (days and) nights.

34. And (the same rules apply if he touches a woman) during her courses.

35. A son who is born from (intercourse with a temporarily unclean woman) becomes an Abhisasta. Thereby the penances (to be performed) by him have been explained.

28. Vishṇu XXII, 42, 44. Govinda asserts that the impurity on account of an Upādhyāya lasts one night, together with the preceding and following days, and on account of a teacher's or Upādhyāya's sons one day only. It looks as if he had read the words pakṣiṇyekāham in his text.

29. Govinda asserts that *ka*, 'likewise,' indicates that the rule applies also on the death of persons for whom one sacrifices.

30. Vishṇu XXII, 44. Govinda explains satīrthya to mean 'one who has the same guru or spiritual guide,' while according to others it means 'one who studies under the same sub-teacher' (upādhyāya). See also the Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV, 4, 117, and note.

31. Vishṇu XXII, 25.

32-33. Gautama XIV, 27.

34. Vishṇu XXII, 69.

36. On touching one who sells the Veda, a sacrificial post, an outcast, a funeral pile, a dog, or a *Kandâla* he shall bathe.

37. Now if a worm is produced in an open wound that is filled with pus and sanies, how shall, in that case, a penance be performed?

38. He who is bitten by a worm will become pure on bathing (daily) during three days and drinking (a mixture of) cow's urine, cowdung, milk, sour milk, butter, and water boiled with *Kusa* grass.

39. He who has been touched by a dog shall bathe dressed in his clothes;

40. Or he becomes pure by washing that spot (where he has been touched), by touching it with fire, by (afterwards) again washing it and his feet, and by sipping water.

41. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'But a *Brâhmana* who has been bitten by a dog, is purified if he goes to a river that flows into the ocean, (bathes there and) suppresses his breath one hundred times and (afterwards) eats clarified butter. He will (also) become pure at once on bathing (in water brought) in golden or silver (vessels), or in a cow's horn, or in new (earthen pots).'

36. This verse, which is another version of I, 5, 9, 5, is left out in the Dekhan and Gugarât MSS.; I consider its genuineness very doubtful.

37. *Vasishtha* XVIII, 16.

39-40. *Âpastamba* I, 5, 15, 16-17. Govinda, too, states that the second mode of purification is to be adopted, if the dog touches any part of the body below the navel.

41. *Vasishtha* XXIII, 31.

PRAŚNA I, ADHYĀYA 5, KANDIKĀ 12.

1. Tame animals must not be eaten,
2. Nor carnivorous and (tame) birds,
3. Nor (tame) cocks and pigs;
4. Goats and sheep (are) excepted (from the above prohibition).

5. Five five-toed animals may be eaten, (viz.) the porcupine, the iguana, the hare, the hedgehog, the tortoise and the rhinoceros, excepting the rhinoceros,

6. Likewise five animals with cloven hoofs, (viz.) the white-footed antelope (Nīl-gāi), the (common ravine) deer, the spotted deer, the buffalo, the (wild) boar and the black antelope, excepting the black antelope,

7. (Likewise) five (kinds of) birds that feed scratching with their feet, (viz.) the partridge, the blue rock-pigeon, the francoline partridge, the (crane called) Vārdhrāṇasa, the peacock and the Vārāṇa, excepting the Vārāṇa,

12. 1. Vasishṭha XIV, 40.

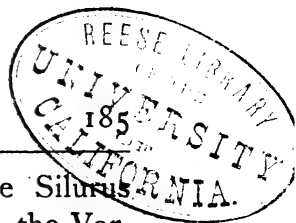
2. Vasishṭha XIV, 48. Govinda says that the particle *ka*, 'and,' is used in order to indicate that the word 'tame' must be understood.

3. Āpastamba I, 5, 17, 29, 32.

5. Vasishṭha XIV, 39. Another explanation of the word *svāvīṭ*, 'the porcupine' (see also Gautama XVII, 27), is given in the commentary, which says that it is a wild animal resembling a dog, and belonging to the boar species. Govinda points out that there is a dispute among the learned regarding the rhinoceros (Vasishṭha XV, 47), and that the peculiar wording of the Sūtra is intended to indicate that.

6. The permissibility of the last-named animal is again doubtful.

7. Gautama XVII, 35. The case of the last-mentioned bird, the Vārāṇa, is again doubtful. From the first rock-edict of Asoka



8. (And the following) fishes, (viz.) the *Silurus Pelorius* (*Sahasradamshtrin*), the *Kilikima*, the *Varmi*, the *Bṛihakkhīras*, the *Masakari*(?), the *Cyprinus Rohita*, and the *Rāgi*.

9. The milk of a (female animal) whose offspring is not ten days old, and of one that gives milk while big with a young one, must not be drunk.

10. Nor that of a (cow) that has no calf or that (suckles) a strange calf.

11. (The milk) of sheep, camels, and one-hoofed animals must not be drunk.

12. If (he has) drunk (milk) which ought not to be drunk, excepting cow's milk, (he must perform) a *Krikkhira* (penance).

13. But if (he has drunk) cow's milk (that is unfit for use, he shall) fast during three (days and) nights.

14. Stale (food must not be eaten or drunk) excepting pot-herbs, broths, meat, clarified butter, cooked grain, molasses, sour milk, and barley-meal,

15. Nor (substances) which have turned sour, nor molasses which have come into that state.

16. After performing the ceremony preparatory

it appears that peacocks, now considered inviolable, were actually eaten in the third century A. D.

8. *Vasishṭha* XIV, 41-42. The names are much corrupted in the MSS., and for *Masakari*, which I do not find in the dictionaries, *Samasakari* or *Samasakari* is also read. The *Bṛihakkhīras* is probably the Indian salmon, the *Māhsir*.

9-10. *Vasishṭha* XIV, 34-35; *Gautama* XVII, 22. The meaning of *sandhini*, 'a female animal that gives milk while big with young,' is uncertain. See also *Vishṇu* LI, 40; *Āpastamba* I, 5, 17, 23.

11. *Gautama* XVII, 24.

12. *Vishṇu* LI, 38-41.

14. *Gautama* XVII, 16.

15. *Vasishṭha* XIV, 37-38.

16. *Vasishṭha* XIII, 1-5. *Govinda* states that this *Sūtra* has been introduced here, because the purity of one's food ensures

to the beginning of the Veda-study (upâkarman) on the (full moon of the month) of *Srâvana* or of *Âshâdha*, they shall close the term on the full moon of *Taisha* or *Mâgha*.

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 6, KANDIKĀ 13.

1. The gods enjoy a pure sacrifice (only);
2. For the gods are desirous of purity and (themselves) pure.
3. The following (*Rik*) declares that, 'To you, O Maruts, the pure ones, pure viands; to you, the pure ones, I offer a pure sacrifice. They who love the pious rites, who are of pure origin, (themselves) pure and purifiers (of others), came duly to the truthful (worshipper).'
4. (He will be) pure (if there is) no blemish on his clothes, therefore let him perform all (acts) that are connected with sacrificing, (dressed) in unblemished clothes.
5. The sacrificer and his wife as well as the officiating priests shall put on dresses which have been washed, and dried by the wind, and which are not in a bad condition.

purity of one's soul, and purity of soul gives strength of memory, and thereby makes one fit to study the Veda.

13. 1-2. See also above, I, 5, 10, 4. This Adhyâya and the next ought to have been given in the *Srauta Sûtra*.

3. *Rig-veda* VII, 56, 12; *Taittiriya-brâhmaṇa* II, 8, 5, 5. The meaning of the last portion of the verse is somewhat doubtful. *Sâyana* gives two different explanations and *Govinda* a third.

4. *Govinda* points out that the dresses of the sacrificer and of his priests must be white, because farther on (*Sûtras* 9-10) other colours are specially prescribed.

5. *Govinda* thinks that the word *kā*, 'as well as,' is intended to include the lookers-on.

6. (It shall be) thus from the (beginning of the) Prakrama,

7. And thus at the long Soma-sacrifices and the Sattras ;

8. And (on other occasions other dresses must be used) in accordance with the injunction (of the Veda),

9. Thus at (all) Ishṭis, animal sacrifices, and Soma-sacrifices which may be used as spells (against enemies), the priests shall perform (the sacred rites), wearing red turbans and red dresses ; (when reciting the hymn seen by) Vṛishākapi (he shall) wear a dress and a mantle of many colours and so forth.

10. At the Agnyâdhâna (sacrifice) the clothes (shall be made) of flax ; on failure of such, (dresses) made of cotton or of wool are used.

11. Clothes defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen and the like (shall be) cleaned with earth, water and the like.

12. (Dresses) made of *Tripa*-bark and *vṛikala* (shall be treated) like cotton-cloth,

6. Regarding the ceremony called Prakrama, literally 'stepping forward from the Gârhapatya fire,' see Sâyana on Taitt. Br. I, 1, 4, 1. It opens the Agnyâdhâna rite.

9. Govinda states that the words *iti ka*, 'and so forth,' are intended to include other incantations. The Vṛishākapi hymn is found Rig-veda X, 86.

11. Govinda states that the word *iti*, 'and the like,' is intended to include cowdung, cow's urine, and other substances used for purification.

12. Govinda states that there is a tree called *Tripa*, the bark of which is used for dresses. *Vṛikala*, which has been left untranslated, is explained by *sakama*, a word which is not found in our dictionaries.

13. Deer-skins like (dresses) made of bark.
14. (Let him) not (use) a mantle which has been wrapped (round the loins, or) on which he has been lying (in his bed), without washing it.
15. Let him not employ for the gods anything used by men without beating it on a stone.
16. If solid earth is defiled, (it must be) smeared with cowdung.
17. Loose (earth must be cleansed by) ploughing,
18. Moist (earth) by bringing pure (earth) and covering (it with that).
19. Land is purified in four (ways), by being trod on by cows, by digging, by lighting a fire on it, by rain falling on it,
20. Fifthly by smearing it with cowdung, and sixthly through (the lapse of) time.
21. Grass placed on unconsecrated ground (must be) washed.
22. (Grass) defiled out of one's sight, (shall be) sprinkled (with water).
23. Small pieces of sacred fuel (shall be purified) in the same manner.
24. Large pieces of wood (must be) washed and dried.

13. Govinda says that, as the treatment of *valkala*, 'bark-dresses,' has not been prescribed, the meaning of the *Sûtra* can only be, that bark-dresses and black-buck skins are to be treated alike, i. e. that they are to be cleaned with *Bel-nut* and rice; see above.

15. Govinda explains *apalpūlitam* by 'without beating it with the hand on a stone.' He mentions as an instance the skin which is used in preparing the *Soma*.

16. According to Govinda, solid earth is such on which the fire-altars are built.

21. E. g. grass intended for the *barhis*, if it has been placed on a spot which has not been sprinkled with water.

22. 'Defiled out of one's sight,' i. e. brought by *Sûdras*.

25. But a great quantity (of wood shall be) sprinkled (with water).

26. Wooden vessels which have been touched by impure men (shall be) scraped ;

27. (And) those which are defiled by stains of remnants (shall be) planed.

28. (Wooden vessels) defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen, and the like (very impure substances shall be) thrown away.

29. These (rules must be followed) except in case a (special) injunction (is given);

30. Thus, for instance, (purification by) washing with Kusa grass and water (is prescribed) on all the following (occasions, viz.) at the Agnihotra, the Gharma~~kk~~hishta, the Dadhigharma, the Kundapâyinâm Ayana, the Utsarginâm Ayana, the Dâkshâyana sacrifice, the Ardhodaya, the Katushakra, and the Brahmaudanas,

31. (Again) at all Soma-sacrifices (the cups must be) cleaned with water only on (the heap of earth called) the Mârgâlîya ;

32. If these same (cups are defiled) by urine, ordure,

27. Govinda says that this rule is optional.

28. Govinda adds that fuel, Kusa grass, and the like, which have been defiled in this manner, must also be thrown away.

30. Regarding the Dadhigharma, a homa, see Vaitâna Sûtra 21, 18 ; regarding the Kundapâyinâm Ayana, Âsvalâyana Srauta Sûtra XII, 4 ; and regarding the Dâkshâyana sacrifice, a variety of the new and full-moon offering, Âsvalâyana II, 14. The Ardhodaya is possibly the vrata of that name mentioned in the Purânas. According to Govinda, the Katushakra, which is otherwise known as a Tântic rite, is a sacrifice, ish~~ak~~âkosh~~ta~~ (?) madhyavasanto yagante tathetaradaya~~h~~ (?). Regarding the Brahmaudana, see Âsvalâyana Srauta Sûtra I, 4.

32. Govinda says that the injunction to throw away defiled

blood, semen, and the like (they must be) thrown away.

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 6, KANDIKĀ 14.

1. Earthen vessels that have been touched by impure persons (must be) exposed to (the flame of) a fire of Kusa grass.

2. Those which have been defiled by stains of remnants (of food must be) exposed to another burning.

3. Those which have been defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen, and the like (must be) thrown away.

4. (Vessels) made of metal (must be) washed, after having been scrubbed as (directed) above.

5. The materials (to be used) for scrubbing (are) cowdung, earth, ashes, and so forth.

6. Those which have been defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen, and the like (must be) recast,

7. Or (they must) be kept during seven (days and) nights completely immersed in cow's urine,

8. Or in a great river for as long (a period).

9. (Vessels) made of stone or of fruits, (i. e.) gourds, Bel-fruit, and Vinā/as, (shall be) brushed with (a brush of) cow's hair.

vessels has been repeated, in order to prevent a misconception. For as Soma is said to be a great means of purification, it might be supposed that it was powerful enough to prevent the defilement of vessels into which it is poured at a sacrifice. But compare the next Sūtras.

14. 8. A great river, i. e. one which directly flows into the ocean.—Govinda.

9. A Vinā/a, i. e. (a vessel) made of bamboo or Vidagdhanā/a; it is called a 'long vessel' (dirghabhāganam), and is used for carrying the Prāṇita water and the like purposes.—Govinda. The vessel

10. (Sacrificial implements made of) plaited Na/a-reeds, bamboo, or Sara-reeds (shall be) washed with cowdung, water, and the like.

11. If unhusked rice has been defiled, (it must be) washed (and afterwards be) dried.

12. But a great quantity (of unhusked rice must be) sprinkled.

13. Husked rice (which has been defiled must be) thrown away.

14. The same (rule applies) to cooked sacrificial viands.

15. But if a great quantity has been defiled by (the touch of) dogs, crows, and the like (unclean beings), one must throw away that portion (as) food for men, and sprinkle (the rest with water), reciting the Anuvāka, 'Pavamānaḥ suvarganaḥ.'

16. Hydromel and preparations of milk (are) purified by pouring them from one vessel into another.

intended is no doubt the flask made of a bamboo which is cut below the joint, and is commonly used as a bottle for oil. Govinda adds that this mode of purification is to be adopted in case the vessels have been touched by impure persons.

10. Na/a-reeds, i.e. *Amphidonax Karka*; Sara, i.e. *Saccharum Sara*. Govinda says that the rule applies to cases where such implements have been defiled by remnants of food (*ukḥishṭa-lepa*).

11. 'Defiled, i.e. touched by a *Kandāla*.' (The rule) refers to a quantity less than a *Drona* (66 or 132 lbs.).—Govinda.

13. 'If it has been defiled by urine and the like and the quantity is small;' this must be understood, because he will declare (below, Sūtra 15) that if there is a great quantity (the defiled) portion only shall be thrown away.—Govinda.

14. This, too, refers to small quantities only.

15. The Anuvāka referred to is *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 8.

16. 'Hydromel, i.e. sour milk, honey, clarified butter, water, and

17. In like manner let him pour oil and clarified butter which have been touched by an impure (person) into water, and (afterwards) use them.

18. If (any) impure (substance) is thrown (into the sacrificial fire) let him place (the two *Araṇis* one) on (the other), produce fire by friction, (and offer) a *Pavamāneshṭi*.

19. If (the rules regarding) purity, the proper place, the mantras, the series of actions, the object, the materials, (their) consecration, and the proper time are conflicting, each earlier-named (point) is more important (than the following ones).

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 7, KANDIKĀ 15.

1. The sacred fires (shall be) approached from the north,

2. (And be) left in the same manner.

3. The contrary (proceeding should be adopted at sacrifices offered) to the manes.

grain; a preparation of milk, i. e. curd of two-milk whey (*āmikshā*), if these are blemished by the fault of men, and that (blemish must have been caused by) the touch of an impure (person, *ukṣhishta*) only.'—Govinda.

17. 'And that must be done in such a manner that the oil and the clarified butter are not lost.'—Govinda.

18. 'Any impure substance, i. e. urine, ordure, and the like.'—Govinda.

19. *Āvṛt*, 'the series of actions,' i. e. the growth (*prāṃsubhāva*) of the ceremonial (*prayoga*).—Govinda.

15. 1. *Mānava Śrauta Sūtra* I, 1, 1, and *Kumārila* thereon in Professor Goldstücker's lithographed copy and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* I, 8, 24. See also Professor Haug's map of 'the sacrificial compound,' *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, vol. i.

3. I. e. the entrance and exit are to be made to the south of the fires.

4. Let him wash that which has been touched with (his) foot.

5. Let him touch water, in case he touches his body or the hem (of his garment).

6. Likewise (let him touch water) after cutting, splitting, digging or removing (anything, or offering oblations) to the manes, to the Rākshasas, to Nirṛiti, to Rudra, (and after performing sacrifices) intended as spells (against enemies).

7. Let him not turn round himself a sacrificial implement (the use of) which is accompanied by the recitation of mantras.

8. (For) the sacrificial implements (are) more nearly (connected with the sacrifice),

9. The priests, more remotely.

10. The sacrificer and his wife are even nearer than the priests.

11. After the sacrificial implements (follows) the clarified butter, after the clarified butter the sacrificial viands, after the sacrificial viands the animal to be slain, after the animal the Soma, after the Soma the sacred fires.

5. Govinda explains *siḥ*, 'the hem of the garment,' by the garment wrapped round the loins (*parihitam vāsaḥ*).

7. The meaning is that the priest must hold the sacrificial implements, such as the *sruḥ* and *sruva* ladles, between himself and the fires, and not place himself between them and the fires (*âtmano bahir na kûryât agner antaraḥ svayam na bhaved iti yâvat*).

8. 'He gives the reason for that (rule), "For the sacrificial implements (are) nearer" than the priests, that must be understood.'—Govinda.

10. 'For they obtain the reward of the sacrifice. The instances (referring) to those two are the Vaisarganas and the Dâkshinas.'—Govinda.

11. Kâtyâyana Srauta Sûtra I, 8, 31. 'If the space on the

12. If there is work for them, the priests shall not turn away from the sacred fires.

13. If he faces the east, let him turn towards his right shoulder,

14. If he faces the west, towards the left.

15. The entrance to the sacrificial (enclosure lies) between the *Kâtvâla* and the *Utkara*,

16. (When one comes) from the *Kâtvâla*, (it lies between) the *Âhavanīya* fire and the *Utkara*.

17. The officiating (priests), the sacrificer, and his wife shall enter by that (road),

18. As long as the sacrificial rite is not completed.

19. When it has been finished (they shall) pass to and fro on the side where there is no *Utkara* (i.e. on the western side of the enclosure).

Uttaravedi and the rest is confined, the Soma is made ready immediately after the fire, after that the meat and so forth, after that the grain for the sacrificial cakes, then the clarified butter, and after that the spoons called *sruva*, *sruk*, and so forth.'—Govinda.

12. 'It is indicated hereby that, if there is work (to be done) there, they shall not turn away from the sacred fires except in cases of absolute necessity.'—Govinda.

13. 'This rule (refers to the case) when he walks with the sacred fires. It must be understood that he shall not turn his back on the fires.'—Govinda.

14. 'This rule (is to be interpreted) in the same manner (as the preceding one). Or it is prescribed by these two *Sûtras* that the men engaged (in the sacrifice) shall go out, turning their right hand towards (the fires).'—Govinda.

15. *Kâtyâyana Srauta Sûtra* V, 1, 11.

16. I read with the MSS. of the text '*kâtvâlâd âhavanīyotkarau*.' The two copies of the commentary give *kâtvâlâd âhavanīyotkarau*. Govinda says that the words *antarena tīrtham* must be understood. For the position of the *Kâtvâla* and the *Utkara*, see Professor Haug's map, where the road of the priests is also marked, though somewhat differently.

20. Let him not put on the fire logs or Samidhs which have not been sprinkled (with water),

21. The Brahman (priest) and the sacrificer shall enter in front of the Âhavanîya fire.

22. Some (declare that they shall enter) behind the Âhavanîya fire.

23. The seat of the Brahman (priest is situated) to the south of the Âhavanîya fire, (that) of the sacrificer to the west of him.

24. (The seat) of the Hotri (priest is situated) to the north of the northern Sroni (of the Vedi),

25. (That) of the Âgnîdhra priest near the Utkara,

26. (That) of the (sacrificer's) wife behind the Gârhapatya fire.

27. He scatters Darbha grass on these (seats) as often as (they are used).

28. A vessel filled with water, for the purpose of sipping, shall be appropriated to (the use of) each (person).

29. He who has been initiated (to the performance of a sacrifice shall) keep the (following) vows :

30. Let him not proclaim the guilt of other men ; let him not become angry ; let him not weep ; let him not look at urine and ordure.

31. If he has looked at any unclean (substance), he mutters (the verse), ' Unrestrained is the internal

23. For the seats of the priests and the other persons named in this and the following rules, see Professor Haug's plan, and Dr. Hillebrandt's *Altindische Neu und Vollmondopfer*, p. 190.

24. 'The northern Sroni of the Vedi, i. e. the north-western corner of the Vedi.'—Govinda.

31. *Taittirîya Samhitâ* III, 1, 1, 2, where the rule also is given. M. alone adds another Sûtra, the text of which is corrupt. But it ended with the mantra undatîr balam dhatta, &c. *Taitt. S. ibid.* 3. .

organ, wretched (my) eye-sight; the sun is the chief of the (heavenly) lights; O Dīkshā, do not forsake me!’

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 8, KANDIKĀ 16.

1. There are four castes (*varṇa*, viz.) Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras.
2. (Males) belonging to them (may take) wives according to the order of the castes, (viz.) a Brāhmaṇa four,
3. A Kshatriya three,
4. A Vaisya two,
5. A Sūdra one.
6. Sons begotten on (wives) of equal or of the next lower castes (are called) Savarnas (of equal caste).
7. (Those born) of (wives) of the second or third lower castes (become) Ambashthas, Ugras, and Nishādas.
8. Of females wedded in the inverse order of the castes (are born) Āyogavas, Māgadhas, Vainas, Kshattris, Pulkasas, Kukkutakas, Vaidehakas, and Kāṇḍālas.
9. An Ambashtha (begets) on a female of the first (caste) a Svapāka,
10. An Ugra on a female of the second (caste) a Vaina,
11. A Nishāda on a female of the third (caste) a Pulkasa.

16. 1. Vasishtha II, 1.

2-5. Vasishtha I, 24-25.

6. Gautama IV, 16.

7. Vasishtha XVIII, 8.

8-12. Vasishtha XVIII, 1-6; Gautama IV, 17-21. In the I. O. copy of the commentary there is a break, which extends from Sūtra 8 to the beginning of Adhyāya 10.

12. In the contrary case a Kukkuṭaka (is produced).

13.

14.

15.

16. Now they quote also (the following verse):
'But those sons whom an uninitiated man begets, the wise call Vrātyas, who are excluded from the Sāvitrī; (that is a rule which refers) in an equal manner to the three (highest) castes.'

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 9, KANDIKĀ 17.

1. The Rathakāra (carpenter), the Ambashṭha, the Sūta (charioteer), the Ugra, the Māgadha, the Āyogava, the Vaina, the Kshattrī, the Pulkasa, the Kukkuṭa, the Vaidehaka, the Kāṇḍāla, and so forth,

2. Among these, sons of equal caste (spring) from women of equal caste.

3. A Brāhmaṇa (begets) on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Brāhmaṇa, on a female of the Vaisya caste an Ambashṭha, on a female of the Sūdra caste a Nishāda,

4. (According to) some a Pārasava.

13-15. The text of the three Sūtras is exceedingly corrupt, and the Telugu copy of the commentary affords no help. It is, however, clear that the passage left out contained something which corresponded to Gautama IV, 22-23, and treated of the possibility of raising persons of a lower caste to a higher one by intermarriages continued for five or seven generations. The reading of K., which perhaps is the best, will show this: 'nishādena nishādyād ā pañ-
kāmāggātā bhavanti tam upanayet shashṭham yāgayet saptamo 'vikritāgīsamamgito saptamauñgīsama ity ekeshām samgñā kramena nipatanti.'

16. Manu X, 20.

17. 1-2. Manu X, 26-27.

3-6. See above, I, 8, 16, 6-7.

5. A Kshatriya (begets) on a female of the Vaisya caste a Kshatriya, on a female of the Sûdra caste an Ugra.

6. A Vaisya (begets) on a female of the Sûdra caste a Rathakâra.

7. A Sûdra begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Mâgadha, on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Kshattri, but on a female of the Brâhmana caste a Kandâla.

8. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste an Âyogava, on a female of the Brâhmana caste a Sûta.

9. If among these an Ambasht̥ha (male) and an Ugra (female) unite, (their son) will be born in the direct order of the castes (Anuloma).

10. If a Kshattri (male) and a Vaidehaka (female) unite, (their son will be) born against the order of the castes (Pratiloma).

11. An Ugra (begets) on a female of the Kshattri caste a Svapâka,

12. A Vaidehaka on a female of the Ambasht̥ha caste a Vaina,

13. A Nishâda on a female of the Sûdra caste a Pulkasa,

14. A Sûdra on a female of the Nishâda caste a Kukkuṭaka.

15. The wise declare those sprung from an intermixture of the castes to be Vrâtyas.

7-8. See above, I, 8, 16, 8.

9-10. I.e. the offspring of individuals of different Anuloma castes again become Anulomas, and the offspring of individuals of different Pratiloma castes, Pratilomas.

11-12. Manu X, 19.

13-14. See above, I, 8, 16, 11-12.

15. Gautama IV, 25.

PRASNA I, ADHYĀYA 10, KANDIKĀ 18.

1. Let the king protect (his) subjects, receiving as his pay a sixth part (of their incomes or spiritual merit).

2. Brahman, forsooth, placed its majesty in the Brāhmaṇas, together with (the duties and privileges of) studying, teaching, sacrificing for themselves, sacrificing for others, liberality, and accepting (gifts), for the protection of the Vedas ;

3. In the Kshatriyas (it placed) strength, together with (the duties and privileges of) studying, sacrificing, liberality, (using) weapons, and protecting the treasure (and the life of) created beings, for the growth of (good) government ;

4. In the Vaisyas (it placed the power of work), together with (the duties of) studying, sacrificing, liberality, cultivating (the soil), trading, and tending cattle, for the growth of (productive) labour.

5. On the Sūdras (it imposed the duty of) serving the three higher (castes).

6. For (the Veda states), 'they were created from the feet (of Brahman).' X

18. 1. Vasishṭha I, 42-44. Learned Brāhmaṇas do not pay taxes, but the king obtains a sixth part of the spiritual merit which they acquire. Hence Baudhāyana uses the general term, 'a sixth share.'

2. Vasishṭha II, 13-14.

3. Vasishṭha II, 15-17.

4. Vasishṭha II, 18-19. The words 'the power of work' are inserted by Govinda.

5. Vasishṭha II, 20.

6. Rig-veda X, 90, 12 ; Taittiriya Āraṇyaka III, 12, 6.

7. Let (the king) choose a domestic priest (who shall be) foremost in all (transactions).

8. Let him act according to his instructions.

9. Let him not turn back in battle.

10. Let him not strike with barbed or poisoned (weapons).

11. Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, (nor with those) who have lost their armour, (nor with) women, infants, aged men, and Brâhmanas,

12. Excepting assassins (âtatâyin).

13. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He who slays an assassin, able to teach (the Veda) and born in a (noble) family, does not (incur) by that (act the guilt of) the murderer of a learned Brâhmaṇa; (in) that (case) fury recoils upon fury.'

14. The duty on goods imported by sea is, after deducting a choice article, ten *Panas* in the hundred.

15. Let him also lay just (duties) on other (marketable goods) according to their intrinsic value without oppressing (the traders).

7. *Vasishṭha* XIX, 3-6. Govinda explains *sarvatodhuram*, 'foremost in all,' by *sarvagñam*, 'omniscient.'

8. *Vasishṭha* I, 40-41. The rule, of course, refers primarily to advice in spiritual matters.

9. Gautama X, 16.

10. *Manu* VII, 90.

11. Gautama X, 18. The meaning is that such persons shall not be slain in battle.

12-13. *Vasishṭha* III, 18.

14. I take this to mean that the king may take one article which particularly pleases him out of each consignment, and impose on the rest an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent. Regarding the tribute in kind to be paid to Indian kings by foreign merchants, see *Periplus maris Erythraei*, par. 49.

15. *Vishṇu* III, 29-30. Govinda interprets *anupahatya*, 'without

16. Let the king guard the property of men belonging to a non-Brâhmanical caste, the owner of which has disappeared, during a year, and afterwards take it (for himself).

17. A Brâhmana, forsooth, shall not suffer corporal punishment for any offence.

18. In case (a Brâhmana) has slain a Brâhmana, has violated his Guru's bed, has stolen the gold (of a Brâhmana), or has drunk (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ, (the king) shall cause to be impressed with a heated iron the mark of a headless trunk, a female part, a jackal, (or) the sign of a tavern on the forehead (of the offender) and banish him from his realm.

19. If a Kshatriya or (a man of any) other (lower caste) has murdered a Brâhmana, death and the confiscation of all his property (shall be his punishment).

20. If those same (persons) slay men of equal or lower castes, (the king) shall fix suitable punishments in accordance with their ability.

PRASNA I, ADHYÂYA 10, KANDIKÂ 19.

1. For slaying a Kshatriya (the offender) shall

oppressing the traders,' by 'without deducting (anuddhrîtya) a choice article.'

16. Vasishṭha XVI, 19-20. As stated above, I, 5, 11, 15, the king must not take the property of a Brâhmana.

17. Vishṇu V, 2. 'Corporal punishment,' i.e. capital punishment, mutilation, &c., except branding.

18. Vishṇu V, 3-7.

19. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 16.

20. Vasishṭha XIX, 9. 'Those same persons,' i.e. Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or Sûdras.

19. 1. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 1. Govinda explains vairaniryâta-

give to the king one thousand cows and besides a bull in expiation of his sin,

2. For (slaying) a Vaisya one hundred cows, for (slaying) a Sûdra ten; and a bull (must be) added (in each case).

3. (The punishment for) the murder of a woman—excepting a (Brâhmanî) who had bathed after temporary uncleanness—and for the destruction of a cow have been explained by the (rule regarding the) murder of a Sûdra.

4. If he has slain a milch-cow or a draught-ox, he shall perform a *Kândrâyana* (lunar penance) after (paying the prescribed fine).

5. The (punishment for the) murder of a (Brâhmanî) who had bathed after temporary uncleanness has been explained by (the rule regarding) the murder of a Kshatriya.

6. For killing a flamingo, a Bhâsa, a peacock, a Brâhmanî duck, a *Prakalâka*, a crow, an owl, a frog, a musk-rat, a dog, (the large ichneumon called) *Babhru*, a common ichneumon, and so forth, (the offender shall pay) the same (fine) as (for the murder of) a Sûdra.

7. In order to gain the good opinion of men, a witness shall give evidence in accordance with what he has seen or heard.

nârtham in two ways: 1. in expiation of his sin; 2. in order to remove the enmity of the relatives of the murdered man. He adds all these punishments are really penances (*prâyasaittas*) to be imposed by the king. Âpastamba has these Sûtras in the section on penances.

2. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 2-4.

3. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 5; I, 9, 26, 1.

5. Vasishtha XX, 34, 37.

6. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 13.

7. Vishnu VIII, 13-14.

8. Of injustice (in decisions) one quarter falls on the party in the cause, one quarter on his witnesses, one quarter on all the judges, and one quarter on the king.

But where he who deserves condemnation is condemned, the king is guiltless and the judges free from blame; the guilt falls on the offender (alone).

9. (Therefore) a wise man should ask an appointed witness in the following manner :

10. 'The merit which thou hast acquired in the interval between the night in which thou wast born and that in which thou wilt die, all that will go to the king, if thou speakest an untruth.'

11. 'A witness who speaks falsely, slays three fathers and three grandfathers and seven (descendants), both the born and the unborn.'

12. 'By false testimony concerning gold he kills three ancestors; by false testimony regarding (small) cattle he kills five; by false testimony concerning kine he kills ten.'

'He kills a hundred by false evidence regarding horses, (and) a thousand by false evidence concerning a man. A witness who speaks falsely, destroys the whole (world) by false evidence concerning land.'

8. Manu VIII, 18-19.

9. I read, with the Telugu copy of the commentary, *sākshinam tvevam uddish/am*. All the MSS. of the text and C. I. read *sākshinam daivam uddish/am*. Govinda's explanation, *adhunā nir-dish/ān sākshina evam prikkhed iti padānvayaḥ*, 'the construction of the words is, "let him now ask the appointed witnesses in the following manner,"' agrees with the reading adopted.

10. Vasish/ha XVI, 32-33.

11. 'Three fathers and three grandfathers,' i. e. seven ancestors.

12. Vasish/ha XVI, 34. Regarding the explanation of the

13. (Men of) the four castes (*varṇa*) who have sons may be witnesses excepting *Srottriyas*, the king, ascetics, and those who are destitute of human (intellect).

14. If (the witness rightly) recollects (the facts of) the case (he will receive) commendation from the most eminent men.

15. In the contrary case (he will) fall into hell.

16. Let him (who has given false evidence), drink hot milk during twelve (days and) nights or offer burnt oblations (reciting) the *Kūshmāṇḍa* (texts).

words 'he kills,' see *Manu* VIII, 97, and *Haradatta* on *Gautama* XIII, 14.

13. *Vasishṭha* XVI, 28-30. The text has *rāḡanya*, 'members of the royal family.' But the parallel passages of other *Dharma-sūtras*, e.g. *Vishṇu* VIII, 2, make it probable that the king is meant.

14. *Āpastamba* II, 11, 29, 10. *Govinda* takes the *Sūtra* differently. His commentary runs as follows: *sākshidvaye sati rāḡñā tatpurushais ka kim kartavyam ity ata āha || smṛitau pradhānataḥ pratipattiḥ || prādhānyatas taponirdish/avidyātibhiḥ | tadvaḥanāt pratipattir niskayaḥ kārya ityadhyāhāraḥ kāryaḥ ||* 'What shall the king and his officers do, if there are two witnesses? In order to answer this question he says: "On recollection, according to pre-eminence, reliance." According to pre-eminence, i. e. on account of austerities, (being) appointed (as a witness), learning and the like; in accordance with the evidence of such person's conviction, i. e. the decision must be made. The latter word has to be understood.' *Govinda* then goes on to quote *Manu* VIII, 73.

15. *Āpastamba* II, 11, 29, 9. *Govinda* and M. read *kartrīpatyam* for *kartapatyam*, the reading of the *Dekhan* and *Gugarāt* MSS. The explanation of the former term is said to be *doshah*, 'sin.' Regarding the ancient word *kartapatya*, which *Govinda* and the writer of M. have not understood, see *Haradatta* on *Āpastamba* I, 2, 5, 3.

16. In accordance with his explanation of *Sūtra* 14, *Govinda* thinks that this penance is to be performed by the king and the judges in case they fail to weigh the evidence properly. But

PRASNA I, ADHYÂYA 11, KANDIKÂ 20.

1. (There are) eight marriage-rites.
2. If (the father) gives (his daughter) to a student (who has not broken his vow of chastity and) who asks for her, after fully enquiring into his learning and character, that (is) the rite of Brahman (brâhma).
3. If (the father gives his daughter away) after clothing her and decking her with ornaments, (saying) 'That (is thy wife), fulfil the law (with her),' that (is) the rite of Prâgâpati (prâgâpatya).
4. If (the bridegroom) after offering the first burnt oblation of parched grain (receives the maiden) for a bull and a cow, that is the rite of the Rîshis (ârsha).
5. If (a maiden is given) to an officiating priest within the sacrificial enclosure, while the presents are being taken away, that (is) the rite of the gods (daiva).

according to Manu VIII, 106, Vishnu VIII, 16, the oblations with the Kûshmândas (Taitt. Âr. X, 3-5) are to be offered for uttering in evidence a venial falsehood. That is, no doubt, here, too, the real meaning.

20. 1. Vishnu XXIV, 17.
2. Vasishtha I, 30. The word brahmaçârin has, no doubt, as Govinda too contends, been used in the double sense of 'a student of the Veda' and 'chaste.'
3. Vishnu XXIV, 22.
4. Vasishtha I, 32. 'After the first of the burnt oblations of parched grain, which are prescribed for weddings, has been offered, the bridegroom shall give to him who has power over the maiden a bull and a cow, and receive them back together with the (bride).'-Govinda.
5. Vasishtha I, 31. According to this rule the damsel is given

6. The union of a lover with a loving damsel (is called) the rite of the Gandharvas (gāndharva).

7. (If the bridegroom receives the maiden) after gladdening (the parents) by money, (that is) the rite of the Asuras (āśura).

8. (If the maiden is wedded) after being forcibly abducted, (that is) the rite of the Rākshasas (rākshasa).

9. If one has intercourse with (a maiden) who is sleeping, intoxicated, or out of her senses (with fear or passion and weds her afterwards, that is) the rite of the Pisākas (paisāka).

10. Among these (eight rites) the four first (named) are (lawful) for a Brāhmaṇa. Among these also each earlier named is preferable.

11. Among the (four) later (named rites) each succeeding one is more sinful (than the preceding ones).

12. Among these the sixth and the seventh agree with the law of the Kshatriyas. For power is their attribute.

as part of the sacrificial fee (dakṣiṇā) to one of the priests after a sacrifice has been completed. Govinda adds that the recipient has to accept the gift with the six mantras, 'pragāpati striyām yasaḥ,' Taitt. Brāhmaṇa II, 4, 6, 5. In his commentary on the passage Sāyana makes the same statement. Govinda adds that in this case as well as in those mentioned in the following Sūtras the regular marriage ceremony must be performed later.

6. Vasishṭha I, 33.

7. Vasishṭha I, 35.

8. Vasishṭha I, 34.

9. Vishṇu XXIV, 26.

10. Vishṇu XXIV, 27.

12. Vishṇu XXIV, 28; Vasishṭha I, 29; 34. The meaning of the last clause is that as, according to I, 10, 18, 3, Brahman placed power in the Kshatriyas, they may adopt marriage rites by which a disregard of conventionalities or strength is displayed.

13. The fifth and the eighth (are lawful) for Vaisyas and Sûdras.

14. For Vaisyas and Sûdras are not particular about their wives,

15. Because they are allowed (to subsist by such low occupations as) husbandry and service.

16. Some recommend the Gândharva rite for all (castes), because it is based on (mutual) affection.

PRAŚNA I, ADHYÂYA 11, KANDIKÂ 21.

1. The Veda declares, 'The quality of the offspring depends on the quality of the marriage rite.'

2. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'It is declared that a female who has been purchased for money is not a wife. She cannot (assist) at sacrifices offered to the gods or the manes. Kâsyapa has stated that she is a slave.'

13. 'I.e. the fifth for Vaisyas and the eighth for Sûdras.'—Govinda.

14. 'Those whose spouse, i.e. wife, is not restrained, i.e. not fixed by rule, are called not particular about their wives. The meaning is that there is oneness (dâreshvaikyam) with respect to wives, that fixed rules regarding them there are none (niyamas teshâm na bhavati).'—Govinda.

15. "'Husbandry" includes also trade and the like. Because those two (castes) are permitted to pursue low occupations, therefore their marriage rites are of the same description. That is what the author intends to say.'—Govinda.

21. 1. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 4.

2. Vasishtha I, 36-38. Govinda inserts after the words 'Now they quote also,' two Sûtras in prose: 1. 'Ten virtuous sons and daughters (spring) from a Daiva marriage, ten from a Prâgâpatya marriage. It is declared in the Veda that the son of a wife wedded according to the Brâhma rite (sanctifies) ten ancestors, ten descendants, and oneself.' 2. 'The power of learning the Veda also

3. 'Those wicked men who, seduced by greed, give away a daughter for a fee, who (thus) sell themselves and commit a great crime, fall (after death) into a dreadful place of punishment and destroy their family down to the seventh (generation). Moreover they will repeatedly die and be born again. All (this) is declared (to happen), if a fee (is taken).'

4. On the day of the full moon, on the eighth day (of each half month), on the day of the new moon, on the appearance of a meteor, on the occasion of an earthquake, on visiting a burial-ground, and on the death of the king of the country, of a Srotiṛya or of one who has the same Guru (satṛthya), the study of the Veda must be discontinued for a day and a night.

5. (The study of the Veda must be interrupted) while (a strong) wind (blows), a foul smell (is perceptible), or hoar-frost (lies on the ground), when dancing (is going on), and while the sounds of singing, musical instruments, weeping, or of the Sāman (melodies are audible).

6. When thunder, lightning, and rain come together, (the interruption shall last) three days except in the rainy season.

belongs to such sons.' None of my MSS. of the text has these words, and they are suspicious, because the phrase 'Now they quote also' usually precedes verses only. The Dekhan and Gugarât MSS., except K., omit these and the next Sūtra too.

4. Vasishṭha XIII, 22, 32-35; Vishṇu XXX, 23. Govinda explains agnyutpāta, 'on the appearance of meteor,' by 'if a fire breaks out in the village.'

5. Vasishṭha XIII, 17, 30; Vishṇu XXX, 7, 13; Āpastamba I, 3, 11, 31; I, 3, 10, 17.

6. Gautama XVI, 41.



7. In the rainy season, too, (the reading must be interrupted) until the same hour of the (next) day or night, (if thunder and lightning come together), not on account of rain.

8. If (he has) received anything or dined on the occasion of a sacrifice in honour of the manes, (he shall not read) during the remainder of the day,

9. (Nor) after meals until (the food) has been digested.

10. For the hand of a Brâhmana is his mouth.

11. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'According to the revealed texts there is no difference whether one has eaten or received (a present at a Srâddha).'

12. (A student shall discontinue the study of the Veda) during three days in case his father has died.

13. 'Of two kinds, forsooth, is the virile energy of a famous Brâhmana who is learned in the Vedas, (that which resides) above the navel and the other (that resides) below the navel. Through that which

7. Govinda takes *ahorâtrayor ka tatkâlam* to mean until the end of the day or night.

8. *Vasish/ha XIII, 15.* Govinda adds that the recitation must be stopped as soon as the invitation to a *Srâddha* is received.

9. *Vasish/ha XIII, 31.*

10. *Vasish/ha XIII, 16.* The word 'for' used in this *Sûtra* gives the reason for the rule in *Sûtra 8.*

12. 'This (rule) refers to a student who has not returned home. But on one who has returned home it is obligatory to interrupt the Veda-study until he becomes pure. Here he calls the sub-teacher (*upâdhyâya*) "father," because he gives the Veda. For (an interruption of) twelve days' duration is prescribed on (the death of) a real father (by the *Sûtra*); "on the death of the mother, the father, and the teacher twelve days."—Govinda.

13. *Vasish/ha II, 5.* This *Sûtra* is intended to show how the

(resides) above the navel, his offspring is produced when he initiates Brāhmaṇas, when he teaches them, when he causes them to offer sacrifices, when he makes them holy. All these are his children. But through that which resides below the navel the children of his body are produced. Therefore they never say to a Srottriya who is versed in the Vedas, 'Thou art destitute of offspring.'

14. 'Therefore a Brāhmaṇa has two names, two mouths, two kinds of virile energy, and two births.'

15. (Let him discontinue the recitation of the Veda) as long as he is within hearing or sight of Sūdras and Apapātras.

16. When at night the howl of a solitary jackal is heard, he shall not study until he has slept.

17. Let him not study in the evening and morning twilights nor on the Parva-days.

18. He shall not eat meat nor approach his wife (on those days).

19. It is declared in the Veda, 'For on the Parva-days the Rākshasas and the Pisākas roam about (in order to injure men).'

20. And on (the appearance of) other omens and portents (he shall not repeat the Veda), except mentally, during a day and a night.

Upādhyāya can be called a father. Govinda states that the precise meaning of anūṭāna, 'versed or learned in the Veda,' is 'one who knows the Veda, its meaning, and the Āṅgas.' See also Baudhāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra I, 10, 5.

15. Vasishṭha XVIII, 12. Regarding the term Apapātras, see Āpastamba I, 1, 3, 25 note.

16. Āpastamba I, 3, 10, 17.

17. Vasishṭha XIII, 22. The explanation of the term Parva-day is given below, Sūtra 22.

18. Vishṇu LXIX, 1.

21. The mental recitation of the Veda must also be interrupted on births and deaths (occurring in the family).

22. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'The eighth day destroys the teacher, the fourteenth destroys the pupil, the fifteenth destroys learning; therefore let him avoid (studying the Veda) on the Parva-days.'

PRAŚNA II, ADHYĀYA 1, KANDIKĀ 1.

1. Now, therefore, the penances (will be described).

2. The murderer of a learned Brāhmaṇa (shall practise the following vow) during twelve years:

3. Carrying a skull (instead of a dish) and the foot of a bedstead (instead of a staff), dressed in the hide of an ass, staying in the forest, making a dead man's skull his flag, he shall cause a hut to be built in a burial-ground and reside there; going to seven houses in order to beg food, while proclaiming his deed, he shall support life with what (he gets there), and shall fast if he obtains nothing;

4. Or he may offer a horse-sacrifice, a Gosava, or an Agnishṭut;

22. Vishṇu XXX, 29-30. In accordance with the practice usual in Vedic works the best MSS. of the text repeat the beginning of each *Kandikā* at the end of the *Praśna*, giving the last first.

1. 2-3. Gautama XXII, 4-6; Vishṇu L, 1-3, 15. The expression 'staying in the forest' means that the sinner shall not stop in the village or the fields during the day-time, but live in some uncultivated tract in the neighbourhood.

4. Gautama XIX, 9-10. The Gosava sacrifice is an *Ekāha*; see *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XXII, 11, 3.

5. Or he may bathe (with the priests) on the completion of a horse-sacrifice (offered by somebody else).

6. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'He who unintentionally slays a Brāhmaṇa becomes sinful according to the sacred law. The sages declare that he may be purified (if he did it) unintentionally. But no expiation is found for a wilful murderer.'

7. 'He who has raised his hand (against a Brāhmaṇa), shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance, an *Atikrikkhra* penance if he strikes, a *Krikkhra* and a *Kāndrāyana* if blood flows. Therefore let him neither raise his hand nor cause blood to flow.'

8. (For killing) a Kshatriya (he shall keep the normal vow of continence) during nine years,

9. (For killing) a Vaisya during three (years),

10. (For killing) a Sūdra during one year,

11. Likewise for killing a woman.

12. (The penance for killing) a woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness (is) the same (as that) for (the murder of) a Brāhmaṇa.

5. Gautama XXII, 9.

6. Manu XI, 90.

7. Yāgyavalkya III, 293. Regarding the penances named, see Vasishṭha XXI, 20, XXIV, 1-2, XXIII, 45, and below, II, 1, 2, 38, IV, 5, 6.

8-10. Vasishṭha XX, 31-33. The words 'shall keep the normal vow of continence' have been inserted in accordance with Govinda's explanation, which apparently is based on Gautama XXII, 14. But it is also possible that Baudhāyana, like Vishnu (L, 15) and others, may have intended murderers of Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, &c., too, to perform the penance prescribed above, Sūtra 4, only for shorter periods.

11. Gautama XXII, 17. Govinda is of opinion that the word *kā*, 'likewise,' is intended to include 'worthless' Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

12. Vasishṭha XX, 34-35.

13. He who has defiled the bed of a Guru shall place himself on a heated iron bed,

14. Or embrace a red hot image (of a woman),

15. Or cutting off his organ together with the testicles and holding them in his joined hands, he shall walk towards the south-west until he falls down (dead).

16. A thief shall go to the king with flying hair, carrying on his shoulder a club of Sindhraka wood (and say), 'Strike me with that.' (Then the king) shall strike him.

17. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'A thief shall go to the king carrying a club on his shoulder (and say to him), 'Punish me with that, O king, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas.'

'Whether he be punished or be pardoned, the thief is freed from his guilt. But if the king does not punish him, that guilt of the thief falls on him.'

18. If he has drunk (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ, he shall scald himself to death with hot (liquor of the) same (kind).

19. For unintentionally drinking (Surâ), he shall perform *Krikkhra* penances during three months and be initiated again,

20. And (on this second initiation) the cutting (of

13-15. Gautama XXIII, 8-10; Vasishtha XX, 13, 14.

16. Vasishtha XX, 41. 'A thief,' i.e. one who has stolen gold from a Brâhmana.

17. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 4-5.

18. Vasishtha XX, 22. Surâ, i.e. the spirituous liquor extracted from rice, to drink which is considered a particularly heinous crime. Vasishtha XX, 19, and loc. cit.

19. Vasishtha XX, 19.

20. Vishnu LI, 5. The vows and restrictive rules, i.e. the Sâvitrya vow, begging, &c.

the hair and nails), the vows, and (the observance of the) restrictive rules may be omitted.

21. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'A Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, or Vaisya who has unintentionally drunk (the spirituous liquor called) Vāruṇī or has swallowed urine or faeces must be initiated a second time.'

22. 'But he who drinks water which has stood in a vessel, used for keeping Surā, shall live six days on milk in which (leaves of) the Saṅkhapusht plant have been boiled.'

23. If (a pupil) who is employed by his teacher (on some errand) meets with his death, (the teacher) shall perform three *Krikkhṛa* penances.

24. The same (penance) is prescribed for not finishing (the education of the pupil).

25. If a student assists at the burial of anybody except (at that of his) mother, of his father, or of his teacher, he must begin his vow afresh.

26. If a (student) is sick, he may, at his pleasure, eat all the fragments of his teacher's meal as medicine.

27. He may physic himself with any (medicine) which he may desire.

21. Vishṇu LI, 2-4.

22. Vishṇu LI, 23.

23. Vasishṭha XXIII, 10.

24. 'Finishing (the education of the pupil, *samskrītam*), i.e. teaching him the rules of purification, of conduct, and so forth; failing (to do) that (is called) not finishing (the education of the pupil). For that (omission) the same (penance), i.e. three *Krikkhṛas* (are to be) performed.'—Govinda.

25. Vasishṭha XXIII, 7-8. 'Assists at a burial (*savakarma*), i.e. lays out a corpse, and so forth (*ālamkaranādi*), or carries it out, and so forth.'—Govinda.

26. Vasishṭha XXIII, 9, and note.

27. 'The meaning is that he may cure himself even with such

28. When he is unable to move, he may worship the sun, after he has risen, reciting this (*Rîk* verse): 'A swan, dwelling in purity.'

29. When he has spent his manly strength in the day-time, let him thrice drink water that reaches his heart, reciting the verses which contain the word *retas*.

30. A student who approaches a woman (is called) an *Avakîrvin*,

31. Let him offer an ass (in the place of) a sacrificial animal.

32. The sacrificial meat-cake (*puroḍāsa* shall be offered) to *Nirvṛiti*, or to the *Rākshasas*, or to *Yama*.

33. It is declared in the *Veda*, 'The piece to be eaten by the sacrificer (*prâsitra*, shall be taken) from the organ (of the animal); and the (other) portions shall be offered in water.'

34. 'Or he may also heap (fuel) on the fire in the night of the new moon, perform the preparatory rites required for the *Darvîthoma*, and offer two

(substances) which are forbidden even to his teacher, e. g. garlic, and so forth.' For a *Smṛiti* declares, 'He shall protect himself by every means.'—Govinda.

28. 'Unable to move,' i. e. sick. This is a penance to be performed by a sick student when he is unable to fulfil the rules enjoining the morning and evening prayers, and the like; and it applies to other men also because there is no objection. Regarding the *Mantra*, see *Taittirîya Saṃhitâ* I, 8, 15, 2.

29. The rule refers to intercourse with a wife in the day-time; see *Vishnu* LIII, 4. The *Retasyâs* occur *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka* I, 30.

30. *Vasishṭha* XXIII, 1.

33. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 102; *Kâtyâyana Śrauta Sûtra* I, 1, 15.

34. *Taitt. Âraṇyaka* II, 18. The *Âraṇyaka* has, more appropriately, *prañîya*, 'having taken out,' before *upasamâdhâya*, 'may heap (fuel) upon.' The *Dekhan* and *Gugarât MSS.* insert the words '*amṛitam*

oblations of clarified butter (reciting these two sacred texts): "O Lust, I have broken my vow; my vow have I broken, O Lust; to Lust Svâhâ;" "O Lust, I have done evil; evil have I done, O Lust; to Lust Svâhâ."

35. 'After he has made the offering, he shall address the fire, closely joining his hands, turning sideways (with the following texts): "May the Maruts grant me, may Indra, may Brîhaspati, may this fire grant me long life and strength, may it make me long-lived!"'

36. Now the relatives shall empty (the water-pot) of a (grievous offender) at a (solemn) meeting (and he shall confess), 'I N. N. am (the perpetrator of) such and such (a deed).' After (the outcast) has performed (his penance) the Brâhmanas shall ask him who has touched water, milk, clarified butter, honey, and salt, 'Hast thou performed (thy penance)?' The other (person) shall answer, 'Om' (yes)! They shall admit him who has performed (a penance) to all sacrificial rites, making no difference (between him and others).

37. If he unintentionally marries a female who belongs to his own family (gotra), he shall support her, (treating her) like his mother.

vâ âgyam amṛitam evâtman dhatte,' which occur also in the Âraṇyaka, after the Mantra. According to Govinda parīkṣhā, 'preparatory rites,' refers to the consecration of the clarified butter, and so forth. The special rules regarding the Darvîthomas are given Kâtyâyana Śrauta Sûtra VI, 10, 17 seq.

36. Vasishṭha XV, 12-21. Govinda thinks that nirvîśesham savanîyam kuryuḥ, 'they shall admit him to all sacrificial rites, making no difference,' may also be interpreted by 'they shall perform for him the sacraments just as for a new-born child.'

37. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCXL.

38. If (such a woman) has borne a child, he shall perform *Krikkhra* penances during three months and offer (two burnt oblations reciting) the two (Mantras), 'That which is the blemish of my soul' (and) 'Fire restored my sight.'

39. 'An elder brother whose younger brother marries first, the younger brother who marries first, the damsel wedded (by the latter), he who gives her away, and fifthly he who sacrifices for them (at the wedding), all sink to a region of torment.'

40. 'The unmarried elder brother and the married younger brother, the giver (of the maiden) and the performer of the sacrifices become pure by undergoing a *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days, the female (who has been wedded to the younger brother) by (fasting during) three days.'

PRASNA II, ADHYÂYA 1, KANDIKÂ 2.

1. Now (follow the offences) causing loss of caste (patanīya),

2. (Viz.) making voyages by sea,

38. The Mantras are found, *Taittirīya Samhitā* III, 2, 5, 4.

39. *Vasishṭha* XX, 7-8. The MSS. read *parivittāḥ parivettā yas kṛinām* [nam] *parivindati*. But it is absolutely necessary to adopt either the various reading given *Manu* III, 172, *yayā ka parividyate*, or to read *yā kṛinām parivindati*.

40. The MSS. all read at the end of the verse, *tristrirātrena* or *dvistrirātrena*. The correct reading appears, however, to be *strī trirātrena*; for *Govinda* says, *yayā saha parivettā bhūtas* [*bhūttasya* C. I., *bhūttassāstri* C. T.] *tasyās trirātrenopavāsena suddhiḥ*, 'the purification of that female with whom he has become a *parivettṛ* takes place through three days, i. e. through fasting (three days).'

2. 1. *Āpastamba* I, 7, 21, 7-11.

2. *Govinda* explains *samudrasamyānam*, 'making voyages by sea,' by 'voyaging by means of ships to another continent (*dvīpa*).'

3. Stealing the property of a Brāhmaṇa or a deposit,

4. Giving false evidence regarding land,

5. Trading with merchandise of any description (whether forbidden or not),

6. Serving Sūdras,

7. Begetting a son on a female of the Sūdra caste,

8. And becoming thereby her son.

9. (For those who have) committed one of these (offences the following penance is prescribed):

10. 'They shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe at the time of the three libations (morning, noon, and evening), passing (the day) standing and (the night) sitting. After the lapse of three years they throw off their guilt.'

11. 'A Brāhmaṇa removes the sin which he committed by serving the black race during one day and one night, if he bathes during three years at every fourth meal-time.'

7. The MSS. from Gugarāt and the Dekhan read instead of this and the next Sūtras, *yaśka sūdrāyām abhipragāyate tadapatyam ka bhavati*, 'and he who begets (offspring) on a Sūdra female, and thereby becomes her son.'

8. Govinda explains the Sūtra as a prohibition against allowing oneself to be adopted by a Sūdra (*sūdraputrabhāvaḥ* + *tavāham putro* 'smīty upagīvanam).

9. The Dekhan and Gugarāt MSS. again have a different reading, *teshām tu nisveshaḥ*, 'but the atonement of these offences (is as follows).'

10. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 10. All the MSS. read in the last pāda 'tribhir varshais tad apahanti pāpam.' The correct reading is that given by Âpastamba loc. cit., 'tribhir varshair apa pāpam nudante.'

11. Âpastamba I, 9, 27, 11. Govinda explains the Sūtra as referring to cohabitation with a female of the 'black race.' By the latter term he understands a *Kāṇḍālī*, adding that others believe

12. Now (follow) the minor offences, entailing loss of caste (upapâtaka),

13. (Viz.) intercourse with females who must not be approached (agamyâ, e. g.) cohabitation with the female friend of a female Guru, with the female friend of a male Guru, with an Apapâtra woman, and a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, sacrificing for many, living by (performances on) the stage, following the profession of a teacher of dancing, singing and acting, tending cows and buffalos, and similar (low occupations, as well as) fornication.

14. The expiation (prescribed) for these (offences is) to live as an outcast during two years.

a Sûdra female to be intended. It is, however, more probable that Baudhâyana took the verse to forbid twice-born men to serve Sûdras.

12. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 9.

13. Gautama XXI, 11. In explanation of the term agamyâ, 'a female who must not be approached,' Govinda quotes Nârada XII, 73-74, and he takes the four classes of females, who are specially mentioned, not as examples illustrating the term agamyâ, but as not included in and additional to the latter. Physicians and the other professional men enumerated are usually not mentioned among the upapâtakins, but occur in the lists of those whose gifts must not be accepted, and of those who defile the company at a funeral dinner, e. g. Vasishtha III, 3; XIV, 2, 3, 11. The expression 'sacrificing for many' (grâmayâganam) appears to be a description of the so-called Yagamâna Vrâtti, by which the modern Bhattas, or priests who officiate for hire, subsist. In explanation of the term nâtyâkâryatâ, 'following the profession of teaching dancing, music, and acting,' Govinda says that 'instruction in the works of Bharata, Visâkhila, and others' is intended. Baudhâyana no doubt intends to forbid the instruction of professional dancers and actors in actual works on their art, such as the nâtya-sûtras mentioned by Pânini.

14. 'To live as an outcast, i. e. to subsist by begging.'—Govinda.

15. Now (follow the offences) which make men impure (*asuḥikara*),

16. (Viz.) gambling, performing incantations, subsisting by gleaning corn though one does not perform an Agnihotra, subsisting by alms after one has finished one's studentship, living, after that has been finished, longer than four months in the house of one's teacher, and teaching such a (person who has finished his studentship), gaining one's livelihood by astrology and so forth.

17. But the expiation of these (offences is to perform penances) during twelve months, during twelve fortnights, during twelve times ten days, during twelve se'nights, during twelve times three days, during twelve days, during six days, during three days, during a day and a night, during one day, in proportion to the offence committed.

18. Now outcasts shall live together and (together) fulfil their duties, sacrificing for each other, teaching each other, and marrying amongst each other. If they have begot sons, they shall say to them, 'Depart from among us; thus you will again reach the Āryas.'

19. For the organs do not become impure together with the man.

20. (The truth of) that may be learned from this (parallel case); a man deficient in limbs begets a son who has the full number of limbs.

21. Hārta declares that this is wrong.

22. For wives may be (considered) similar to the

15. Āpastamba I, 7, 21, 12-19; I, 10, 29, 15.

16. Govinda is probably right in asserting that the word *ka*, 'and (so forth)', is intended to include other not-named offences.

17. Āpastamba I, 10, 29, 17-18.

18-23. Āpastamba I, 10, 29, 8-14.

vessel which contains the curds (for the sacrifice). If one makes impure milk curdle in a milk-vessel and stirs it, the Śishyas do not use the (curds thus produced) for sacred rites.

23. In like manner no intercourse can be held with that (offspring) which is produced from impure seed.

24. If they desire it, (they may perform) a penance,

25. (Viz. in the case of males) the third part (of the penance prescribed) for crimes causing loss of caste (patantya); for females the third part (of that).

26. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'If he applies sesamum to any other purpose, but food, anointing, and charitable gifts, he will be born again as a worm and, together with his ancestors, be plunged into the ordure of dogs.'

27. He who sells sesamum, forsooth, sells his ancestors; he who sells rice, forsooth, sells his life; he who gives away his daughter, making a bargain, forsooth, sells portions of his spiritual merit.

28. Grass and wood, in its natural state, may be sold.

29. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Animals that have teeth in one jaw only, as well as minerals excepting salt, and undyed thread, these, O Brâhmaṇa, are the goods which thou art permitted to sell.'

30. (If he has committed) any offence excepting a

25. I. e. males shall live, according to the rules given above in Sûtras 10-11, during one year, and females during four months.

26. Vasishṭha II, 30.

28. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 2.

29. The permission to sell 'stones' or minerals contradicts Vasishṭha II, 24.

30. Regarding the definition of the term 'anûkâna,' see above, I, 11, 21, 13.

mortal sin (pâtaka) he may either give to a learned Brâhmana (anûkâna) a hairy cow of brown or reddish colour, after sprinkling her with clarified butter and scattering black sesamum seeds over her ;

31. Or (he may offer burnt oblations), reciting the Kûshmândas, during twelve days.

32. '(Thus) he will be freed from the guilt (of any crime that is) less (heinous) than the murder of a learned Brâhmana.'

33. If one is accused of a mortal sin (pâtaka), a *Krikkhra* (penance must be performed by the accused).

34. The accuser (shall perform) that (*Krikkhra* penance during) a year.

35. 'He who during a year associates with an outcast, becomes (likewise) an outcast ; not by sacrificing for him, by teaching him or by (forming) a matrimonial (alliance with him), but by using the same carriage or seat.'

36. The penance for eating impure substances is to fast until the entrails are empty. That is attained in seven (days and) nights.

31. Regarding the efficacy of the Kûshmânda texts, see e.g. Gautama XIX, 12 ; XXII, 36.

33. Vasishtha XXIII, 37-38.

34. Vasishtha XXIII, 39.

35. Vasishtha I, 22.

36. Âpastamba I, 9, 27, 3-4 ; Vasishtha XXIII, 30. I follow here the Gugarât and Dekhan MSS., which read *amedhyaprâsane prâyaskittir naishpurîshyam tat saptarâtrenâvâpyate*. M. and the two MSS. of the commentary give *amedhyaprâsane prâyaskittam* and leave the remainder out. The commentary states that the penance intended is the *Taptakrikkhra*, described in the next Sûtra. The parallel passages of Âpastamba and others leave no doubt that the northern MSS. in this case have preserved the older form of the text.

37. (Subsisting on) water, milk, clarified butter, (and) fasting,—each for three days,—(and taking the three fluids) hot, that is a *Taptakrikkhra* penance.

38. (Eating) during three days in the morning only, during the (next) three days in the evening only, (subsisting) during (another) three days (on) food given unasked, and fasting during three days, (that is) a *Krikkhra* penance.

39. (If the period of twelve days is divided into) three (periods of) four days, that is the *Krikkhra* penance of women, children, and aged men.

40. If (observing the rule given) above one eats (at each meal) so much only as one can take at one (mouthful), that is an *Atikrikkhra* penance.

41. (If one) subsists on water only, that is a *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra*, the third (in the order of the *Krikkhra* penances).

42. During a *Krikkhra* penance (the following rules must be followed, viz.) to bathe at morn, noon, and evening,

43. To sleep on the ground,

44. To wear one garment only, to shave the hair of the head, of the beard, and of the body, and to clip the nails.

45. The same (rules apply) to women except (that referring to) shaving the head.

37. *Vasishtha* XXI, 21.

38. *Vasishtha* XXI, 20. M. and the two MSS. of the commentary omit the word '*krikkhra*' at the end of the *Sûtra*.

39. *Vasishtha* XXIII, 43.

40. *Vasishtha* XXIV, 2.

41. *Vasishtha* XXIV, 3. Govinda gives another explanation of the word *trîṣyaḥ*, 'the third,' according to which it is to refer to the third *tryaḥ*, or 'period of three days.'

42-44. *Vasishtha* XXIV, 4-5.

PRASNA II, ADHYĀYA 2, KANDIKĀ 3.

1. A Brāhmaṇa who always carries water (in his pot), who always wears the sacred thread, who daily recites the Veda, who avoids the food of Sūdras, who approaches (his wife) in the proper season, and offers sacrifices in accordance with the rules (of the Veda, after death) never falls from Brahman's heaven.

2. The Veda (says), 'Manu divided his estate among his sons.'

3. (A father may, therefore, divide his property) equally among all, without (making any) difference ;

4. Or the eldest may receive the most excellent chattel.

5. (For) the Veda says, 'Therefore, they distinguish the eldest by (an additional share of the) property.'

6. Or the eldest may receive (in excess) one part out of ten ;

7. (And) the other (sons) shall receive equal shares.

8. While the father lives, the division of the estate takes place (only) with the permission of the father.

3. 1. Vasishṭha VIII, 17.

2. Taittirīya Samhitā III, 1, 9, 4.

3. Colebrooke V, Dig. XL. Govinda points out that this rule refers to sons equal by caste, origin, and virtue.

4. Colebrooke, loc. cit. ; Vishṇu XVIII, 37.

5. Taittirīya Samhitā II, 5, 2, 7. See also the discussion on this text, Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 10-13.

6. Colebrooke, loc. cit. ; Vasishṭha XVII, 43.

7. Colebrooke, loc. cit. ; Gautama XXVIII, 8.

8. Colebrooke V, Dig. XXII ; Dâyaabhāga II, 8. In C.'s Digest

9. The (additional) share of the eldest is, (according to the order) of the four castes, a cow, a horse, a goat, and a sheep.

10. If there are sons born of wives of different castes (*varṇa*), they should make ten portions of the ancestral property and take four (shares), three, two, (and) one, according to the order (of the castes).

11. But if a legitimate son of the body (*aurasa*) is born, the (other) sons of equal caste shall obtain one third share (of the estate).

12. If there is a son of equal caste and a son of

the first clause is omitted and connected with the following Sūtra. Govinda agrees with *Gīmûtavāhana*.

9. Colebrooke V, Dig. XLIX. The rule is an explanation of the term *varam rūpam*, 'the most excellent chattel,' in Sūtra 4. The meaning probably is, as the Digest states, that among Brāhmanas it is usual to give to the eldest a bull, among Kshatriyas a horse, and so forth.

10. *Vasishṭha* XVII, 48-50; *Vishnu* XVIII, 2-40; where the several cases that can arise have been fully worked out.

11. I translate according to the reading of K., M., and the two MSS. of the commentary, *aurase tūtpanne savarnās* ['nas, M., K.] *trītiyāmsaharāḥ* ['yāmsam haret, K.] The other MSS. omit the last two words of the Sūtra. The sense of the Sūtra seems to be, that subsidiary sons of equal caste obtain a third of the estate when a legitimate son of the body is born to their father; see also *Kātyāyana* V, Dig. CCXVIII. Govinda gives the following explanation: *aurasaḥ savarnaputrās ka vakshyante* | *aurasaḥ savarnâyām samskrītâyām svayam utpādītaḥ* [Sūtra 14] | *tasminnutpanne savarnās trītiyāmsaharā bhaveyuh* | *sarvam dhanagātam tredhā vibhagya teshām ekam shodasa sampādya trīn dvāvekam iti kalpayet* || 'The legitimate son and the sons of equal caste will be described (below). He is called a legitimate son who is begotten by the husband himself on a wedded wife of equal caste. When such a one is born, the (other) sons of equal caste shall obtain one third share. Dividing the whole property into three parts, and making one of them sixteen (?), he shall give three, two, one.'—Govinda.

12. Colebrooke V, Dig. CLVII; *Dāyabhāga* IX, 15.

a wife of the next lower caste, the son born of the wife of the next lower caste may take the share of the eldest, provided he be endowed with good qualities.

13. (A son) who possesses good qualities becomes the protector of the rest.

14. One must know a son begotten by (the husband) himself on a wedded wife of equal caste (to be) a legitimate son of the body (aurasa).

Now they quote also (the following verse): 'From the several limbs (of my body) art thou produced, from my heart art thou born; thou art "self" called a son; mayest thou live a hundred autumns.'

15. The (male child) born of a daughter, after an agreement has been made, (one must know to be) the son of an appointed daughter (putrikâputra); any other (male offspring of a daughter they call) a daughter's son (dauhitra).

16. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'The son of an appointed daughter should offer the first funeral cake to his mother, the second to her father, and the third to his father's father.'

17. He who is begotten, by another man, on the wife of a deceased man, of a eunuch, or of one (incurably) diseased, after permission (has been given), is called the son begotten on a wife (kshetrâga).

13. Colebrooke, loc. cit.

14. Colebrooke V, Dig. CXCVI; Vasishṭha XVII, 13. The verse is found in the Mahâbhârata and elsewhere.

15. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCXIII; Vasishṭha XVII, 15-17.

17. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCXXXVII; Dâyaabhâga II, 60; Vasishṭha XVII, 14.

18. Such a (son begotten on a wife) has two fathers and belongs to two families; he has a right to perform the funeral oblations, and to inherit the property of (his) two (fathers).

19. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'The son of two fathers shall give the funeral cakes (to his two fathers, and pronounce) two names with each oblation, and three cakes shall serve for six persons; he who acts thus will not err.'

20. He (is called) an adopted son (*datta*) who, being given by his father and his mother, or by either of the two, is received in the place of a child.

21. He (is called) a son made (*kr̥itr̥ima*) whom (a man) himself makes (his son), with the (adopter's) consent (only), and who belongs to the same caste (as the adopter).

22. He is called a son born secretly (*gūḍhaga*) who is secretly born in the house and whose (origin is) afterwards (only) recognised.

23. He is called a son cast off (*apavidḍha*) who, being cast off by his father and his mother, or by either (of them), is received in the place of a child.

24. If anybody approaches an unmarried girl without the permission (of her father or guardian), the son born by such (a woman is called) the son of an unmarried damsel (*kāñina*).

18. Colebrooke Dig., loc. cit.

20. Vasishṭha XVII, 28.

21. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCLXXXIV; Gautama XXVIII, 32.

22. Vasishṭha XVII, 24.

23. Vishṇu XV, 24-25.

24. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCLXI; Vasishṭha XVII, 21-23. It must be understood that the father must belong to the same caste as the girl.

25. If one marries either knowingly or unknowingly a pregnant bride, the child which is born of her is called (a son) taken with the bride (*sahodha*).

26. He (is called a son) bought (*krīta*) who, being purchased from his father and his mother, or from either of them, is received in the place of a child.

27. He (is called the son) of a twice-married woman (*paunarbhava*) who is born of a re-married female, (i. e.) of one who, having left an impotent man, has taken a second husband.

28. He (is called) a self-given (son, *svayam-datta*) who, abandoned by his father and his mother, gives himself (to a stranger).

29. He who is begotten by (a man of) the first twice-born (caste) on a female of the *Sūdra* caste (is called) a *Nishāda*.

30. (He who was begotten by the same parents) through lust (is called) a *Pārasava*. Thus (the various kinds of) sons (have been enumerated).

31. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'They declare the legitimate son, the son of an appointed daughter, the son begotten on a wife, the adopted son and the son made, the son born secretly and the son cast off, (to be entitled) to share the inheritance.'

32. 'They declare the son of an unmarried damsel and the son received with the bride, the son bought,

25. *Vasishṭha* XVII, 27.

26. *Colebrooke* V, Dig. CCLXXXI; *Vasishṭha* XVII, 30-32.

27. *Vasishṭha* XVII, 18-20.

28. *Vasishṭha* XVII, 33-35.

30. *Colebrooke* V, Dig. CCXCIII. Govinda points out that the *Pārasava* is, according to *Baudhāyana*, the offspring of a *Sūdrā* concubine, not of a *Sūdrā* wife. But see also above, I, 9, 17, 4.

31. *Colebrooke* V, Dig. CLXXX; *Vasishṭha* XVII, 25.

32. *Colebrooke* V, Dig. CLXXIX; *Vasishṭha* XVII, 26.

likewise the son of a twice-married female, the son self-given and the Nishâda, to be members of the family.'

33. Aupagandhani (declares that) the first among them alone (is entitled to inherit, and a member of his father's family).

34. 'Now, O Ganaka, I jealously watch my wives, (though I did) not (do it) formerly; for they have declared in Yama's court that the son belongs to the begetter. The giver of the seed carries off the son, after death, in Yama's hall. Therefore they carefully protect their wives, fearing the seed of strangers.'

35. 'Carefully watch (the procreation of your) offspring, lest strange seed fall on your soil. After death the son belongs to the begetter; through carelessness a husband makes (the procreation of) a son useless.'

36. Let them carefully protect the shares of

33-34. Aupagandhani is one of the ancient teachers of the White Yagur-veda, mentioned in the lists incorporated in the Sata-patha-brâhmaṇa XIV, 5, 5, 21; 7, 3, 26. The legends of the White Yagur-veda frequently mention king Ganaka of Videha, and assert that that philosopher king had frequent and intimate intercourse with Yâgñavalkya and other teachers of the Veda which Âditya revealed. It seems to me, therefore, highly probable that Govinda is right in taking the vocative ganaka in Sûtra 34 as a proper name, and in asserting that the verse belongs to a conversation between Aupagandhani and Ganaka. This explanation, which possibly may be based on an ancient tradition of Baudhâyana's school, is certainly preferable to Haradatta's statement on Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 7, that these verses express the sentiments of a husband who had neglected to watch his wives, and later learned that he would not derive any spiritual benefit from their offspring. In the text of Sûtra 34 I read with the Dekhan MSS. and Âpastamba, loc. cit., îrshyâmi, instead of ishyâmi, which M. and the commentary give.

36. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCCLII; Vasishṭha XVI, 8, 9. 'The

those who are minors, as well as the increments (thereon).

37. Granting food, clothes, (and shelter), they shall support those who are incapable of transacting legal business,

38. (Viz.) the blind, idiots, those immersed in vice, the incurably diseased, and so forth,

39. Those who neglect their duties and occupations;

40. But not the outcast nor his offspring.

41. Intercourse with outcasts shall not take place.

42. But he shall support an outcast mother, without speaking to her.

43. The daughters shall obtain the ornaments of their mother, (as many as are) presented according to the custom (of the caste), or anything else (that may be given according to custom).

increments, i.e. the proper interest. Thus the money of minors shall bear interest.'—Govinda.

37. Colebrooke V, Dig. CCCXXVIII; Dāyabhāga V, 12; Vyavahāramayūkha IV, 11, 10; Vasishṭha XVII, 52-54.

38. Colebrooke and Mayūkha, loc. cit. 'The expression "and so forth" includes hunchbacks and other (disabled) persons.'—Govinda. Vyasanin, 'immersed in vice,' may also mean 'afflicted by calamities,' and is perhaps intended to be taken both ways.

39. Colebrooke and Mayūkha, loc. cit. Akarminas, 'those who neglect their duties and occupations,' i.e. those who though able (to fulfil their duties are) indolent.—Govinda.

40. Colebrooke and Mayūkha, loc. cit.; Burnell, Dāyabhāga 49.

42. Gautama XXI, 15, and note.

43. Colebrooke V, Dig. CXXX; Vasishṭha XVII, 46. 'Sâm-pradâyikam (literally "customary") qualifies (the word) ornaments; sâm-pradâyikam (means) what is obtained according to custom; what is given to their mother by the maternal grandfather and grandmother, that (is called) sâm-pradâyikam. "Or anything else," (viz.) presented according to custom, (e.g.) a bedstead and the

44. Women do not possess independence.

45. Now they quote also (the following verse):
'Their father protects (them) in childhood, their husband protects (them) in youth, and their sons protect (them) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.'

46. The Veda declares, 'Therefore women are considered to be destitute of strength and of a portion.'

like, a couch, and an outer garment, and the like. So much and nothing else shall the daughters receive.'—Govinda.

44. *Vasishṭha* V, 1. All the MSS. of the text read *na strisvātantryam vidyate*, while the text given by the two copies of the commentary has *na strī svātantryam vindate*. Govinda asserts that the *Sūtra* is intended to forbid the independent action of women with respect to things inherited. The correct view probably is that with this *Sūtra* the topic of the duties and rights of women begins, and that the rule contains a general maxim.

45. *Vasishṭha* V, 2.

46. *Colebrooke* V, Dig. CXXXI. The text is in great confusion. The *Dekhan* and *Gugarāt* MSS., except K., read, *na dāyam nirindriyā hyadâyās ka striyo matâ iti srutiḥ*; K. has, *tasmât[n]-nirindriyâ hy. st. m. i. sr. || tasmât striyo nirindriyâ adâyâdîr api pâpât*; while M. and the I. O. copy of the commentary have, *tasmân-nirindriyâ adâyâs ka striyo matâ iti srutiḥ [sûtiḥ, M.]* The *Telugu* copy is mutilated, and reads *nâdayantiriti srutiḥ*. Though the reading of the *Dekhan* MSS. is supported by *Mitramisra Vîramitrodaya*, fol. 209, p. 1, l. 3, it is certainly not the original one, for there is no verb by which the accusative 'dāyam' is governed. *Mitramisra's* attempt to make it depend on 'arhati' in the verse quoted in *Sūtra* 45 is futile, because, according to the usage of the *Sūtrakâras*, a *Sūtra* may be completed by a verb taken from another original aphorism of the author, but cannot be connected with a portion of a quotation taken from some other work. This same principle, of course, applies not only to *Sūtras*, but to the writings of all other authors, whether Indian or European. The reading of K., M., and of the I. O. copy of the commentary is not open to the objection just mentioned, and therefore preferable. But it seems to me highly probable that, nevertheless, it is not

47. Those (women) who strive (to do what is) agreeable to their husbands will gain heaven.

48. But for a violation (of their duty towards the husband) a *Krikkhra* penance (must be performed).

49. (For violating it) with a *Sûdra* (a woman) shall perform a lunar penance (*kândrâyana*);

50. (For violating it) against the order of the castes with a *Vaisya* and so forth, she shall perform a *Krikkhra* or an (*Atikrikkhra*) penance.

51. For male (offenders, i.e.) *Brâhmanas* and so forth, a year's chastity (is prescribed).

quite genuine; for the word 'tasmât,' with which it begins, is not required, because its sense is already expressed by the following 'hi,' and because the *Sûtra* apparently contains half an *Anushûbh* *Sloka*, which the insertion of *tasmât* destroys. It is also easy to see how it came to be inserted. Every *Yagurvedî* who read the passage would be reminded of the analogous passage of the *Taittiriya Samhitâ* VI, 5, 8, 2, 'tasmât striyo nirindriyâ adâyâdîr api pâpât pumsaḥ upastitaram,' which in K. has actually been inserted after our *Sûtra*. In the Vedic Mantra 'tasmât' is required, and is certainly the genuine reading. Hence it seems to have been transferred into *Baudhâyana's* text, possibly by the mistake of some scribe who, according to the habit of his kind, took a marginal reference to the beginning of the Vedic passage for a correction of the text. In my opinion it must be thrown out. The sense of the half verse remains exactly the same. It corresponds to *Manu* IX, 18. According to *Govindasvâmin* and others its object is to show that women are incapable of inheriting, and the word *dâya*, 'portion,' must be taken in the sense of 'a share of the inheritance.' For a full discussion of this point, I refer to the Introductory Note on Book I, Chapter II, Sect. 14 of *West and Bühler's Digest of H. L. C.*, third edition.

47. *Vishnu* XXV, 15, 17; *Vasishṭha* XXI, 14.

48-50. *Vasishṭha* XXI, 6-13.

51. *Govinda* points out that this rule refers to adultery with women of equal caste, and thinks that the word 'chastity' indicates that *Krikkhra* penances are to be performed; *Vasishṭha* XXI, 16, 17; *Vishnu* LIII, 2. But see *Gautama* XXII, 29.

52. Let him burn a Sûdra (who commits adultery with an Âryan) in a straw-fire.

53. Now they quote also (the following verses):

PRASNA II, ADHYÂYA 2, KANDIKÂ 4.

1. 'Anybody but a Brâhmaṇa shall suffer corporal punishment for adultery.'

2. 'The wives (of men) of all castes must be guarded more carefully than wealth.'

3. 'But corporal punishment (shall) not (be inflicted) for (adultery with) the wives of minstrels and with those who appear on the stage. For (the husbands) carry them (to other men), or, lying concealed (at home), permit them to hold culpable intercourse.'

4. 'Women (possess) an unrivalled means of purification; they never become (entirely) foul. For month by month their temporary uncleanness removes their sins.'

5. 'Soma gave them cleanliness, the Gandharva their melodious voice, and Fire purity of all (limbs); therefore women are free from stains.'

52. Vasishṭha XXI, 1, 5.

4. 1. Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 20; 10, 27, 11. Govinda thinks that non-Brâhmanical offenders should be burned, in accordance with Vasishṭha XXI, 2-3. But mutilation may also be intended. Samgrahana, 'adultery,' probably includes all those acts mentioned Manu VIII, 354-358.

2. Manu VIII, 359.

3. Manu VIII, 362. I read conjecturally, 'samsargayanti te hyetâ niguptâs kâlayantyapi,' basing my emendations on Manu's text. The MSS. and Govinda have, samsargayanti tâ hyetân niguptâms kâlayantyapi, which gives no good sense. Govinda explains kâraṇa-dârâh, 'the wives of minstrels,' by devadâsyah, 'temple-slaves.'

4. Vasishṭha XXVIII, 4.

5. Vasishṭha XXVIII, 6.

6. 'Let him abandon a barren (wife) in the tenth year, one who bears daughters (only) in the twelfth, one whose children (all) die in the fifteenth, but her who is quarrelsome without delay.'

7. A widow shall avoid during a year (the use of) honey, meat, spirituous liquor, and salt, and sleep on the ground.

8. Maudgalya (declares that she shall do so) during six months.

9. After (the expiration of) that (time) she may, with the permission of her Gurus, bear a son to her brother-in-law, in case she has no son.

10. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'One whose appointment can have no result, (viz.) a barren woman, one who has borne sons, one who is past child-bearing, one whose children are (all) dead, and one who is unwilling must not be appointed.'

11. The sister of a maternal uncle and of the father, a sister, a sister's daughter, a daughter-in-law, a maternal uncle's wife, and the wife of a

6. Manu IX, 81.

7-8. Vasishṭha XVII, 55. The word *madya*, 'spirituous liquor,' occurs in M. and the I. O. copy of the commentary. The MSS. from the Dekhan and Gugarât, including K., read *maggana* or *maddâna*, the compound letter being very indistinct.

9. Vasishṭha XVII, 56, where the term 'Gurus' is fully explained.

10. Vasishṭha XVII, 57-59. M. and the two copies of the commentary read *pisâṭotpannaputrâ ka* instead of *vasâ ṭotpannaputrâ ka*, 'a barren woman and one who has borne sons.' I follow the Dekhan and Gugarât MSS., which undoubtedly give the genuine reading. Perhaps the term *avarâm*, Vasishṭha XVII, 57, should be corrected to *varâm*.

11-12. These two Sûtras are additions to II, 1, 2, 13. See also Nârada XII, 73-74; Vasishṭha XXI, 16.

friend are females who must never be approached (agamyâ).

12. For intercourse with females who must not be approached (agamyâ), a *Krikkhra* and an *Ati-krikkhra* (and) a *Kândrâyana* are the penances prescribed for all.

13. Thereby (the rule regarding) intercourse with a female of the *Kandâla* caste has been declared.

14. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'A *Brâhmana* who unintentionally approaches a female of the *Kandâla* caste, eats (food given by a *Kandâla*) or receives (presents from him), becomes an outcast; but (if he does it) intentionally, he becomes equal (to a *Kandâla*).

15. 'He who approaches his father's, his teacher's, or a king's wife, is guilty of the crime of violating a Guru's bed; the penance ordained for him has been declared above.'

16. (A *Brâhmana*) who is unable (to subsist) by teaching, sacrificing for others, or the acceptance of gifts, shall maintain himself by following the duties of *Kshatriyas*, because that is the next following (caste).

13. *Vasishtha* XXIII, 41; *Vishnu* LIII, 5-6.

14. *Manu* XI, 176.

15. Govinda thinks that the penance intended is that mentioned in *Sûtra* 12. Probably a severer one is meant. The verse is interesting, as it clearly is a quotation from some metrical work on law, not merely of traditional detached *slokas*.

16. *Vasishtha* II, 22. The *Sûtra* 'adhyâpanayâganapratigrahair asaktaḥ kshatradharmena gîvet pratyantaratvât' occurs in the two copies of the commentary only. The I.O. copy of the commentary has, however, before it the following words: [dharma] svâdhyâyapraṇaṇe evety adhikânâm [kâram] darsayati pratigrihitâ tâdrîk pratigrihitâram grîdhnvanti [târa ridhnu] ritvignyagamânâ yâginau

17. Gautama (declares that one shall) not (act thus). For the duties of Kshatriyas are too cruel for a Brâhmana.

18. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Out of regard for the sacred law a Brâhmana and a Vaisya may take up arms for (the protection of) cows or Brâhmanas, or when a confusion of the castes (threatens to take place).

19. (Or) the livelihood of a Vaisya should be adopted, because that is the one following (next).

20. (If he lives by agriculture) he shall plough before breakfast,

21. With two bulls whose noses have not been pierced, not striking them with the goad, (but) frequently coaxing them.

22. The (sacred domestic) fire (shall be kindled) at the wedding; the religious ceremonies up to the Agnyâdheya (shall be) performed in that.

[°gane] tadasaktau kshatradharmau. M. reads, dharmanasvâdhyâ-yapraṇāṭana [ne] ityadhikāram darsayati pratigrahītâṛk pratigrahītāra rīdhnuvanti rītvigyagamāna yāganau tadasaktau svâdhyâyadhyâ [°yâdhyâ] panayagñayāganapratigrahair asaktama [taḥ] kshatradharmena givet. The Dekhan and Gugarât MSS. read, dhârmye svâdhyâyapraṇāṭane ityadhikāram darsayati | pratigrahe dâtâ pratigrahītâ[ra] rīdhnuvanti | rītvigyagamānâ yāgane | tadasaktau kshatradharmena gīvayet, or have corruptions of this passage. I cannot come to any other conclusion than that the passage which precedes the words translated by me are a very ancient interpolation, caused by the embodiment of a portion of an old Bhâshya with the text, and that all our MSS., however much they may differ, go back to one codex archetypus.

17. Gautama Introduction, p. lii.

18. Gautama VII, 25.

19. Vasishṭha II, 24.

20-21. Vasishṭha II, 32.

22. Vasishṭha VIII, 3. The religious ceremonies to be performed with the sacred domestic fire, which, according to Baudhâyana,

23. Now, beginning with the Agnyâdheya, follow these (rites in an) uninterrupted (series), as, for instance, the Agnyâdheya, the Agnihotra, the new and full moon sacrifices, the Âgrayana at the winter and summer solstices, the animal sacrifice, the Kâturmâsyas at the beginning of each season, the Shaddhotri in spring, the Agnishôma. Thus the attainment of bliss (is secured).

24. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Neither he who is accustomed to sleep in the day-time, nor he who eats the food of anybody, nor he who falls from a height to which he has climbed, can reach heaven as he desires.'

25. Let him avoid meanness, hard-heartedness, and crookedness.

26. Now they quote also with reference to this (subject the following) verse in the dialogue between the daughters of Usanas and Vrishaparvan: 'Thou, forsooth, art the daughter of one who praises (others), who begs and accepts (gifts); but I am the child of one who is praised, who gives gifts and does not accept them.'

should be kindled at the wedding, not on the division of the paternal estate (Gautama V, 7), are the so-called *Grîhya* ceremonies (Gautama V, 8-9).

23. *Vasishtha* XI, 46. The sacrifices enumerated in this Sûtra require three fires, and belong to the *śrauta* or *vaitânika yagñas*. The *Shaddhotri* mentioned here seems to be the animal sacrifice mentioned in the commentary on *Kâtyâyana Śrauta-sûtra* VI, 1, 36.

24. An *ârûdhapatita*, 'he who falls from a height to which he has climbed,' is, according to Govinda, an ascetic who slides back into civil life.

25. *Vasishtha* VI, 40; X, 30. Govinda explains *śâthyam*, 'hard-heartedness,' by *saktau satyâm api paropakârâkaranam*, 'not doing a kindness to others though one is able to do so.'

26. The dialogue mentioned is that between *Sarmishthâ* and

PRASNA II, ADHYĀYA 3, KANDIKĀ 5.

1. Bathing is suitable for (the practice of) austerity.

2. The libation to the manes (is offered) after the gods have been satisfied (with water).

3. They pour out water which gives strength, from one Tīrtha after the other.

4. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'With flowing, unconfined water twice-born men of the three castes shall satisfy the gods, R̥shis, and manes, when they have risen in the morning.'

5. 'They shall not offer (libations of water) confined (in tanks and wells). (If they do it), he who made the embankment, will obtain a share (of the merit of their devotion).'

6. 'Therefore let him avoid embankments (around tanks) and wells made by others.'

7. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Or, in times of distress—not as a rule—he may bathe in (water) confined (in tanks), after taking out three lumps (of earth); from a well (let him take three) lumps of clay and three jars of water.'

Devayānī, which occurs Mahābhārata I, 78. The verse quoted is the tenth of that Adhyāya, and agrees with ours, except that sutāham is read for athāham in the beginning of the second half verse.

5. 3. As to the Tīrthas, see above, I, 5, 8, 15-16.

5. Manu IV, 201.

6. Vishṇu LXIV, 1.

7. Vishṇu LXIV, 2. I read the verse as follows: uddhrītya vāpi trīṇ pindān kuryād āpatsu no sadā | niruddhāsu ka mrīṇpindān kûpât trīṇ abghaśmstatheti || The Dekhan MSS. read at the end of the second half verse, kûpāmstrīnavaśmstathâ; M. has kupâ-trīnabapaśmstathâ; while C. I. gives kûpât trīṇ ghaśmstathâ. Nandapandita on Vishṇu, loc. cit., seems to have had the latter

8. If he has accepted presents from one who is able to give presents to many, or from one whose presents ought not to be accepted, or if he has sacrificed for one for whom he ought not to have sacrificed, or if he has eaten food (given by a person) whose food must not be eaten, he shall mutter the Taratsamandīya.

9. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Those who improperly associate with (an outcast) teacher, those who improperly associate with (outcast) pupils, and those who improperly associate (with outcasts) by (accepting their) food or by (reciting) Mantras (for them), enter into deep darkness.'

10. Now (follow) the duties of a Snātaka.

11. After offering at the morning and at the evening (meals) with (a portion of) the food which he may have, the Vaisvadeva and the Bali-offerings, he shall honour, according to his ability, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras (who may come to his house as) guests.

12. If he cannot (afford to give food) to many, let him give (something) to one who possesses good qualities,

13. Or to him who has come first.

14. If a Sūdra (has come as) a guest, he shall order him (to do some) work, (and feed him afterwards);

reading, and to have changed it to 'kūpāt tu trin ghaṣṁstathā,' in order to save the metre. The sense remains the same.

8. Manu XI, 254. The text is found Rig-veda IX, 58. Govinda explains bahupratigrāhya, 'one who is able to give presents to many,' by bahubhrītyabharanākshama, 'one who is able to support many servants.'

10. Vasishṭha XII, 1.

11. Vasishṭha XI, 3-9.

14. Āpastamba II, 2, 4, 19.

15. Or (if he cannot spare much), he may give a first portion (agrya) to a Srotriya.

16. It is prescribed that the division (of the food) shall be made without detriment to (the interests of) those who daily receive a portion.

17. But he shall never eat without having given away (some small portion of the food).

18. Now they quote also two verses which have been proclaimed by (the goddess of) food: 'Him who, without giving me to the gods, the manes, his servants, his guests and friends, consumes what has been prepared and (thus), in his exceeding folly, swallows poison, I consume, and I am his death. But for him who, offering the Agnihotra, performing the Vaisvadeva, and honouring guests, eats, full of contentment, purity, and faith, what remains after feeding those whom he must support, I become ambrosia, and he (really) enjoys me.'

19. Presents of money must be given, according to one's ability, to good Brâhmanâs, Srotriyas, and Vedapârâgas, when they beg outside the Vêdi, for the sake of Gurus, in order to defray (the expenses of) their marriages, or of medicine, or when they are distressed for a livelihood, or desirous to offer a sacrifice, or engaged in studying, or on a journey, or have performed a Visvagit sacrifice.

15. Vasishṭha XI, 5. Govinda quotes a verse, according to which an agrya, 'first portion,' is equal to sixteen mouthfuls, each of the size of a peahen's egg.

16. Âpastamba II, 4, 9, 10-11. 'Those who daily receive a portion' (nityabhâktika), i. e. sons, wives, and so forth.—Govinda. But see also Âpastamba, loc. cit.

19. Gautama V, 20-21, and notes. 'A good Brâhmana, i. e. one who follows the rule of conduct.'—Govinda.

20. Cooked food (must be given) to other (beggars).

21. Let him eat (seated) in a pure, enclosed place, after having well washed his hands and feet and after having sipped water, respectfully receiving the food which is brought to him, keeping himself free from lust, anger, hatred, greed, and perplexity, (conveying the food into his mouth) with all his fingers and making no noise (during mastication).

PRASNA II, ADHYÂYA 3, KANDIKÂ 6.

1. Let him not put back into the dish a remnant of food.

2. If he eats (food), containing meat, fish, or sesamum, he shall (afterwards) wash and touch fire,

3. And bathe after sunset.

4. Let him avoid a seat, clogs, sticks for cleaning the teeth, and other (implements) made of Palâsa wood.

20. Gautama V, 22.

21. *Vasishtha* XII, 19-20; *Vishnu* LXVIII, 46. 'This is the rule for him who makes an offering to Âtman (i. e. performs the *Prâzâgnihotra* at his meal).—Govinda. See also below, II, 7, 12.

6. 1. 'I. e. he shall take up as much food only as he can swallow at one mouthful.'—Govinda.

2. The Dekhan and Gugarât MSS., including K., add *madhu*, 'honey,' after *sesamum*.

3. This and the following six *Sûtras* are left out in M. and the two copies of the commentary. If they have, nevertheless, been received into the text, the reason is that similar rules occur in all *Dharmasûtras*, and that *Sûtra* 3 begins with *astamite*, while *astamaye* occurs in *Sûtra* 10. It seems therefore probable that the writer of the MS. from which M. and Govinda's copies are derived, skipped over a line by mistake.

4-7. *Vasishtha* XII, 34-38.

5. Let him not eat (food placed) in his lap,
6. Nor on a chair.
7. He shall carry a staff, made of bamboo, and golden earrings.
8. Let him not rub one foot with the other while bathing, nor place the one on the other while standing,
9. Let him not wear a visible garland.
10. Let him not look at the sun when he rises or sets.
11. Let him not announce (the appearance of a rainbow) to another (man, saying), 'There is Indra's bow.'
12. If he points it out, he shall call it 'the jewelled bow.'
13. Let him not pass between the prakilaka and the beam at the town gate,
14. Nor let him pass between the two posts of a swing.
15. Let him not step over a rope to which a calf is tied.
16. Let him not step on ashes, bones, hair, chaff, potsherds, nor on a bathing-place (moist with) water.

8. Vishnu LXXI, 40.

9. Vasishtha XII, 39.

10. Vasishtha XII, 10.

11-12. Vasishtha XII, 32-33.

13. Govinda explains prakilaka by 'a piece of wood fastened at the town gate.' Etymologically it would mean 'a strong bolt.' Possibly the rule may be equivalent to Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 23, and mean that a Snâtaka is not to creep through the small door which is found in all Indian town gates, and left open after the gates have been shut.

14. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 16.

15. Vasishtha XII, 9.

16. Gautama IX, 15; Manu IV, 132.

17. Let him not announce it to another (man if) a cow suckles (her calf).

18. Let him not say of (a cow which is) not a milch-cow, 'She is not a milch-cow.'

19. If he speaks (of such a one), let him say, 'It is one which will become a milch-cow.'

20. Let him not make empty, ill-sounding, or harsh speeches.

21. Let him not go alone on a journey,

22. Nor with outcasts, nor with a woman, nor with a Sûdra.

23. Let him not set out (on a journey) towards evening.

24. Let him not bathe (entirely) naked.

25. Let him not bathe at night.

26. Let him not cross a river swimming.

27. Let him not look down into a well.

28. Let him not look down into a pit.

29. Let him not sit down there, where another person may order him to rise.

30. Way must be made for a Brâhmana, a cow, a king, a blind man, an aged man, one who is suffering under a burden, a pregnant woman, and a weak man.

31. A righteous man shall seek to dwell in a village where fuel, water, fodder, sacred fuel, Kusa grass, and garlands are plentiful, access to which is

17. Vishnu LXXI, 62.

18-19. Gautama IX, 19.

20. Manu IV, 177; Vishnu LXXI, 57, 72, 74.

21-23. Manu IV, 140.

24. Gautama IX, 61.

26. Vasishtha XII, 45.

29. E. g. in the palace of a king, whence the attendants may drive him.

30. Vasishtha XIII, 58.

31. Gautama IX, 65.

easy, where many rich people dwell, which abounds in industrious people, where Āryans form the majority, and which is not easily entered by robbers.

32. 'A Brāhmaṇa who, having wedded a wife of the Sūdra caste and dwells during twelve years in a village where water (is obtainable) from wells only, becomes equal to a Sūdra.'

33. (If you say that) he who lives in a town and whose body is covered with the dust, (raised) by others, and whose eyes and mouth are filled with it, will obtain salvation, if he restrains himself, (I declare that) that is impossible.

34. 'The dust raised by carriages, horses, elephants, and cows, and (that which comes) from grain is pure, blamed is (that raised) by a broom, goats, sheep, donkeys, and garments.'

35. Let him honour those who are worthy of honour.

36. 'A Rishi, a learned man, a king, a bridegroom, a maternal uncle, a father-in-law, and an officiating priest are mentioned in the Smṛiti as worthy of the honey-mixture at certain times and occasions.'

37. 'A Rishi, a learned man, and a king must be

33. Āpastamba I, 11, 32, 21.

36. Vasiṣṭha XI, 1-2. A Rishi is, according to Govinda, a man who knows not only the text of the Mantras, but also their sense. But Baudhāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtra I, 11, 4, says that a man who knows, besides the Sākhā and its Āṅgas, the Kalpa also, is called Rishikalpa, i. e. one almost a Rishi. See also Āpastamba I, 2, 5, 5. A learned man (vidvas) is probably a student who has finished not only his vow, but learned the Veda, a so-called vidyā-snātaka, Āpastamba I, 11, 30, 3. Regarding the arghya or madhuparka, the honey-mixture, see Āpastamba II, 4, 8, 7-9.

37. Gautama V, 27-30. I read kriyārambhe varartvigau. The

honoured whenever they come, a bridegroom and a priest at the beginning of the religious rites, a maternal uncle and a father-in-law when a year has elapsed since their last visit.'

38. 'Let him raise his right arm on (entering) the place where the sacred fire is kept, in the midst of a herd of cows, in the presence of Bráhmaṇas, at the daily recitation of the Veda, and at dinner.'

39. 'An upper garment must be worn on the following five occasions: during the daily study, during the evacuation (of excrements), when one bestows gifts, at dinner, and while one sips water.'

40. 'While one offers oblations in the fire, while one dines, bestows gifts, offers (food to deities or Gurus), and accepts presents, (the right hand) must be placed between the knees.'

41. 'The revealed texts declare, that the creatures depend on food, food is life; therefore gifts of food must be made. Food is the most excellent of sacrificial viands.'

42. 'Sin is removed by burnt offerings, burnt oblations are surpassed by (gifts of) food, and gifts of food by kind speeches. That (is declared) to us in the revealed texts.'

PRASNA II, ADHYÂYA 4, KANDIKÂ 7.

I. Now, therefore, we will declare the rule for (performing) the twilight devotions.

meaning is that a bridegroom is to receive the honey-mixture when he comes to his father-in-law's house for his wedding, and an officiating priest when he comes to perform a sacrifice.

38. Vishṇu LXXI, 60. Govinda adds that the act is performed as a salutation.

41. See e. g. Taittiriya Âraṇyaka VIII, 2.

2. Going to a (sacred) bathing-place, he shall bathe, in case he is impure; in case he is pure, he may, optionally, omit the bath. (But in either case) he shall wash his feet and hands. Sipping water and sprinkling himself, while he recites the (*Rik*-verses) containing the word *Surabhi*, the *Ablīngas*, those addressed to *Varuṇa*, the *Hiranyavarnas*, the *Pāvamānis*, the (sacred syllables called) *Vyāhritis*, and other purificatory (texts), he becomes pure (and fit to perform the twilight devotions).

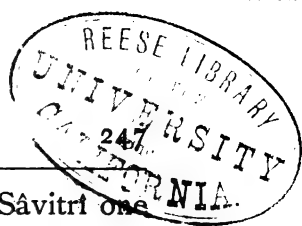
3. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Submersion in water (and) bathing are prescribed for all the (four) castes. But sprinkling (water over the body), while *Mantras* (are being recited), is the particular (duty) of the twice-born.'

4. He who sprinkles himself (with water) at the beginning of any sacred rite,—before the time of the twilight devotions,—while reciting that same collection of purificatory (texts), becomes pure.

5. Now they quote also (the following rules): Seated, with his face to the west, on *Darbha* grass and holding *Darbha* blades in his (right) hand, which

7. 2. 'A sacred bathing-place, i. e. a river or pond outside the village.'—Govinda. The same author adds that the hands must be washed as far as the wrist, that while sipping water the worshipper is to repeat in the evening, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X, 31, and in the morning X, 32, and that if he bathes, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X, 1, 12, and other texts must be recited. The *Rik* containing the word *Surabhi* is found *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* I, 5, 11, 4, 7; the three *Ablīngas*, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X, 1, 11; the four verses addressed to *Varuṇa*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* III, 4, 11, 4, and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* II, 4, 4. By the term *Pāvamānis* the *Pavamānānuvāka*, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 8, is meant.

5. The injunction to turn the face to the west refers to the evening prayer; see also below, *Sūtra* 10.



is filled with water, he shall repeat the *Sāvitrī* one thousand times ;

6. Or (he may recite the verse) one hundred times, suppressing his breath ;

7. Or mentally ten times, adding the syllable *Om* at the beginning and at the end and the seven *Vyāhritis*.

8. And if he is tired by three suppressions of his breath (performed) with (the recitation of) the (*Anuvāka* called) *Brahmaṛīdaya* (the heart of Brahman, then let him repeat the *Sāvitrī*).

9. In the evening he worships (the sun) with the two (verses) addressed to *Varuṇa*, 'Hear this my call, O *Varuṇa*,' and 'Therefore I go to thee.'

10. The same (rules apply to the twilight devotion) in the morning, (but the worshipper) shall face the east and stand upright.

11. In the day-time he worships (the sun) with the two (verses) addressed to *Mitra*, 'The glory of *Mitra*, who supports men,' and 'Mitra causes men to join.'

12. Let him begin (the twilight devotion) in the

6. Govinda states that *prāṇâyāmasaḥ*, 'suppressing his breath,' has in this *Sūtra* no technical meaning.

7. Govinda says that the order to be observed in this case is as follows : First the syllable *Om* is to be recited, next the seven *Vyāhritis*, beginning with *Bhûḥ* and ending with *Satyam*, then the *Sāvitrī*, and finally again the syllable *Om*.

8. The *Brahmaṛīdaya* is *Taittirīya Âraṇyaka* X, 28. This *Anuvāka* may be repeated three times for each *Prāṇâyāma* (see *Vasishṭha* XXV, 13), or altogether nine times, and, if the worshipper is then tired, he may go on repeating the *Sāvitrī* without suppressing his breath.

9. *Taittirīya Samhitā* II, 1, 11, 6.

10. *Gautama* II, 11.

11. *Taittirīya Samhitā* III, 4, 11, 5.

12. Very early, i.e. when the stars are still visible ; see also *Gautama* II, 11, and note.

morning very early, and finish it when the sun has risen.

13. Let him begin (the twilight devotion) in the evening, when (the sun) has set, (and finish it) very soon after (the appearance of the stars);

14. And the complete observance of the twilight devotions (produces as its reward) an uninterrupted succession of days and nights.

15. Now they quote with reference to this (subject) also the following two verses, which have been proclaimed by the Lord of created beings (Pragâ-pati): 'How can those twice-born men be called Brâhmaṇas who do not perform their twilight devotions, in the morning and in the evening at the proper time? At his pleasure a righteous king may appoint those Brâhmaṇas who neglect to daily perform the twilight devotions, both at morn and at eve, to do the work of Sûdras.'

16. If the time for the (twilight devotion) is allowed to pass in the evening, (the offender shall) fast during the night; and if it is neglected in the morning, he shall fast during the (next) day.

17. He obtains (thereby) the (same) reward as if he had remained standing and sitting (in the twilight).

18. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Whatever sin (a man) may have committed with his organ, with his feet, with his arms, by thoughts or by speech, from (all) that he is freed by performing the twilight devotion in the evening.'

19. (The worshipper) becomes also connected

14. The day and night will not be cut off from his existence.

16. Vasishṭha XX, 4-5.

18. Vasishṭha XXVI, 2.

(thereby) with the (next) night, and Varuṇa will not seize him.

20. In like manner he becomes free from the sin committed during the night by worshipping in the morning.

21. He is also connected with the (next) day, Mitra protects him and Âditya leads him up to heaven.

22. It is declared in the Veda, 'A Brâhmana who in this same manner daily worships in the twilight, both at morn and at eve and, being sanctified by the Brahman, becoming one with the Brahman, and resplendent through the Brahman, follows the rules of the Sâstra, gains the heaven of Brahman.'

PRASNA II, ADHYÂYA 5, KANDIKÂ 8.

1. Now, after washing his hands, he shall take his waterpot and a clod of earth, go to a (sacred) bathing-place and thrice clean his feet (with earth and water) and thrice his body.

2. Now some say, 'One must not enter a burial-ground, water, a temple, a cowpen, nor a place where Brâhmanas (sit) without having cleaned one's feet.'

20. *Vasishṭha* XXVI, 3.

22. Brahman means here the Veda, the Sâvitṛ, and the universal soul.

8. 1. *Vishṇu* LXIV, 18. This Adhyâya contains the rules for bathing, and the subject is introduced, as Govinda observes, because in the preceding chapter II, 4, 7, 2, it has been said that an impure person must bathe before he performs the twilight devotions. Govinda also states that the word *ka*, 'and,' which stands after *mṛitpindam*, 'a clod,' indicates that *gomaya*, 'cowdung,' must also be employed.

3. Then he enters the water, (reciting the following verse): 'I take refuge with gold-horned Varuna, give me at my request (O Varuna) a purifying bathing-place. May Indra, Varuna, Brihaspati, and Savitri again and again cleanse me from all sin which I have committed by eating the food of unholy men, by receiving gifts from the wicked, and from all evil which I have done by thoughts, speeches, or deeds.'

4. Then he takes up water in his joined hands, (saying), 'May the waters and the herbs be propitious to us.'

5. (Next) he pours (the water) out in that direction in which an enemy of his dwells, (saying), 'May they work woe to him who hates us and whom we hate.'

6. Then he sips water, and thrice makes the water eddy around himself turning from the left to the right (and saying), 'May that which is hurtful, which is impure, and which is inauspicious in the water be removed.'

7. After having submerged himself and having emerged from the water,

8. (Acts of) personal purification, washing the clothes by beating them on a stone and sipping

3. The verse is found Taittirīya Âraṇyaka X, 1, 12.

4. Taittirīya Âraṇyaka X, 1, 11.

5. Taittirīya Âraṇyaka, loc. cit. This and the following Sûtras, down to II, 6, 11, 15, are wanting in the Gugarât and Dekhan MSS. except in K.

6. Taittirīya Âraṇyaka X, 1, 13.

7. Govinda points out that the completion of this Sûtra is to be found in Sûtra 10. He adds that Baudhâyana inserted Sûtras 8-9 in the middle, because he was afraid to forget the rules contained in them.

8. Vishnu LXIV, 10, 11.

water are not (permitted to the worshipper) as long as he is in the water.

9. If (the water used for bathing) has been (taken from a) confined (place, such as a well), he worships it with the following (Mantra): 'Adoration to Agni, the lord of the waters; adoration to Indra; adoration to Varuna; adoration to Vârunî; adoration to the waters.'

10. After having ascended the bank and having sipped water, let him again sip water, though he has done so before, (and recite the following Mantras): 'May water purify the earth, may the purified earth purify me, may Brahmanaspati (and) Brahman purify, may the purified (earth) purify me. May water purify me, (taking away) all (the guilt which I incurred by eating) remnants of food, and forbidden food, (by committing) evil deeds, (by) receiving gifts from wicked men, Svâhâ!'

11. Making two Pavitras he rubs (his body) with water. Having rubbed himself, (reciting the) three (verses), 'Ye waters are,' &c., the four (verses), 'The golden-coloured, pure, purifying,' &c., (and) the Anuvâka, 'He who purifies,' &c., he performs, stepping back into the water, three Prânâyâmas with the Aghamarshana (hymn); then he ascends the bank, squeezes (the water) out of his dress, puts on garments which have been washed and dried in the air and which are not the worse for wear, sips water,

9. Taittirîya Âranyaka X, 1, 12.

10. Taittirîya Âranyaka X, 23. Govinda says that the rule is intended to indicate also that a person who recites sacred texts while sipping water, must do so only after having taken water once before. K. inserts before this Mantra, also Anuvâka 22.

11. Vishnu LXIV, 13-14; 18-19. The Vedic passages intended

sits down on Darbha grass, and, holding Darbha grass (in his hands), recites, facing the east, the Gâyatrî one thousand times, (or) one hundred times, or any number of times, or at least twelve times.

12. Then he worships the sun (reciting the following Mantras): 'Out of darkness we,' &c., 'Up that bright,' &c., 'That eye which is beneficial to the gods,' &c., (and) 'He who rose,' &c.

13. Now they quote also (the following maxim): 'The syllable Om, the Vyâhr̥tis, and the Sâvitṛī, these five Veda-offerings daily cleanse the Brâhmaṇa from guilt.'

14. Being purified by the five Veda-offerings, he next satiates the gods (with water, saying),

PRASNA II, ADHYĀYA 5, KANDIKÂ 9.

1. 'I satiate the deities of the eastern gate, Agni, Pragâpati, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Br̥haspati, together with the lunar mansions, with the planets, with the days and nights, and with the Muhûrtas; Om, I also satiate the Vasus ;

are found Taitt. Samhitâ IV, 1, 5, 1; V, 6, 1, 1; and Taitt. Brâhmaṇa I, 4, 8. Pavitras, i. e. blades of Kusa grass. 'He performs three Prâṇâyâmas with the A hamarshana hymn (Rig-veda X, 190),' i. e. he thrice suppresses his breath (prâṇâyâma) and recites during each suppression the Aghamarshana three times, just as on other occasions the Gâyatrî is recited three times.

12. The first Mantra is found Taitt. Samhitâ IV, 1, 7, 4; the third and the fourth Taitt. Âranyaka IV, 42, 32-33.

14. Vishṇu XLIV, 24. The ceremony is the so-called Tarpana, which is usually described in the Gr̥hya-sûtras, e. g. Sâṅkhâya IV, 9-10, and the quotations in Professor Oldenberg's notes, Indische Studien XV, 152.

9. 1. This and the next Kandîkâs are given in full by K. only. M. gives the first and last words of both, the commentary the

2. 'Om, I satiate the deities of the southern gate, the *Pitrīs*, Yama, Bhaga, Savitri, Tvashtri, Vāyu, Indrāgni, together with the lunar mansions, with the planets, with the days and nights, and with the Muhūrtas; Om, I also satiate the Rudras.

3. 'Om, I satiate the deities of the western gate, Mitra, Indra, the Mahāpitris, the Waters, all the gods, Brahman, Vishnu, together with the lunar mansions, with the planets, with the days and nights, and with the Muhūrtas; Om, I also satiate the Ādityas.

4. 'Om, I satiate the deities of the northern gate, the Vasus, Varuna, Āga-ekapād, Ahibudhnya, Ushas, the two Asvins, Yama, together with

5. 'Om, I satiate all the gods; the Sādhyas; Brahman; Pragāpati; the four-faced god; Hiranyagarbha; Svayambhū; the male attendants of Brahman; Parameshthin; the female attendants of Brahman; Agni; Vāyu; Varuna; Sūrya; the moon; the lunar mansions; Sadyogāta; Bhūh-purusha; Bhuvaḥ-purusha; Suvaḥ-purusha; Bhūh; Bhuvaḥ; Suvaḥ; Mahaḥ; Ganaḥ; Tapaḥ; Satya.

6. 'Om, I satiate the god Bhava; Sarva; Īsāna; Pasupati; Rudra; Ugra; Bhīmadeva; Mahādeva; the wife of the god Bhava; of the god Sarva; of the god Īsāna; of the god Pasupati; of the god Rudra; of the god Ugra; of Bhīmadeva; of Mahādeva; the son of Bhava; of Sarva; of Īsāna; of Pasupati; of

beginning of 9 and the end of 10 only. The text of K. is probably interpolated, as it seems impossible that Baudhāyana could have mentioned his successors, Āpastamba and Satyāshādha Hiranyakesin, whose names occur below, II, 5, 9, 14. On the other hand, it is not doubtful that the number of Mantras must nevertheless have been very large, as the numeration in M. shows that they filled two entire *Kandikās*.

Rudra ; of Ugra ; of Bhṛmadeva ; of Mahādeva ; Om, I also satiate the Rudras ; the attendants of Rudra.

7. 'Om, I satiate Vighna ; Vināyaka ; Vīra ; Sthūla ; Varada ; Hastimukha ; Vakratunda ; Ekadanta ; Lambodara ; the male attendants of Vighna ; the female attendants of Vighna.

8. 'Om, I satiate Sanatkumāra ; Skanda ; Indra ; Shashī ; Shānmukha ; Visākha ; Mahāsena ; Subrahmanya ; the male attendants of Skanda ; the female attendants of Skanda.

9. 'Om, I satiate Āditya ; Soma ; Angāraka ; Budha ; Brīhaspati ; Sukra ; Sanaiskara ; Rāhu ; Ketu.

10. 'Om, I satiate Kesava ; Nārāyaṇa ; Mādhava ; Govinda ; Vishṇu ; Madhusūdana ; Trivikrama ; Vāmana ; Śrīdhara ; Hrishīkeśa ; Padmanābha ; Dāmodara ; the goddess Śrī ; the goddess Sarasvatī ; Pushī ; Tushī ; Vishṇu ; Garutmat ; the male attendants of Vishṇu ; the female attendants of Vishṇu.

11. 'Om, I satiate Yama ; Yamarāga ; Dharma ; Dharmarāga ; Kāla ; Nīla ; Mrityu ; Mrityuṅgaya ; Vaivasvata ; Kītragupta ; Audumbara ; the male attendants of Vaivasvata ; the female attendants of Vaivasvata.

12. 'Om, I satiate the gods of the earth ; Kāśyapa ; Antariksha ; Vidyā ; Dhanvantari ; the male attendants of Dhanvantari ; the female attendants of Dhanvantari.'

13. Next, passing the sacrificial thread round the neck, (he offers the following libations) :

14. 'Om, I satiate the *Rishis* ; the great *Rishis* ; the best *Rishis* ; the Brahmarshis ; the divine *Rishis* ; the royal *Rishis* ; the Sutarshis ; the Seven *Rishis* ;

the *Rishis* of the *Kândas* (of the *Yagur-veda*); the *Rishikas*; the wives of the *Rishis*; the sons of the *Rishis*; *Kanva* *Baudhâyana*; *Âpastamba*, the author of the *Sûtra*; *Satyâshâdha* *Hiranyakesin*; *Vâgasaneyin* *Yâgñavalkya*; *Âsvalâyana* *Saunaka*; *Vyâsa*; the syllable *Om*; the *Vyâhrîtis*; the *Sâvitri*; the *Gâyatri*; the *Khandas*; the *Rig-veda*; the *Yagur-veda*; the *Sâma-veda*; the *Atharvângirasa*; the *Itihâsa* and *Purâna*; all the *Vedas*; the servants of all gods; all beings.'

15. Then, passing the sacrificial string over the right shoulder, (he offers the following libations):

PRASNA II, ADHÂYA 5, KANDIKÂ 10.

1. 'Om, I satiate the fathers, *Svadhâ*, adoration! the grandfathers; the great-grandfathers; the mothers; the grandmothers; the great-grandmothers; the maternal grandfathers; the maternal grandmother; the mother's grandmother; the mother's great-grandmother.

2. 'Om, I satiate the teacher (*âkârya*), *Svadhâ*, adoration! the wife of the teacher; the friends; the wives of the friends; the relatives; the wives of the relatives; the inmates of the house (*amâtya*); the wives of the inmates of the house; all; the wives of all.'

3. He pours the water out from the several *Tîrthas* (of the hand sacred to the several deities).

4. (He recites at the end of the rite the following

3. I. e. the water must be poured out in accordance with the rule given above.

4. *Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ* II, 34. The translation of the Mantra follows Govinda's explanation.

Mantra): '(Ye waters), who bring food, ambrosia, clarified butter, milk, and barley-gruel, are food for the manes; satiate my ancestors! May you be satiated, may you be satiated!'

5. Let him not perform ceremonies in honour of the gods while his clothes are wet, or while he is dressed in one garment only;

6. Nor those connected with the manes. That (is the opinion) of some (teachers).

PRAŚNA II, ADHYĀYA 6, KANDIKĀ 11.

1. Now these five great sacrifices, which are also called the great sacrificial sessions, are the sacrifice to be offered to the gods, the sacrifice to be offered to the manes, the sacrifice to be offered to all beings, the sacrifice to be offered to men, (and) the sacrifice to be offered to Brahman,

2. Let him daily offer (something to the gods with the exclamation) Svāhā, be it only a piece of fuel. Thereby he performs that sacrifice to the gods.

3. Let him daily offer (something to the manes with the exclamation) Svadhā, be it only a vessel filled with water. Thereby he performs that sacrifice to the manes.

4. Let him daily pay reverence to (all beings) endowed with life. Thereby he performs that sacrifice to the beings.

11. 1. This and the next four Sūtras agree almost literally with Satapatha-brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 6, 1. See also Taitt. Āranyaka II, 10; Āpastamba I, 4, 12, 15-13, 1.

4. Govinda says that the Mantra is to be 'bhūtebhyo namaḥ, adoration to all beings,' and adds that some consider the first three

5. Let him daily give food to Brāhmanas, be it only roots, fruit, or vegetables. Thereby he performs that sacrifice to men.

6. Let him daily recite the Veda privately, be it only the syllable Om or the Vyāhritis. Thereby he performs that sacrifice to be offered to Brahman.

7. 'The private recitation of the Veda is, indeed, the sacrifice to Brahman. At that sacrifice to Brahman speech, forsooth, (takes the place of) the Guhû, the internal organ (that of) the Upabhrît, the eye (that of) the Dhruvâ, the understanding (that of) the Sruva, truth (that of) the final bath, heaven (is) the conclusion of the sacrifice. He who, knowing this, daily recites the Veda to himself, gains as much heavenly bliss as, and more than, he who gives away this whole earth that is filled with wealth, and imperishable (beatitude), and conquers death. Therefore the Veda should be recited in private. Thus speaks the Brāhmaṇa.'

8. Now they quote also (the following passage): 'If, well anointed, well fed, and lying on a comfortable couch, one recites (the portion of the Veda referring to) any sacrifice, one has offered it thereby.'

Mahāyagñas to be performed by the Vaisraveda and the Bali-offering, while others enjoin their separate performance.

7. Satapatha-brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 6, 2. See also Taitt. Âranyaka II, 17. K. reads *dhṛitir dhruvâ*, 'the firm resolve (takes the place of) the Dhruvâ,' which is apparently a correction made according to the Âranyaka. According to the commentary the text of the last portion of the quotation runs thus, '*yāvantaṃ ha vâ imāṃ vittasya pûrnāṃ dadat svargam lokam gayati tāvantaṃ lokam gayati bhûyâṃsam kâkshayyam kâpa mrityum gayati ya evaṃ vidvân*,' &c. M. and K. do not give the whole passage. The published text of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa slightly differs from Govinda's version.

8. Satapatha-brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 7, 3-4.

9. Some (teachers) declare (that there is a text) which teaches a fourfold division of these sacred duties. (But) as no (other meaning is) perceptible, (the text) 'Four paths,' &c., refers to sacrificial rites.

10. (Viz.) to *Ishās*, animal sacrifices, *Soma* sacrifices, and *Darvīthomas*.

11. The following (*Rik*) declares that, 'Four paths, leading to the world of the gods, go severally from the earth to heaven. All ye gods, place us on that among them which will gain us undecaying prosperity.'

12. The student, the householder, the hermit in the woods, the ascetic (constitute the four orders).

13. A student (shall) obey his teacher until death.

9. I read the text as follows, 'tasya ha vā etasya dharmasya taturdhā bhedaṁ eka āhuḥ.' M. has *bhedakam*, the I. O. copy of the commentary *bhedasāṅkām*, and K. *tasya ha vā etasya yagñasya taturdhā bhūtam eka āhuḥ*. Below in the commentary on Sūtra 27, Govinda repeats the latter part of this Sūtra in the form which I have adopted. The discussion which begins here is the same as that which occurs *Āpastamba* II, 9, 23, 3-24, 15.

11. *Taittirīya Samhitā* V, 7, 2, 3.

12. K. omits this Sūtra. After it M. and K. have the following passage: 'brahma-kārino 'tyantam ātmānam upasamgrīhyā 'kāryān bruvate vane srāmyantyeke [yāntyete, K.] savaneshvapa upasprī-santo vanyenānnenaikāgnim [nyenānnena naikāgnim, K.; vānye-naikānāñ, M.] guhvānāḥ [guhvās, M.] satyasya ike karmāni [karmāni, M.] anagnayo 'niketanāḥ [tvāḥ kam, K.] kaupīnāḥ kṣādanā varshāsv ekasthā uddhrītaparipūtābhir adbhīḥ kāryam [apa-kāryam, M.] kurvānāḥ [kurvānās tatrodāharanti, K.] sannamusalē vyaṅgāre nivrītasarāvasampāte bhikshantāḥ sarvataḥ parimoksham [parimeke, M.] apavidhya vaidikāni karmāny abhayataḥ parikkṣinnā madhyamam padam upasliṣhyāmaha iti vadanto.' The commentary gives a few portions of this passage further on. Irrespective of minor corruptions, it gives no sense in the place where it stands, and it seems probable that we have to deal with a confused and badly corrupted text, which Govinda arranged either as seemed good to him, or on the authority of better MSS.

14. A hermit is he who regulates his conduct entirely according to the Institutes proclaimed by Vikhanas.

15. A Vaikhâṇasa (shall live) in the forest, subsisting on roots and fruit, practising austerities and bathing at morn, noon, and eve; he shall kindle a fire according to the *Srâmanaka* (rule); he shall eat wild-growing (vegetables and grain) only; he shall worship gods, manes, Bhûtas, men, and *Rishis*; he shall receive hospitably (men of) all (castes) except those (with whom intercourse is) forbidden; he may even use the flesh of animals killed by carnivorous beasts; he shall not step on ploughed (land); and he shall not enter a village; he shall wear his hair in braids, and dress in (garments made of) bark or skins; he shall not eat anything that has been hoarded for more than a year.

16. An ascetic shall leave his relatives and, not attended by any one nor procuring any property, depart (from his house performing the customary ceremony) according to the rule.

17. He shall go into the forest (and live there).

18. He shall shave his hair excepting the top-lock.

15. This passage, which Govinda gives as one *Sûtra*, agrees word for word with Gautama III, 26–35, except in the beginning, where Gautama omits ‘bathing at morn, noon, and eve.’ The MSS. all read *bhaiksham*, ‘begged food,’ instead of *baishkam*, ‘the flesh of animals slain by carnivorous beasts.’ But Govinda’s explanation leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the latter reading. The Dekhan and Gugarât MSS., including K., read *agrâmyabhogî* || *agrâmyabhogî*.

16. I adopt the readings of the Dekhan MSS., *aparigrahaḥ* (for *apratigrahaḥ*) and *pravrajet* (for *parivrajet*). The rule for the ceremony is given below, II, 10, 17.

18. This is Govinda’s explanation of *sikhâmundah*, the reading of all MSS.

19. He shall wear a cloth to cover his nakedness.
20. He shall reside in one place during the rainy season.
21. He shall wear a dress dyed yellowish-red.
22. He shall go to beg when the pestle lies motionless, when the embers have been extinguished, and when the cleaning of the dishes has been finished.
23. With the three means of punishment, (viz.) words, thoughts, and acts, he shall not injure created beings.
24. He shall carry a cloth for straining water for the sake of purification.
25. He shall perform the necessary purifications with water which has been taken out (of a well or tank) and has been strained.
26. (Ascetics shall) say, 'Renouncing the works taught in the Veda, cut off from both (worlds), we attach ourselves to the central sphere (Brahman).'
27. But the venerable teacher (declares) that there is one order only, because the others do not beget offspring.
28. With reference to this matter they quote also (the following passage): 'There was, forsooth, an Āsura, Kapila by name, the son of Prahlāda.

20 and 22. These two Sūtras are omitted in K. and M., which give them in the passage following Sūtra 12, as well as in the Dekhan and Gugarāt MSS.

24. See below, II, 10, 17, 11. Govinda explains pavitra, 'a cloth for straining water,' by 'a bunch of Kusa grass for removing insects from the road.'

25. According to Govinda such water is to be used for washing off the stains of urine &c., not for drinking.

26. This Sūtra is again omitted in the MSS. of the text. M. and K. give it in the passage following Sūtra 12.

27. Gautama III, 36.

Striving with the gods, he made these divisions. A wise man should not take heed of them.'

29. Because no (other meaning is) perceptible, (the text) 'Four paths,' &c., refers to sacrificial rites, (viz.) to *Ishṭis*, animal sacrifices, *Soma* sacrifices, *Darvīthomas*.

30. With respect to this (question the following verse also) is quoted: 'That eternal greatness of the *Brāhmaṇa* is neither increased by works, nor diminished. The soul knows the nature of that (greatness); knowing that, he is not stained by evil deeds.'

31. If he says that, (let him reflect on the following verse): 'He who knows not the *Veda*, does not at death think of that great, all-perceiving soul, through which the sun, resplendent with brilliancy, gives warmth, and the father has a father through the son at his birth from the womb.'

32. (Moreover), 'Those who, being neither true *Brāhmaṇas* nor performers of *Soma* sacrifices, work not for that which is near, nor for that which is far, take hold of the word and with sinful (speech) ignorantly perform the rites.'

33. There are innumerable (passages in the *Veda*) which refer to the debts (to be paid by a *Brāhmaṇa*), such as, 'May I obtain, O *Agni*, immor-

30-31. *Taitt. Brāhmaṇa* III, 12, 9, 7.

32. *Rig-veda* X, 71, 9. My rendering of the difficult verse is merely tentative, and I have left out the word *sirīḥ*, for which I am as little able as other Sanskritists to offer a safe explanation. The general meaning of the verse, I think, has been rightly understood by *Sāyana* and *Govinda*, who both say that it contains a reproach, addressed to those *Brāhmaṇas* who, contented with the letter of the *Veda*, do not master its meaning.

33-34. The commentary omits these two *Sūtras*, which, however, seem necessary for the completion of the discussion. The

talities through offspring ;' 'A Brāhmaṇa on being born, (owes) a son to his ancestors,' &c.

34. 'Those dwell with us, who fulfil the following (duties), the study of the three Vedas, the studentship, the procreation of offspring, faith, austerity, sacrificing, and giving gifts ; he who praises other (duties) becomes dust and perishes.'

PRAŚNA II, ADHYĀYA 7, KANDIKĀ 12.

1. Now we will explain the oblations (offered) to the vital air (prāṇa) by Sālīnas (householders) and Yāyāvaras (vagrants), who sacrifice to the soul.

2. At the end of all the necessary (daily rites), let him sit down, facing the east, in a place that has been well cleaned and smeared with cowdung ; next let him worship that prepared (food) which is being brought, (saying), 'Bhūh, Bhuvah, Svah, Om,' (and then) remain silent.

3. (Next) he pours water round the food which has been placed (before him), turning his right hand towards it, and reciting the Mahāvyaḥrītis ; (afterwards), continuing to hold (the dish) with his left hand, he first drinks water, (saying), 'Thou art a substratum for ambrosia,' and (finally) offers five oblations of food to the vital airs, (reciting the

second occurs also Āpastamba II, 9, 24, 8. Though Baudhāyana does not express himself as clearly as Āpastamba, he disapproves, as it would seem, like the latter, of the opinion of those who gave an undue preference to asceticism at the expense of married life, the order of the householders.

12. 1. The Prāṇāgnihoṭra is alluded to by Āpastamba II, 7, 17, 16. Regarding the terms Sālīna and Yāyāvara, see below, III, 1, 3-4.

3. The Mahāvyaḥrītis are the Mantras given Taittirīya Āraṇyaka X, 2. The second Mantra is found Taittirīya Āraṇyaka X, 32, and

texts), 'Full of reverence, I offer ambrosia to Prâna; mayest thou propitiously enter me, not in order to burn me. To Prâna, Svâhâ!' &c.

4. After offering the five oblations of food to the vital airs, let him finish his meal silently. Meditating in his heart on the lord of created beings, let him not emit speech while (eating).

5. If he emits speech, he shall mutter 'Bhûh, Bhuvah, Svah, Om,' and afterwards continue to eat.

6. Now they quote also (the following rule): 'If he sees (bits of) skin, hair, nail-(parings), insects, or the dung of rats (in his food), he shall take out a lump, sprinkle that spot with water, scatter ashes on it, again sprinkle it with water, and use (the remainder of the food), after it has been declared fit (for use).'

7. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He shall eat, seated with his face towards the east, silent, not despising his food, not scattering (fragments on the ground), and solely attend (to his dinner); and, after he has eaten, he shall touch fire.'

8. He shall not cut off with his teeth (pieces from) eatables (that must be swallowed) entire, (such as) cakes, bulbs, roots, fruit, and flesh.

9. (Let him) not (eat) to repletion.

10. After (dinner) he shall drink water, (reciting the text), 'Thou art a covering for ambrosia,' and stroke (the region of) the heart, (saying), 'Thou art the bond that connects the vital airs; (thou art)

the third *ibid.* X, 34. The translation of the Mantras follows Govinda, who somewhat differs from Sâyana.

6. *Vasishtha* XIV, 23.

7. *Vishnu* LXVIII, 40-43.

9. *Vishnu* LXVIII, 47.

10. The first text is found *Taittiriya Âranyaka* X, 35, and the second *ibid.* X, 37. I translate the first according to Govinda.

Rudra and Death ; enter me ; mayest thou grow through this food.'

11. After sipping water a second time, he allows (the drops from) the hand to flow on the big toe of his right foot (and recites the following text): 'May the male be pleased, he who is of the size of a thumb, who occupies (a space of the size of) a thumb, who is the lord of the whole world, masterful, and the enjoyer of the universe.'

12. Let him perform the subsequent consecration (anumantrana) of the (food which has been) offered, with raised arms, (and let him recite) the five (texts beginning), 'With faith, worshipping Prâna, (I have) offered ambrosia ; mayest thou increase Prâna through this food,'

13. (And let him address the soul with the last text of the Anuvâka), '(May) my soul (gain) immortality in the universal soul.'

14. And let him (meditate on his) soul (as) united with the imperishable (syllable Om).

15. He who sacrifices to the soul, surpasses him who offers all sacrifices.

PRASNA II, ADHYĀYA 7, KANDIKĀ 13.

I. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'As cotton and reeds, thrown into a fire, blaze up, even so all the guilt of him who sacrifices to the soul is consumed ;'

11. Taittiriya Âraṇyaka X, 38. The individual soul which resides in the heart is here identified with the universal soul ; see also Kâṭhaka Upanishad IV, 12.

12-13. Taittirīya Âraṇyaka X, 36.

14. The syllable Om is Brahman, the universal soul.

2. (Moreover), 'He who eats merely (in order to satisfy his own hunger) reaps only guilt. In vain (the fool) takes food.'

3. Let him daily, both in the morning and in the evening, sacrifice in this manner;

4. Or (he may offer) water in the evening.

5. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Let him first feed his guests, next the pregnant women, then the infants and the aged, thereafter the distressed and particularly the diseased. But he who eats first, without having given (food) to those (persons) according to the rule, does not know that he is being eaten. He does not eat, (but) he is eaten.'

6. 'Let him eat silently what remains, (after he has given their portions) to the manes, the gods, the servants, his parents, and his Gurus; that is declared to be the rule of the sacred law.'

7. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Eight mouthfuls are the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit in the woods, thirty-two that of a householder, and an unlimited (quantity) that of a student.'

8. 'An Agnihotrin, a draught-ox, and a student, those three can do their work only if they eat (much); without eating (much) they cannot do it.'

9. 'A householder, or a student who practises

13. 2. Rig-veda X, 117, 6, and Taittiriya Brâhmana II, 8, 8, 3. The words have been transposed.

5. Vasishṭha XI, 6-8; Manu III, 114-115. I write, with the Dekhan and Gugarât MSS., na sa bhuñkte, sa bhuḡyate, instead of the senseless reading of M. and the commentary, na sa bhuñkte na bhuḡyate.

6. Vasishṭha XI, 11.

7-8. Âpastamba II, 4, 9, 13.

9-10. Âpastamba II, 4, 9, 12, and note on II, 1, 1, 2.

austerity by fasting, becomes an *Avakīrṇin* through the omission of the sacrifice to the vital airs;'

10. Except when he performs a penance. In the case of a penance that (fasting) is the rule.

11. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'He who never eats between the morning and the evening meals, (obtains the same reward as he who) constantly fasts.'

12. 'As in case one obtains no materials (for the sacrifice), one must mutter the sacred texts to be recited at the *Agnihotra*, offered in the three fires, even so one should mutter the texts to be recited at the *Prâṇāgnihotra*, when one is prevented from dining.'

13. 'He who acts thus, will become one with Brahman.' Thus spake *Pragâpati* (the lord of created beings).

PRASNA II, ADHYĀYA 8, KANDIKĀ 14.

1. The offering to the manes secures long life and heaven, is worthy of praise and a rite ensuring prosperity.

2. Persons who sanctify the company are, a *Trimadhu*, a *Trinâkiketa*, a *Trisuparna*, one who keeps five fires, and one who knows the six *Āṅgas*, one who performs the vow called *Siras*, one who knows the *Gyeshthaśāman*, (and) a *Snâtaka*;

3. On failure of these, one who knows the (texts called) *Rahasya*.

14. 1. *Āpastamba* II, 7, 16, 1-2.

2. *Āpastamba* II, 7, 17, 22; *Vasishtha* III, 19. Govinda states that the *Atharvavedins* know the vow called *Siras*; see also *Vasishtha* XXVI, 12, and note.

3. Govinda says that persons acquainted with the *Rahasyas* or

4. The *Rîk*-verses, the *Yagus*-formulas, and the *Sâmans* (give) lustre to a funeral offering. Therefore he may feed (on that occasion) even a *Sapinda* relation who (knows) those (texts).

5. Let him who feeds (*Brâhmanas* at a funeral sacrifice) cause them to hear successively the *Rakshoghna* *Sâmans*, the *Yagus*-formulas (called) *Svadhâvat*, the *Rîk*-verses (called) *Madhu*, and the (texts called) *Pavitrâs*.

6. Having invited on the day before (the *Srâddha*), or just in the morning, virtuous, pure (men), such as *Trimadhus*, who know the *Vedângas* and the sacred texts, who are not related by marriage, nor members of the same family, nor connected through the *Veda*, at least three, (but always) an odd number, the (sacrificer) makes them sit down on prepared seats, covered with *Darbha* grass, facing the east or the north.

7. Then he offers to them water mixed with sesamum seed, adorns them with scents and garlands (and says), 'I wish to offer oblations in the fire.'

Âraṇyakas are preferable to those mentioned in the preceding *Sûtra*, and thus the order must be reversed.

4. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 17, 5.

5. The texts on which the *Rakshoghna* *Sâmans* are based occur *Sâma-veda* I, 1, 1, 3, 4-6; the *Svadhâvat* *Yagus*, *Taitt. Brâhmana* I, 3, 10, 2; the *Madhu Rîkas*, *Rig-veda* I, 90, 6; and the three *Pavitrâs*, *Taitt. Brâhmana* I, 4, 8, 2.

6. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 14, 5. All the MSS., including those of the commentary, read *yonigotramantrasambandhân* instead of *yonigotramantrâsambandhân*. But the explanation of *gotrasambandhân* by *asagotrân* shows still a faint trace of the former existence of the reading which I have restored conjecturally and translated. Its correctness is proved by the parallel passage of *Âpastamba*.

7. *Vishnu* LXXIII, 12-13; *Manu* III, 208-211. The *Agnimukha*

When he has received permission (to do so), he heaps fuel on the sacred fire, scatters Kusa grass around it, performs (all the ceremonies) up to the end of the Agnimukha, and offers three burnt oblations of food only, (reciting the following texts): 'To Soma, accompanied by the manes, Svâhâ!' 'To Yama, accompanied by the Ângiras and by the manes, Svâhâ!' 'To Agni, who carries the offerings to the manes, who causes sacrifices to be well performed, Svâhâ!'

8. He shall make these three oblations with food only which has been sprinkled with the remainder of the (clarified butter).

9. Let him give a cake of food to the birds.

10. For it is declared in the Veda, 'The manes roam about in the shape of birds.'

11. Next he touches the (other food) with his hand and with the thumb,

12. (And recites the following texts): 'Fire sees thee, who art co-extensive with the earth, the *Rik*-verses are thy greatness, lest the gift be in vain; the earth is the vessel for thee, the sky the cover; I offer thee in the mouth of Brahman, I offer thee in the *Prâṇa* and the *Apâna* of learned *Brâhmaṇas*; thou art imperishable, mayest thou never fail to (the manes of our) fathers yonder, in the other world.' 'Air hears thee, who art co-extensive with the middle sphere,

is a term denoting all the preliminaries which precede the *Pradhânahoma* of a ceremony. The *Dekhan* and *Gugarât* MSS. read *âgyasya* instead of *annasyaiva*.

8. Clarified butter is necessary for the rites included in the *Agnimukha*.

12. The *Mantras* are addressed to the food which is to be offered.

the Yagus-formulas are thy greatness, lest the gift be in vain; the earth is the vessel for thee, the sky the cover; mayest thou never fail to the (manes of our) grandfathers yonder, in the other world.' 'The sun reveals thee, who art co-extensive with the sky, the Sāmāns are thy greatness, lest the gift be in vain; mayest thou never fail to the (manes of our) great-grandfathers yonder, in the other world.'

PRASNA II, ADHYĀYA 8, KANDIKĀ 15.

1. Now indeed (that) happens (also which the following verses teach):

2. 'Let him sprinkle that food with the remainder of the burnt oblations. But what is given without (touching it with) the thumb does not gladden the manes.'

3. 'The malevolent Asuras seek an opportunity (to snatch away) that food intended for the manes, which is not supported with both hands.'

4. 'The Yātudhānas and Pisāṅgas, who receive no share, steal the food if sesamum grains are not scattered (on the seats of the guests), and the Asuras (take it) if (the host) is under the sway of anger.'

5. 'If a person dressed in reddish clothes mutters prayers, offers burnt oblations, or receives gifts, the sacrificial viands, offered at sacrifices to the gods or to the manes, do not reach the deities.'

15. 2. Manu III, 215. See also above, II, 8, 14, 10.

3. Vasishṭha XI, 25.

4. Vishṇu LXXIII, 11; Manu III, 229.

5. Govinda states that the rule is intended to teach that the sacrificer and the guests at a Śrāddha must be dressed in white,

6. 'If gifts are given or received without (touching them with) the thumb and, if one sips water standing, (the performer of the act) is not benefited thereby.'

7. At the beginning and at the end (of a *Srâddha*) water must be given (to the guests).

8. In every case the muttering (of sacred texts) and the other (necessary acts must be performed) according to the rule.

9. The remaining (rules) have been prescribed (in the section) on the burnt oblations on *Ashṭakâ* (days).

10. 'He shall feed two (*Brâhmanas*) at the offering to the gods and three at the offering to the manes, or a single man on either occasion. Even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company.'

11. 'A large company destroys these five (advantages), the respectful treatment (of the invited guests, the propriety of) time and place, purity and (the selection of) virtuous *Brâhmaṇa* (guests); therefore he shall not invite (a large number).'

12. 'In front (feed) the fathers of the (sacrificer), to the left the grandfathers, to the right the great-grandfathers, and at the back those who pare off (portions) from the cakes.'

and that ascetics are not to be invited. But see *Vasishṭha* XI, 17, 34.

7. *Vishṇu* LXXIII, 12, 27, and above, II, 8, 14, 6.

9. *Baudhâyana Grîhya-sûtra* II, 17, 18.

10-11. *Vasishṭha* XI, 27-28.

12. In the beginning of the verse I read with M. and the I. O. copy of the commentary *urastah pitaras tasya*, and in the end with the Dekhan and Gugarât MSS. *pindatakshakâh*. M. reads *pindatarkyâ*, and the copies of the commentary *pindodakâh*. Both these

PRASNA II, ADHYÂYA 9, KANDIKÂ 16.

1. (Now follows some) advice for him who is desirous of offspring.

2. The two Asvins have declared, that fame is gained by the procreation (of sons);

3. 'Performing acts which tend to prolong life and austerities, intent on the performance of the private recitation and of sacrifices, and keeping his organs in subjection, let him carefully beget offspring in his own caste.'

4. 'From his birth a Brâhmaṇa is loaded with three debts; these let him pay. A prudent man is free from doubts regarding the sacred law.'

5. 'If he worships the sages through the study of the Veda, Indra with Soma sacrifices, and the manes of his ancestors through (the procreation of) children, he will rejoice in heaven, free from debt.'

6. 'Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a grandson he obtains immortality, but through his son's grandson he ascends to the (highest) heaven.' (All that) has been declared in the Veda.

7. The Veda shows the existence of the three debts in the following (passage): 'A Brâhmaṇa is born loaded with three debts; (he owes) the studentship to the sages, sacrifices to the gods, and a son to the manes;'

readings are clearly corrupt, and so is the var. lect. of the *Gṛhyasamgraha*, quoted in the Petersburg Dictionary, *pindatarkukâḥ*. *Pindatakshakâḥ*, 'the cutters or parers of the cakes,' is appropriate, because the remoter ancestors, who, as Govinda too declares, are meant by the term, obtain the fragments of the funeral cakes.

6. Vasishṭha XVII, 5.

7. Vasishṭha XI, 48. After this Sûtra the MSS. of the text

8. Through the procreation of a virtuous son he saves himself.

9. He who obtains a virtuous son saves from the fear of sin seven in the descending line and seven in the ascending line, (viz.) six others (in each), himself being the seventh.

10. Therefore he obtains a reward if he begets issue.

11. Therefore he should sedulously beget offspring,

insert the following corrupt passage : *bandham rinamoksham pragâyâs kâyattam pitrînâm kânukarshasabdas ka pragâyâm darsayati | anutsannaḥ pragâvân bhavati | yâ vad enam pragânugrihṇîte tâvad akshayam lokam gayati.* The commentary does not notice it, and it seems to me that it needlessly interrupts the context.

11. M. and K. add to this Sûtra, *âtmanaḥ phalalâbhâya*, 'in order to gain a reward for himself.' The same two MSS., further, insert the following Sûtras : *tasmât putram kotpâdyâtmânam evotpâdayatîti | vigñâyate kâtmâ vai putranâmâsṭi | evam dvitīya âtmâ gīvatâ drashavyo yaḥ putram utpâdayati | sa tathâ bhavati | tasmân nâtmâ kvaṇid akshetra utsrashavyaḥ | âtmânam avamanyate hi | yathâtmânam utpâdayati sa tathâ bhavati | tasmâd âdita eva kshetram anvikkhet sarvavarne samskrîtam upadesena | tasmin dârasamyoge pragâm utpâdayet ||* 'Therefore (they say) that he who begets a son produces even his own self; and it is declared in the Veda, "Thou art self, called a son." Thus he who begets a son will see, during his lifetime, a second self. He becomes like him. Therefore one's own self must not be begotten on an unworthy female. For (he who does that) despises himself. He becomes even so, as he produces himself. Therefore (every man), each in his own caste, should first look out for a female who has been sanctified according to the injunction (of the sacred texts). Taking her to be his wedded wife, he shall beget a son.' It is possible that this passage really belongs to Baudhâyana, for it is written in the usual style of our Sûtra, and the last word of this passage as well as of Sûtra 11, as given in the Dekhan MSS., is *utpâdayet*. But it is not absolutely required by the context, and the commentary too omits it.

12. Through the application of medicines and sacred texts.

13. The advice to him (who is intent on the procreation of children) is given in agreement with the revealed texts.

14. For it produces results in the case of all the castes.

PRAŚNA II, ADHYĀYA 10, KANDIKĀ 17.

1. Now we will explain the rule for entering the order of ascetics (*saṃnyāsa*).

2. Some (teachers say), 'He who has finished his studentship may become an ascetic immediately on (the completion of) that.'

3. But (according to others, asceticism is befitting) for Śālinas and Yâyâvaras who are childless ;

4. Or a widower (may become an ascetic).

5. (In general) they prescribe the profession of asceticism after the completion of the seventieth year and after the children have been firmly settled in (the performance of) their sacred duties.

6. Or a hermit in the woods (may become an

13. I read with M., whose reading is confirmed by the explanation given in the commentary, *tasyopadesaḥ śrutisāmānyenopadiśyate*. The other MS. reads *tasyopadesena*, and in the text of the commentary the first word is left out.

17. 2. Gautama III, 1.

3. Regarding the two terms Śālina and Yâyâvara, see below, III, 1, 3-4.

4. Vidhura, translated, according to Govinda's explanation, by 'widower,' perhaps includes all persons who have been separated from their families.

6. Regarding the ceremonies to be performed by hermits in the wood, see above, II, 6, 11, 15, and below, III, 3.

ascetic) on finishing the (special) ceremonies (prescribed for him).

7. 'That eternal greatness of the Brāhmaṇa is neither increased nor diminished by works. The soul knows the nature of that (greatness). He who knows that, is not stained by evil deeds.'

8. 'It leads to the cessation of births.'

9. 'The eternal one leads (him) to glory.' The greatness (of asceticism is declared by these passages).

10. After having caused the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails to be cut, he prepares

11. Sticks, a rope, a cloth for straining water, a water vessel, and an alms-bowl.

12. Taking these (implements, let him go) to the extremity of the village, or to the extremity of the boundary (of the village), or to the house where the sacred fires are kept, partake of a threefold (mixture of) clarified butter, milk, (and) sour milk, and (afterwards) fast;

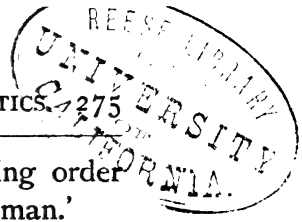
13. Or (he may partake of) water.

14. (Saying), 'Om, Bhûh, I enter the Sâvitṛī, tat savitur vareṇyam; Om, Bhuvaḥ, I enter the Sâvitṛī, bhargo devasya dhīmahi; Om, I enter the Sâvitṛī, dhiyo yo naḥ prakodayât;' (he shall recite the Sâvitṛī) foot by foot, half-verse by half-verse, (and finish by repeating) the whole or the parts (of the verse).

7. See above, II, 6, 11, 30.

11. Yāgyavalkya III, 58-60.

14. This part of the ceremony is called Sâvitṛīpraveśa, 'entering the Sâvitṛī.' According to the Dharmasindhu, fol. 84 a, l. 8, the last Mantra is 'Om, Bhûh, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, I enter the Sâvitṛī; we meditate on that adorable light of divine Savitrī, who may impel our thoughts.'



15. It is declared in the Veda, 'Entering order after order, (man) becomes (one with) Brahman.'

16. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He who has passed from order to order, has offered burnt oblations and kept his organs in subjection, becomes afterwards, tired with (giving) alms and (making) offerings, an ascetic.'

17. Such an ascetic (becomes one with) the infinite (Brahman).

18. Before the sun sets, he heaps fuel on the Gârhapatya fire, brings the Anvâhâryapaṭana fire (to the spot), takes the flaming Âhavantya fire out (of the Gârhapatya), melts butter on the Gârhapatya fire, cleanses it (with 'Kusa grass), takes four times (portions of it) in the sacrificial spoon (called Sruṭ), and offers in the Âhavantya fire on which sacred fuel has been heaped, (four times) a full oblation, (saying), 'Om, Svâhâ!'

19. It is declared in the Veda that this (offering is) the Brahmânsvâdhâna (putting fuel on the sacred fires for the sake of the universal soul).

20. Now in the evening, after the Agnihotra has been offered, he scatters grass to the north of the Gârhapatya fire, places the sacrificial vessels in pairs, the upper part turned downwards, on it, strews Darbha grass to the south of the Âhavantya fire on the seat destined for the Brahman priest, covers

16. Manu VI, 34.

18. Anvâhâryapaṭana is another name of the so-called Dakshinâgni, in which the sacrificial viands are cooked. The cleansing of the butter (utpavana) is performed by taking hold of the ends of blades of Kusa grass and dipping the bent middle part into the melted butter and then drawing it upwards. A full burnt oblation (pūrṇâhuti) consists of a whole spoonful. As four spoonfuls are to be taken out, it follows that four oblations are to be offered.

it with the skin of a black antelope, and remains awake during that night.

21. A Brâhmaṇa who, knowing this, dies after fasting during the night of Brahman and repositing within himself the sacred fires, conquers all guilt, even (that of) killing a Brâhmaṇa.

22. Then he rises in the muhūrta sacred to Brahman, and offers the early Agnihotra just at the (appointed) time.

23. Next, after covering the (part of the altar called) *Prishṭhyâ* and bringing water, he prepares (an offering) to (Agni) Vaisvânara (which is cooked) in twelve potsherds. That (well-)known *Ishî* is the last (which he performs).

24. Afterwards he throws the sacrificial vessels, which are neither made of earth nor of stone, into the *Âhavanīya* fire,

25. (And) throwing the two *Araṇis* into the *Gârhapatya* fire (with the words), 'May ye be of one mind with us,' he reposes the sacred fires in himself.

26. (Reciting the sacred text), 'O Fire, that body of thine, which is fit for the sacrifice,' he inhales the smell of (the smoke of) each fire thrice three times.

27. Then, standing within the sacrificial enclosure, (he says) thrice in a low voice and thrice aloud, 'Om, *Bhûh*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svaḥ*, I have entered the order of ascetics, I have entered the order of ascetics, I have entered the order of ascetics.'

21. The night during which the ascetic keeps watch near the fires is called 'the night of Brahman.'

25. The *Araṇis* are the two pieces of wood used for producing fire by friction, *Taittirīya Samhitâ* I, 3, 7, 1-2.

28. It is declared in the Veda, 'The gods are trebly true.'

29. (Finally) he pours out as much water as will fill his joined hands, (saying), 'I promise not to injure any living being.'

30. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'An ascetic who roams about after having given a promise of safety to all living beings, is not threatened with danger by any creature.'

31. (Henceforth) he must restrain his speech.

32. He grasps his staff, (saying), '(Thou art my) friend, protect me.'

33. He takes the rope, (reciting the verse), 'The brilliant light,' &c.

34. He takes the cloth for straining water, (reciting the text), 'With which means of purification the gods,' &c.

35. He takes the waterpot, (reciting the verse), 'Through that light, by which the gods rose on high,' &c.

36. He takes the alms-bowl, (reciting the Vyâhr̥tis).

37. Taking with him the staves, the rope, the

28. Taittirīya Âraṇyaka II, 18, 6.

29. All gifts must be confirmed by a libation of water, which in other cases is poured into the hand of the recipient. The ceremony proves more clearly even than the numerous other passages of the Smṛ̥tis, in which ascetics are exhorted to abstain from injuring living beings, that the so-called ahimsâ doctrine is not of Buddhistic, but of Brâhmanical origin.

30. Vasishṭha X, 1-2.

31. Gautama III, 17.

33. Taittirīya Brâhmana III, 7, 8, 1.

35. Taittirīya Samhitâ V, 7, 2, 2.

37. The Surabhimatī occurs Taittirīya Brâhmana III, 9, 7, 5. For the other texts named, see above, II, 4, 7, 2. The Tarpana has been fully described above, II, 5, 9-10.

cloth for straining water, the waterpot, (and) the alms-bowl, he goes where water (is to be obtained), bathes, sips water, (and) washes himself, (reciting the verses called) Surabhimatī, Ablīṅgās, Vārunīs, Hiranyavarṇās, and Pāvamānīs. Entering the water, he performs sixteen suppressions of the breath, (mentally repeating) the Aghamarshaṇa hymn, ascends the bank, wrings out his dress, puts on another pure dress, sips water, takes the cloth for straining, (saying), 'Om, Bhûh, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ,' and performs the Tarpaṇa (with the following texts), 'Om, Bhûh, I satiate,' 'Om, Bhuvaḥ —, Om, Svaḥ —, Om, Mahaḥ —, Om, Ganaḥ —, Om, Tapaḥ —, Om, Satyam —.'

38. He takes up as much water as his joined hands will hold for the manes, (and satiates them with it) exactly in the same manner as the gods, (saying), 'Om, Bhûh Svadhâ, Om, Bhuvaḥ Svadhâ,' &c.

39. Then he worships the sun, (reciting) the two verses (which begin), 'Ud u tyam kītram,' &c.

40. (Saying), 'Om, this (syllable Om), forsooth, is Brahman; this (syllable) which sheds warmth is light; this which gives warmth is the Veda; this must be known as that which sheds warmth;' he thus satiates the soul (and afterwards) worships the soul (with these texts), 'The soul (is) Brahman, (is) light.'

38. 'In the same manner as the gods,' i. e. without passing the sacred string over the right shoulder.—Govinda.

40. The Gugarât and Dekhan MSS., including K., place after the first Om two additional Mantras, 'Brahman (is) Om; this universe (is) Om.' The object of the Mantras given in the Madras MSS. is to identify the Prāṇava with the Brahman, the sun, and the Veda.

41. Let him repeat the Sâvitṛī one thousand times, or one hundred times, or an unlimited number of times.

42. (Saying), 'Bhûh, Bhuvaḥ, Suvaḥ,' he takes up the cloth for straining, (and) fetches water.

43. Let him not, (at any period) after that (moment), sip water which has not been drawn up (from a well and the like), which has not been strained, and which has not been completely cleansed.

44. Let him not wear any longer a white dress.

45. (He may carry) one staff or three staves.

PRAŚNA II, ADHYĀYA 10, KANDIKĀ 18.

1. Now the following vows are (to be kept by an ascetic):

2. Abstention from injuring living beings, truthfulness, abstention from appropriating the property of others, continence, (and) liberality.

3. There are five minor vows, (viz.) abstention from anger, obedience towards the Guru, avoidance of rashness, cleanliness and purity in eating.

4. Now (follows the rule for) begging. Let him

43. Manu VI, 46. Aparipâtābhiḥ, 'which has not been completely cleansed,' probably refers to the so-called *drishya* paripavana, 'carefully looking at it in order to see if any living being remains in it.'

18. 2. The five vows (vratas) named here are the principal ones. As to the vow of 'liberality' Govinda remarks that though the ascetic possesses no 'store' and no property in the ordinary sense of the word, still he can have books and give those away.

3. 'Avoidance of rashness,' i. e. committing any act which might destroy life.

4. 'When the Vaisraveda offering has been finished,' i. e. when people have had their dinner; see also Vasishṭha X, 7.

ask Brāhmanas, both those who have houses (sālīna) and those who lead a wandering life (yâyāvara), for alms, when the Vaisvadeva offering has been finished.

5. Let him ask (for it), prefacing (his request with the word) Bhavat.

6. Let him stand begging no longer than the time required for milking a cow.

7. When he returns from begging, he lays (the alms) down in a pure place, washes his hands and feet, and announces (what he obtained) to the sun, (reciting the text), 'Ud u tyam kṛitam,' &c. He (also) announces it to Brahman (with the text), 'The first-born Brahman,' &c.

8. It is declared in the Veda, 'After the Brahmādhāna the sacrificer himself (contains) the sacrificial fires. His respiration (prāṇa, represents) the Gârhapatya fire, the air that goes downwards (apāna, represents) the Anvâhâryapaṭana (or Dakshina) fire, the circulation in the body (vyâna, represents) the Âhavanīya fire, the cerebral circulation (udâna) and the abdominal circulation (samâna, represent) the Sabhya and Âvasathya fires. These five fires are abiding in the soul. He (therefore) offers (the oblations) in the soul alone.'

9. 'This sacrifice, offered in the soul, which is located in and based on the soul, leads the soul to happiness.'

10. Giving, compassionately, portions (of his food) to the living beings, and sprinkling the re-

7. The second text occurs repeatedly in the Taittirīya-veda, e.g. Taittirīya Âraṇyaka X, 1, 10.

8. Regarding the Brahmādhāna, see above, II, 10, 17, 19.

mainder with water, he shall eat it as if it were a medicine.

11. After he has eaten and sipped water, he mutters (the texts), 'Out of darkness we,' &c., (and), 'My speech resides in the mouth,' &c., and worships the sun with the (verse called) *Gyotishmatī*.

12. Let him eat food, given without asking, regarding which nothing has been settled beforehand and which has reached him accidentally, so much only as is sufficient to sustain life.

13. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Eight mouthfuls (make) the meal of an ascetic, sixteen (that) of a hermit in the woods, thirty-two (that) of a householder, an unlimited (quantity that) of a student.'

14. 'Alms (may) either (be obtained) from (men of) the three castes, or the food (given) by a single *Brāhmaṇa* (may be eaten); or (he may obtain food) from (men of) all castes, and not (eat) that given by a single *Brāhmaṇa*.'

15. Now they quote (the following special rules) for the case that the teachers explain (the doctrine) of the Upanishads: 'Diligently standing (in the day-time), keeping silence, sitting (at night) with crossed legs, bathing three times a day, and eating

11. The first text occurs frequently in the *Taittirīya-veda*, e.g. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* IV, 1, 7, 4; the second, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X, 72. The *Gyotishmatī* is, according to Govinda, the first of the two Mantras quoted.

12. According to Govinda this verse gives the opinion of 'some' teachers, not the author's. *Asaṃkṣiptam*, 'regarding which nothing has been settled beforehand,' indicates, according to Govinda, that the ascetic must not even mentally determine what he is going to eat.

13. See above, II, 7, 13, 7.

at the fourth, sixth, or eighth (meal-time only), he shall subsist entirely on (rice) grains, oil-cake, food prepared from barley, sour milk, (and) milk.'

16. It is declared in the Veda, 'On that (occasion) he shall rigidly keep silence; pressing the teeth together he may converse, without opening his mouth, as much as is necessary with teachers deeply versed in the three Vedas (and) with ascetics possessing a great knowledge of the scriptures, not with women, nor when he would break (his vow).'

17. (Let him keep) only one of (the rules which enjoin) standing (in the day-time), rigid silence, and sitting (at night) with crossed legs; let him not keep all three together.

18. It is declared in the Veda, 'And he who has gone there may eat, in times of distress, a small quantity of the food prescribed by his vow after (having partaken of other dishes), provided he does not break (his vow).'

19. 'Eight (things) do not cause him who is intent on standing (in the day-time), keeping rigid silence, sitting (at night) with crossed legs, bathing three times a day, and (eating) at the fourth, sixth, or eighth meal-time only, to break his vow, (viz.) water, roots, clarified butter, milk, sacrificial food, the wish of a Brâhmaṇa, an order of his teacher, and medicine.'

20. Let him mutter the (Mantras which must be

18. 'The meaning is, that in times of distress, having partaken at his pleasure (of other food), he may afterwards eat of one (of the substances mentioned above, viz.) rice-grains and the rest.'—Govinda.

19. All the MSS. except M. have *snâna*, 'bathing,' instead of *sthâna*, 'standing (in the day-time),' though the reading is clearly wrong.

recited at the) Agnihotra, in the evening and in the morning,

21. After performing his evening devotions by (reciting the verses called) *Vârunîs*, and his morning devotions by (reciting the verses called) *Maitrîs*.

22. 'An ascetic shall keep no fire, have no house, no home, and no protector. He may enter a village in order to collect alms, and emit speech at the private recitation of the Veda.'

23. It is declared in the Veda, 'Limited in number are the *Rîk*-verses, limited in number are the *Sâmans*, limited is the answer (of the *Adhvaryu* priest).'

24. 'Thus (an ascetic) shall not give up the Veda, (but live), until he is liberated from the body, at the root of the tree.'

25. 'The tree (is) the Veda; the syllable *Om* is its root; the syllable *Om* is the essence of the Veda.'

26. 'Meditating on the syllable *Om*, he becomes

21. The *Maitrîs* occur *Taitt. Samhitâ* III, 4, 11, 5, and the *Vârunîs* follow them immediately.

22. *Âpastamba* II, 9, 21, 10.

23. This and the next *Sûtras* are intended to teach that ascetics may limit their private recitation to the repetition of the *pranava*, 'the syllable *Om*.' According to *Govinda* the passage of the Veda quoted refers originally to the *Katurhotârah*, which the *Taittirîya Brâhmana* II, 2, 1, 4, and III, 12, 5, 1 identifies with the *Brahman*, and where the *pratigara*, the answer of the *Adhvaryu* priest, is '*Om hotaḥ*' (*Aitareya Brâhmana* V, 25).

24. I have taken *vrikshamûlikavedasamnyâsî* to stand for *vrikshamûliko avedasamnyâsî*. For the *vedasamnyâsa*, 'giving up the Veda,' is not permitted to an ascetic; see e. g. *Vasishṭha* X, 4. But even without the negative particle *vedasamnyâsî* may convey a sense not opposed to the general teaching of the *Smṛitis*. For it may be taken to mean 'abandoning (the recitation of other portions of) the Veda.'

fit (to be united with) Brahman.' Thus spake the lord of created beings.

27. Let him cleanse the vessel of Brahman with the seven Vyâhr̥itis.

PRASNA III, ADHYĀYA 1.

1. Now, therefore, (we will speak) of those who desire (to fulfil) the duties of Sālīnas (dwellers in houses), Yâyâvaras (wanderers), and Kakraṭaras (circle-goers), who subsist by nine (different) means of livelihood.

2. The term 'livelihood' (*vr̥itti*) is used because they subsist thereby (*tadvartanât*).

3. The word Sālīna (is used) because they dwell in houses (*sālā*).

4. To be a Yâyâvara (means that one) goes on by means of a most excellent livelihood (*vr̥ittyâ varayâ yâti*).

5. The term Kakraṭara is derived from going by turns (to the houses of rich men).

6. We will explain those (above-mentioned) means of livelihood in their proper order.

7. They are nine, (*viz.*) Shannivartant, Kaudḍālī, Dhruvā, Samprakshālant, Samûhā, Pālant, Siloñkhā, Kapotā, and Siddhoñkhā.

27. Govinda is uncertain if the term brahmabhāṅga, 'the vessel of Brahman,' refers to the alms-bowl or to the body of the ascetic. Probably both are meant, and the Sūtra is intended to prescribe the frequent recitation of the Vyâhr̥itis in addition to the syllable Om.

1. 5. Govinda says that Kakraṭara is another name for Yâyâvara, and that *anukramakarana*, 'going by turns,' means going successively to the houses of Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas.

7. The terms left untranslated are fully explained in the next

8. (In addition) to these there is a tenth way of living, viz. forest-life.

9. (If he desires to adopt) any of the nine ways of living,

10. He causes the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails to be cut, and besides gets ready (the following objects),

11. (Viz.) the skin of a black antelope, a water-pot, a staff, a yoke for carrying burdens, (and) a sickle.

12. He desires to go forth, after having offered a Traidhâtaviya (offering) or a Vaisvânart (ishî).

13. Now on the (following) morning, after the sun has risen, he makes the sacred fires burn brightly, melts butter on the Gârhapatya fire, cleanses it (with Kusa grass), heats the (spoons called) Sruṣ and Sruva, cleans (them), takes out four (spoonfuls of butter) in the Sruṣ, and offers the Vâstoshpatiya (oblation) in the Âhavantya fire according to (the rules of his) Sûtra.

chapter. All the MSS. read kauntâlî for kauddâlî, which occurs in the commentary alone.

11. The *vivadha*, 'a yoke for carrying burdens,' consists usually of a bamboo pole, to the ends of which two ropes are attached for fastening the loads. *Kuthahârî*, 'a sickle,' seems to be the name of a particular kind of sickle, since Govinda explains it by *vâsa-varâsanadâtram*. He adds that the term includes 'a spade' (*kud-dâla*) and other implements.

12. The meaning is that on the evening before his departure from the old home he is to offer the Traidhâtaviya-homa. According to the *Srauta-sûtras* (see the Petersb. Dict. s. v. *traidhâtavî*) the latter offering always occurs at the end of a great sacrifice. Hence it is appropriate for a person who wishes to begin a new mode of life.

13. This is the leave-taking from the old dwelling.

14. Having recited the Puroṇuvākya (verse), 'O lord of the dwelling, permit us,' &c., he offers (the oblation) with the Yāgya verse, 'O lord of the dwelling, with thy kind company,' &c.

15. Some (declare that) every person who has kindled the sacred fires (shall offer these Homas).

16. Others (say that) a Yāyāvara alone (shall do it).

17. After departing (from his house), he stops at the extremity of the village, or at the extremity of the boundary of the village, builds there a hut or a cottage, and enters that.

18. Let him use the skin of the black antelope and the other (objects) which he has prepared for the several purposes which they are intended to serve.

19. Known (is) the (duty of) serving the fires; known (is) the (duty of) offering the new and full moon sacrifices; known (is) the successive performance of the five Mahāyagñas; it is seen that the vegetables, which have been produced, are offered.

20. He hallows those (vegetables), either (reciting the text), 'I offer what is agreeable to all the gods,' or silently, and cooks (them).

14. The two verses occur Taittirīya Samhitā III, 4, 10, 1. It is specially mentioned by Sāyana that the two verses have to be recited by an Agnihotrin on departing from his home.

17. *Matka*, 'a cottage,' is, according to Govinda, a house resting on many posts or pillars, while *kuṭ* is the simple shed with four posts and a roof of leaves.

19. The last clause, probably, is meant to prescribe a simpler form of the Vaisvadeva.

20. Govinda adds that the meaning is that the sacrificer shall eat the boiled rice in silence.

21. For such (a man the duty of) teaching, sacrificing for others, accepting gifts, and (performing) other sacrifices (than those mentioned) ceases.

22. (The use of) sacrificial food fit to be eaten during the performance of a vow is seen;

23. That is as follows: (his food may be) mixed with clarified butter or sour milk, (it must) not (contain) pungent condiments or salt, nor meat, nor (be) stale.

24. (He shall remain) chaste, or approach (his wife) in season.

25. (It is necessary) to have the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails cut on each Parva day, and the rules of purification (are obligatory on him).

26. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Two kinds of purification, which the Śiṣṭas reverentially practise, are mentioned in the Veda,—external (purification), which consists in the removal of impure stains and foul smells, and internal (purification), which consists in the abstention from injuring live creatures.'

27. 'The body is purified by water, the understanding by knowledge, the soul of beings by abstention from injuring, (and) the internal organ by truth.'

PRASNA III, ADHYÂYA 2.

1. As regards (the mode of subsistence called) *Shannivartant*, (that) is (as follows):

21. Govinda adds that the obligation of performing other meritorious deeds, such as digging wells and tanks (*pârta*), also ceases.

27. *Vasishṭha* III, 60.

2. He cultivates six Nivartanas (of) fallow (land); he gives a share to the owner (of the soil), or solicits his permission (to keep the whole produce).

3. Let him plough before breakfast with two bulls whose noses have not been pierced, not striking (them) with the goad, (but) frequently coaxing (them).

4. If he cultivates six Nivartanas in this manner (and subsists thereby), that is (the mode of living called) *Shannivartant* (subsistence on six Nivartanas).

5. (As regards the mode of subsistence called) *Kauddālt*, he digs up (the soil) near a water(-course or tank) with a spade, a ploughshare, or a pointed piece of wood, sows seed, (and) grows bulbs, roots, fruit, pot-herbs, and vegetables.

6. (If he thus) cultivates (land) with a spade (and lives on its produce), that is the (mode of life called) *Kauddālt* (subsistence by the spade).

7. He who lives by the (mode of subsistence called) *Dhruvâ*, wraps up his head in a white dress (saying), 'For the sake of welfare I wrap thee up, O head,' (and) takes the skin of a black antelope (with the words), '(Thou art) spiritual pre-eminence, (I take thee) for the sake of spiritual pre-eminence;' the *Pavitra* (reciting) the *Ablinga* texts; the water-pot (saying), 'Thou art strength, (I take) thee for

2. 2. A Nivartana is a measure of 4000 square hastas, the ancient equivalent of the modern Bighâ.

3. Identical with II, 2, 4, 21.

6. Govinda says that according to some the following ceremonies need only be performed when one goes out begging for the first time, while others insist on their being performed daily.

7. The *Mânastokiya*, i. e. the text beginning 'mâ nas toke,'

the sake of strength;’ the yoke for carrying burdens (saying), ‘Thou art grain, (I take) thee for the sake of prosperity;’ the staff (saying), ‘(Thou art) a friend, protect me.’

8. On leaving (his hut), he mutters the Vyâhr̥itis, and (afterwards the verse used for) hallowing the quarters of the horizon, ‘May the earth, the middle sphere, the sky, the constellations, and all the quarters of the horizon, fire, air, and sun, (may all these) deities protect me on my road.’

9. Because, after muttering the Mânastokīya (text) and entering the village, he shows himself with the yoke (on his shoulder) at the door of each house, they call it ‘showing oneself.’

10. Because, if every (other) livelihood fails, he persistently (dhruvam) supports himself by this (mode of living), it is called Dhruvâ (the unchangeable).

11. (As regards the mode of life called) Samprakshālāṇī, (if, in order to show that) there is no waste of the vegetable (substances) obtained nor

occurs repeatedly in the Taittirīya-veda, e. g. Taitt. Samhitā III, 4, 11, 2. Govinda adds that the beggar must remain silent, and not stop longer at each door than the time required for milking a cow.

10. Both the text and the scanty commentary on this Sūtra are corrupt. K. reads, *vr̥tter vr̥ttair avārtâyām tayaiva tasya dhruvam varttayatīti dhruveti parikīrtitā*; D. *vr̥tte vr̥ttair avārtâtâhâ*, &c.; M. *vr̥tte vr̥tter avr̥ttâyām avr̥ttâyām tathaiva tasyāḥ ddhrivam varttamānād iti*, &c.; C. I. *vr̥tter vr̥tter āvartâyām āvartâyām tathaiva tasyām dhruvam vartanād iti*, &c. The Telugu copy omits the text. From the commentary it is clear that Govinda read at the beginning of the Sūtra ‘*vr̥tter vr̥tter*,’ and the Telugu copy proves that ‘*tayaiva*’ is the correct reading. I restore the Sūtra conjecturally, as follows, *vr̥tter vr̥tter avārtâyām tayaiva tasya dhruvam vartanād iti dhruveti parikīrtitā*.

11. I read, *samprakshālāṇīti | utpannānām oshadhīnām prakshē-*

any hoarding, he turns the dishes, after washing them, upside down, (that is the livelihood called) Samprakshālant (living by washing).

12. As to the (mode of subsistence called) Samūhā, (if) he sweeps up (grain) with a broom in permitted places where (grain-bearing) plants are found, either on a road or in fields the access to which is not obstructed (by hedges), and lives on (what he has thus obtained), that (livelihood is called) Samūhā (living by sweeping).

13. As to the (mode of life called) Pālant, it is also named Ahimsakā (not hurting), and the following (definition) is given. (If) he tries to obtain from virtuous men husked rice or seeds, and maintains (himself) thereby, that (is the mode of subsistence called) Pālant.

14. As to the (mode of life called) Siloñkhā, (if) he gleanes single ears in permitted places where (grain-bearing) plants grow, on a road or in fields the access to which is not obstructed, and supports himself by (these) gleanings, (collected) from time

panam nāstīti *nikāyo* vā bhāganāni samprakshālya nyubgayatīti samprakshālant || M. has nāsti *nikāyo* vā, and C. I. reads also *nikāyo* and omits 'vā.' The Dekhan MSS. have nāstīti *kāyo* vā. The description is not very clear; but it seems that a person who lives by the Samprakshālant *vṛtti* must obtain grain and vegetables by begging in such quantities as will suffice for one meal, and prove by the way in which he treats his dishes that he has neither wasted his food nor any store remaining.

13. The translation of this Sūtra is merely tentative, as the two MSS. of the commentary omit the text, and contain only a fragment of Govinda's explanation. The latter seems to have differed from my interpretation. The text, as given by the other MSS., runs as follows: pālantī [pālī°, MSS.] ahimsakety evedam uktam bhavati [°ūti, M.] tushavihināms tandulān ikkhati sagganebhyo bīgāni vā [kā, D.] pālayatīti pālant [phāla°, phālani, M.; pālino, K. D.]

to time, that (is the mode of subsistence called) *Siloñkkhâ* (gleaning).

15. As to the (livelihood called) *Kapotâ*, (if) he picks up with two fingers single grains in permitted places, where (grain-bearing) plants grow, either on the road or in fields the access to which is not obstructed, that (is called), because he acts like a pigeon, *Kapotâ* (pigeon-life).

16. As to (the mode of life called) *Siddhoñkkhâ*, (if) tired with the (other) ways of subsistence, he asks, because he has become old or diseased, virtuous men for cooked food, that (is the livelihood called) *Siddhoñkkhâ* (gleaning cooked food).

17. If (he adopts) the latter, he must reposit (the sacred fires) in his soul and behave like an ascetic, except (in using) the cloth for straining water and (wearing) a reddish-brown dress.

18. If he subsists on the produce of the forest, (the fruits) of trees, creepers, and lianas, and of grasses, such as wild millet (*syâmâka*) and wild sesamum, that (is called) forest-life.

19. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'Moving about with the beasts, dwelling together with them, and maintaining oneself in a manner similar to theirs, that is clearly the road to heaven.'

PRASNA III, ADHYÂYA 3.

1. Now the hermits in the wood belong to two classes,

15. Govinda mentions a varia lectio not found in our MSS., *kapotavatsamdamsinî*, 'because he pecks like a pigeon.'

16. Here as well as above, III, 1, 7, the Dekhan MSS. read *siddhekkhâ*, 'begging cooked food,' instead of *siddhoñkkhâ*.

3. 1. Compare for the whole Adhyâya, Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 20-23, 2.

2. Those who cook (their food), and those who do not cook it.

3. Among them, those who cook (their food are divided) into five subdivisions, (viz.) those who eat everything which the forest contains, those who live on unhusked (wild-growing grain), those who eat bulbs and roots, those who eat fruit, and those who eat pot-herbs.

4. Those who eat everything which the forest produces are, again, of two kinds: they either subsist on forest-produce generated by Indra, or on that which has been generated from semen.

5. Among these, that which has been generated by Indra (is the produce) of lianas, shrubs, creepers, and trees. Fetching (that) and cooking it, they offer the Agnihotra in the evening and in the morning, give (food) to ascetics, guests, and students, and eat the remainder.

6. That which is generated from semen is the flesh (of animals) slain by tigers, wolves, falcons, and other (carnivorous beasts), or by one of them. Fetching (that) and cooking it, they offer the Agnihotra in the evening and in the morning, give (shares) to ascetics, guests, and students, and eat the remainder.

7. Those who eat unhusked grain only, fetch rice, avoiding (husked) corn, boil it, offer the Agnihotra both in the evening and in the morning, give (food) to ascetics, guests, and students, and eat the remainder.

8. Those who eat bulbs and roots, or fruit, or pot-herbs, (act) exactly in the same manner.

9. Those (hermits) who do not cook (their food are divided into) five (classes), Unmaggakas, Pra-

vṛttâsins, *Mukhenâdâyins*, *Toyâhâras*, and *Vâyubhakshas*.

10. Among these, the *Unmaggakas* (collect and prepare their food), avoiding (the use of) iron and stone implements,

11. The *Pravṛttâsins* take it with the hand,

12. The *Mukhenâdâyins* take it with the mouth (only, like beasts),

13. The *Toyâhâras* subsist on water only,

14. And the *Vâyubhakshas* (air-eaters) eat nothing.

15. In this manner ten (different) initiations are prescribed for hermits who follow the rule of *Vikhanas* (*vaikhâna*).

16. He who has agreed (to obey) the Institutes of his (order, shall wear) a staff, (shall keep) rigid silence, and (shall) abstain from rash acts.

17. Hermits following the rule of *Vikhanas* (*vaikhâna*) are purified (from sin), and (especially) those who abstain from food.

18. The sum of the rules applicable to all *Brahma-Vaikhânasas* (is as follows):

19. 'Let him not injure (even) gadflies or gnats; let him bear cold and perform austerities; let him constantly reside in the forest, be contented, and

11. *Pravṛttâsin*, i. e. he who eats food only which comes to him accidentally.

15-17. These three *Sûtras* are omitted in the commentary, but found in all the MSS. of the text.

18. Govinda proposes two explanations for the term *brahma-vaikhâna*; he thinks that it may mean either *brahmanâ drishâ vaikhânasâh*, 'hermits seen by Brahman,' i. e. whose duties have been revealed by Brahman, or 'hermits who are *Brâhmanas* by caste.' The true sense, however, is probably 'a hermit (who strives) to (become one with) Brahman' (*brahmârtham vaikhâna*).

delight in (dresses made of) bark and skins, (and in carrying) water (in his pot).'

20. 'A devotee shall first honour the guests who have come to his hermitage at (dinner) time ; he shall be sedulous in (worshipping) gods and Brāhmaṇas, in (offering) the Agnihotra, and in practising austerities.'

21. 'A Brāhmaṇa who has taken to forest-life, and who has adopted this difficult (but) pure mode of existence, which keeps him apart from wicked men, which must never be given up, which is similar to (that of the) beasts and birds, which allows the collection of the necessities of life for one day only, and which necessitates the consumption of astringent and bitter (food), never sinks low.'

22. 'Moving about with the beasts, dwelling together with them, and maintaining oneself in a manner similar to theirs, that is clearly the road to heaven.'

PRAŚNA III, ADHYĀYA 4.

1. Now if a student commits any act against his vow, eats meat, or approaches a woman, whenever any evil befalls him,

2. He heaps fuel on the fire in the interior of the house, scatters (Kusa grass) around it, and performs the ceremonies up to the end of the Agnimukha ; then he offers oblations of clarified butter, (reciting the following texts) : 'It was done by lust, lust does

22. See above, III, 2, 19.

4. 1. The clause *striyaṃ vopeyât*, 'or approaches a woman,' is omitted by Govinda. The whole chapter is a supplement to the rules given above, II, 1, 1, 30-35, where some of the Vedic passages mentioned here have already been given.

it, to lust (belongs) all this, to him who draws me on, Svâhâ; 'It was done by the internal organ, the internal organ does it, to the internal organ (belongs) all this, to him who draws me on, Svâhâ; 'It was done by passion, passion does it, to passion (belongs) all this, to him who draws me on, Svâhâ; 'It was done by ignorance, ignorance does it, to ignorance (belongs) all this, to him who draws me on, Svâhâ; 'It was done by sin, sin does it, to sin (belongs) all this, to him who draws me on, Svâhâ; 'It was done by wrath, wrath does it, to wrath (belongs) all this, to him who draws me on, Svâhâ.'

3. That which begins with the muttering (of the Vedic texts) and ends with the gift of a fee (consisting of) a cow is known,

4. (Afterwards) he stays (during the night) behind (i. e. to the west of) the fire, wrapping himself in the skin of a black antelope, the neck of which is turned towards the east and the hair of which is turned outside.

5. When the day dawns, he drags himself away from the hinder part (of the skin), goes to a bathing-place, bathes (there) in the manner which is known, (but) performs, while in the water, sixteen suppressions of breath with the Aghamarshana hymn; next he performs the known (ceremonies) up to the worship of the sun, and afterwards goes to the house of his teacher.

6. Let him know for certain that that is equally (effective) as bathing (with the priests) at the end of a horse-sacrifice.

5. Govinda says that this manner of crawling out of the skin is symbolical of a new birth.

PRASNA III, ADHYĀYA 5.

1. Now we will explain the rule of the most holy Aghamarshana.

2. He goes to a bathing-place and bathes (there). Dressed in a pure dress let him raise, close to the water, an altar, and moistening his clothes by one (application of water), and filling his hand once (with water), let him recite the Aghamarshana hymn (in the manner of his daily) private recitation.

3. (Let him repeat it) one hundred times in the morning, one hundred times at midday, and one hundred times or an unlimited number of times in the afternoon.

4. When the stars have risen, let him partake of gruel prepared of one handful of barley.

5. After seven (days and) nights he is freed from all minor sins (upapâtaka), whether they have been committed intentionally or unintentionally, after twelve (days and) nights (from all other sins) excepting the murder of a learned Brâhmana, the violation of a Guru's bed, stealing gold, and drinking Surâ.

6. After twenty-one (days and) nights he overcomes even those (crimes) and conquers them.

5. 1. Vasishtha XXVI, 8.

2. Sthanâla, 'an altar,' is a slightly raised mound of earth, which, according to Govinda, in this case must have the shape of the sun's disc. According to the same authority the hand of the performer must remain filled with water as long as the recitation lasts, and the performer stands behind the altar facing the east.

5. Regarding the prasritiyâvaka, '(subsisting on) gruel prepared from a handful of barley,' see below, III, 6.

7. He overcomes everything, he conquers all, he obtains the reward of all sacrifices, he has bathed at all sacred bathing-places, he has performed the vows required for (the study of) all the Vedas, he becomes known to all the gods, he sanctifies a company (of Brāhmaṇas) by merely looking (at them), and his undertakings are successful. Thus speaks Baudhāyana.

PRASNA III, ADHYĀYA 6.

1. Now if a man feels his conscience charged with (evil) actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself (alone), when the stars have risen, a handful of barley, (and prepare) gruel (with that).

2. Let him not perform the Vaisvadeva oblation with (a portion of) that,

3. Nor (shall) a Bali offering (be performed) on that (occasion).

4. Let him consecrate the barley before it is boiled, while it is being boiled, and after it has been boiled, with the (following) Mantras :

5. 'Thou art barley, thou art the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuṇa and mixed with honey, the sages have proclaimed thee an expeller of all guilt and a means of purification.'

7. Govinda is of opinion that the words, 'thus speaks Baudhāyana,' indicate that this part of the work has been composed by a pupil or some other person.

6. 1. For the whole Adhyāya compare Vishṇu XLVIII.

5. According to Govinda, Vāmadeva is the *Rishi* of these Mantras. The phrase, 'Thou art sacred to Varuṇa,' is to be explained, according to Govinda, by the fact that offerings presented to Varuṇa frequently consist of barley. 'Honey' means, according to some, 'sweet butter,' with which the dish is seasoned.

‘Ye barley-grains are clarified butter and honey, ye barley-grains are water and ambrosia. May you remove my guilt and all my sins :’

‘Those committed by words, by acts, and by evil thoughts ; ill-fortune and the night of all-destroying time,—all that avert from me, ye barley-grains.’

‘(From the sin of eating) food which had been worried by dogs or pigs, or which had been defiled by crows and impure men, from the sin of disobedience towards mother and father,—from all that purify me, ye barley-grains.’

‘From the dreadful (guilt of) mortal sins and of the crime (of serving) a king, from the wrong done to infants or aged men, from (the guilt) of stealing gold, of breaking my vows, of sacrificing for an unworthy man, of speaking evil of Brâhmaṇas,—from all that purify me, ye barley-grains.’

‘From (the sin of eating) the food of many men, of harlots and of Sûdras, of (partaking of) funeral dinners and of (the food given by) persons who are unclean on account of a death or a birth, of that given by thieves, or at a funeral sacrifice offered to one who lately died,—from all that purify me, ye barley-grains.’

6. (While the barley) is being boiled, he must protect it (and recite the text), ‘Adoration to Rudra, the lord of created beings ; pacified is the sky ;’ the Anuvâka (beginning), ‘Give strength ;’ the five sentences (beginning), ‘The gods who are seated in front, led by Agni ;’ the two (texts), ‘Do not hurt

6. The Anuvâka meant is Taitt. Samhitâ I, 2, 14. The five sentences are found, *ibid.* I, 8, 7, 1. Regarding the text mâ nastoke, ‘do not hurt our offspring,’ see above, III, 2, 9. The last

our offspring,' (and) 'The Brahman-priest among the gods.'

7. Having purified himself (by sipping water, &c.), he shall eat a little of the boiled (mess), after pouring it into (another) vessel.

8. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul, (reciting the text), 'May the gods, who are born from the internal organ and joined to the internal organ, who are very strong, whose father is Daksha, protect us (and) guard us; adoration to them, to them Svâhâ.'

9. Let him who desires intelligence (subsist on such food) during three (days and) nights.

10. A sinner who drinks it during six (days and) nights becomes pure.

11. He who drinks it during seven (days and) nights is purified from (the guilt of) the murder of a learned Brâhmaṇa, of violating a Guru's bed, of stealing gold, and of drinking Surâ.

12. He who drinks it during eleven (days and) nights, removes even the sins committed by his ancestors.

13. 'But he who during twenty-one days (drinks gruel made) of barley-grains which have passed through a cow, sees the Ganas and the lord of the Ganas, sees the goddess of learning and the lord of learning.' Thus speaks the venerable Baudhâyana.

Mantra occurs Taitt. Samhitâ III, 4, 11, 1. Govinda says that material protection, too, in the shape of an iron platter or cover is to be given to the boiling barley.

8. The text occurs Taitt. Samhitâ I, 2, 3, 1. It consists of five sentences, and is addressed to the five vital airs, to each of which the eater offers one oblation.

PRASNA III, ADHYĀYA 7.

1. 'Let him who considers himself impure offer (burnt oblations), reciting the *Kûshmândas*.'

2. 'He who has had forbidden intercourse, or has committed a crime against nature, becomes even like a thief, even like the slayer of a learned *Brâhmana*.'

3. 'He is freed from any sin which is less than the crime of slaying a learned *Brâhmana*.'

4. If, after wasting his strength except in his sleep, he desires to become free from the stain and holy,

5. He causes the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails to be cut on the day of the new moon or of the full moon, and takes upon himself a vow according to the rule prescribed for students,

6. (To be kept) during a year, or a month, or twenty-four days, or twelve nights, or six or three nights.

7. Let him not eat meat, nor approach a woman, not sit on (a couch or seat, and) beware of (speaking an) untruth.

8. To subsist on milk (alone is) the most excellent mode of living; or, using barley-gruel (as his food), he may perform a *Krikkhra* (penance) of twelve days, or he may (maintain himself by) begging.

7. 1-3. Taittirîya Âranyaka II, 8, 1-3.

6. Taitt. Âranyaka II, 8, 5-6.

7. Taitt. Âranyaka II, 8, 7.

8. Taitt. Âranyaka II, 8, 8. As the next *Sûtra* shows, these rules refer to *Brâhmanas*. Regarding the *Krikkhra*, see below, IV, 57.

9. On such (occasions) a Kshatriya (shall subsist on) barley-gruel, a Vaisya on curds of two-milk whey.

10. Having kindled the sacred fire in the morning according to the rule for Pākayagñas, having scattered (Kusa grass) around it, and having performed (the preliminary ceremonies) up to the end of the Agnimukha, he next offers in addition burnt oblations, reciting the three Anuvākas (beginning), 'What cause of anger to the gods, ye gods,' 'The debts which I contracted,' (and) 'May worshipful Agni give thee by every means long life.'

11. Let him offer with each *Rik*-verse a portion of clarified butter.

12. After having offered four oblations with (the spoon called) Sruva, reciting (the texts), 'That strength which lies in the lion, in the tiger, and in the panther,' &c., and the four Abhyāvartintś (i.e. the texts), 'Thou, O fire, who turnest back,' &c., 'O Angiras,' &c., 'Again with strength,' &c., (and) 'With wealth,' &c., after having taken his position, with sacred fuel in his hands, in the place allotted to the sacrificer, he worships (the fire) with the hymn which contains twelve verses (and begins), 'To Vaisvânara we announce.'

13. Having placed the piece of sacred fuel (on the fire with the text), 'Whatever sin I ever com-

10. For the rule, see Taitt. Âranyaka II, 7, 4. The three Anuvākas mentioned are Taitt. Âranyaka II, 3-5.

12. Taitt. Âranyaka II, 7, 4. The first four texts occur Taitt. Brâhmana II, 7, 7, 1-2, the next four Taitt. Samhitâ IV, 2, 1, 2-3, and the hymn Taitt. Âranyaka II, 6. The place of the sacrificer to the south of the fire.

13. Taitt. Âranyaka II, 6, 2 (13).

mitted by thoughts or words, from all that free me (O fire, being duly) praised, for thou knowest the truth, Svâhâ,' he gives a fee.

14. (The ceremonies) which begin with the muttering (of the texts) and end with the gift of a cow as a fee are known.

15. One (person) only (shall) perform the service of the fire.

16. Now (let him offer) at the Agnyâdheya full oblations (pûrnâhuti, with the texts), 'Whatever cause of anger to the gods, ye gods;' 'The debts which I contracted;' 'May worshipful Agni give thee by every means long life.'

17. Having offered (it), he who is about to perform the Agnihotra, (worships) with the *Dasahotri* (texts); having offered (it), he who is about to perform the new and full moon sacrifices (worships) with the *Katurhotri* (texts); having offered (it), he who is about to offer the *Kâturmâsya* sacrifices (worships) with the *Pañkahotri* (texts); having offered it, (he worships) at an animal sacrifice with the *Shaddhotri* (texts), at a Soma-sacrifice with the *Saptahotri* (texts).

18. And it is declared in the Veda, 'Let him sacrifice (with the *Kûshmânda* texts) at the beginning of the rites; purified (thereby) he gains the world of the gods.' Thus (speaks) the *Brâhmana*.

16. From this and the next *Sûtras* it must be understood that the *Kûshmândahoma* is not only to be used as a penance, but may be offered at the beginning of the great *Srauta* sacrifices, in order to sanctify the performer and to secure special benefits.

17. The *Saptahotri* and the other texts mentioned occur *Taitt. Âranyaka* III, 1-5. I understand the verb 'worship' on account of *Lâtyâyana* X, 12, 10.

18. *Taitt. Âranyaka* II, 7, 5.

PRAŚNA III, ADHYÂYA 8.

1. Now, therefore, we will explain the rule of the *Kândrâyana* (lunar penance).

2. Let him fast on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month.

3. Having had the hair on his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails, or his beard alone, cut, let him enter, dressed in new clothes and speaking the truth, the place where the sacrificial fire is preserved.

4. There a (common) fire, (which may be) fetched once (only, shall serve) him ; or (the fire) must be produced by friction with the *Araṇis*.

5. Let a student, who is a friend (of the performer), be ready at hand to (carry out his) directions ;

6. And sacrificial viands (shall be his) food during the performance of the vow.

7. Having heaped fuel on the fire, scattered (*Kusa* grass) around it, and performed (the ceremonies) up to the end of the *Agnimukha*, he offers burnt oblations, (cutting off portions) from the cooked food,

8. (The first) to *Agni*, (the second) to the lunar day whichever it may be, (the third and the fourth)

8. 1. For this chapter compare *Gautama* XXVII.

4. The meaning of the *Sûtra* is that the fire which has been carried into the *âvasatha* must be kept burning during the whole month which the *Kândrâyana* lasts. For a burnt oblation has to be performed at the end of the penance. Should it be extinguished, it must be rekindled by friction.

8. The text quoted occurs *Taitt. Brâhmana* I, 5, 8, 1.

to the lunar mansion together with its guardian deity, the fifth to the moon (with the verse), 'Atrâha gor amanvata,' the sixth to the sky and the earth, the seventh to day and night, the eighth to Rudra, the ninth to the sun, the tenth to Varuṇa, the eleventh to Indra, and the twelfth to all the gods.

9. Now they mention (the following) other (oblations which are to be offered) to the points of the horizon and to their (guardian) deities, to the wide middle sphere and to its (guardian) deity.

10. Having offered (the oblation) to Agni Svi-shṭakṛit (with the verse), 'Ever new,' &c., he then places the remainder of the sacrificial viands into a goblet (*kamsa*) or a cup (*kamasa*), pours seasoning, that is fit for sacrifices, over them, and eats fifteen morsels of ordinary size,

11. The first (saying, 'I offer) thee to Prâna,' the second (saying, 'I offer) thee to Apâna,' the third (saying, 'I offer) thee to Vyâna,' the fourth (saying, 'I offer) thee to Udâna,' the fifth (saying, 'I offer) thee to Samâna.' If there are only four (mouthfuls, he eats) the first reciting two (texts); if there are three, (he eats) the first two reciting two (texts) with each; if there are two, (he eats) the first reciting two (texts and) the second reciting three texts; (if there is only) one, (he recites) all (the five texts) together.

12. Having drunk water (with the text), 'Thou

10. Taitt. Samhitâ II, 3, 5, 3.

11. This is an imitation of the Prânâgni-hotra described above, II, 7, 12.

12. Taitt. Samhitâ III, 1, 8, 1. The seven Anuvâkas are Taitt. Âranyaka X, 51-57. One oblation is to be offered with each Anuvâka.

art water used for moistening Soma,' &c., he then offers the (following) additional oblations of clarified butter, with the seven Anuvâkas (beginning), 'May my Prâna, Apâna, Vyâna, Udâna, and Samâna be purified;' 'May my voice, mind, eye, ear,' &c.; 'May my head, hands, feet;' 'May my skin;' 'May the sense of hearing, touch;' 'May earth, water;' 'May that which consists of food.'

13. (The ceremonies) beginning with the muttering (of sacred texts) and ending with the gift of a cow as a fee are known.

14. He worships the sun with (three verses) addressed to Sûrya and the moon with (three verses) addressed to *Kandramas*.

15. When he goes to rest, he mutters (the verse), 'O fire, keep thou good watch,'

16. When he awakes (in the morning, the verse), 'O fire, thou art the protector of vows.'

17. Let him not talk with women and Sûdras addressing them first; let him not look at urine and ordure.

18. If he has seen any impure substance, he mutters (the text), 'Unrestrained (was) the internal organ, wretched my eye; the sun is the most

13. Govinda here mentions that the whole of the ceremonies alluded to are the *uttaram dârvihomikam* tantram.

14. As Govinda states, the former verses are 'ud *vayam* tamahas pari,' *Taitt. Samhitâ* IV, 1, 7, 4; 'ud u *tyam gâtavedasam*,' *ibid.* I, 1, 8, 4; '*Āitram devânām*,' *ibid.* I, 4, 43, 1; while the verses addressed to the moon are '*navo navo*,' *ibid.* II, 4, 14, 1; '*sa Āitram*,' *Rig-veda* VI, 6, 7; and '*atrâha gor*,' *Taitt. Brâhmana* I, 5, 8, 1.

15. *Taitt. Samhitâ* I, 2, 3, 1.

16. *Taitt. Samhitâ*, loc. cit.

18. *Taitt. Samhitâ* III, 1, 1, 2.

[14]

X

excellent among the lights of heaven; O initiation, mayest thou not forsake me.'

19. On the first day of the latter half (of the month he eats) fourteen mouthfuls.

20. Thus (he takes every day) one (mouthful) less up to the day of the new moon.

21. On the day of the new moon there is not (even) one mouthful (left to take).

22. On the first day of the first half (of the month) one (mouthful may be eaten), on the second two.

23. Thus he daily increases (his meal) by one (mouthful) up to the day of the full moon.

24. On the day of the full moon he offers a Sthâlpâka to Agni, to the lunar day whichever it may be, and to the lunar mansions as well as to their (guardian) deities.

25. Having offered a burnt oblation to (the lunar mansion) Abhigit (which stands) before Sronâ, and to its (guardian) deity, he must give a cow to the Brâhmanas.

26. That is the ant-shaped lunar penance; (that which is performed in the) inverted (order is called) the barleycorn-shaped (lunar penance).

27. A sinner who has performed either of these two (penances) becomes free from all mortal sins (pâtaka).

28. They declare that the (*Kândrâyana*) shall be performed for the sake of the fulfilment of wishes of all kinds.

29. 'Thereby man obtains every wish which he may conceive.'

30. 'Thereby the sages formerly purified themselves and accomplished their objects. That (rite) procures wealth, spiritual merit, sons, cattle, long life, heavenly bliss, and fame; it secures the fulfilment of all desires.'

31. 'He who studies this, becomes the companion of the lunar constellations, of sun and moon, and dwells in their world.'

PRASNA III, ADHYÂYA 9.

1. Now, therefore, we will explain the rule of the Anasnatpârâyana (recitation of the whole Veda during a fast).

2. Let him wear a clean garment or a dress made of bark (or grass).

3. Let him desire food, fit for a sacrifice, or water and fruit.

4. Going forth from the village in an easterly or northerly direction, smearing a quadrangular *sthandîla*, 'a bull's hide' in size, with cowdung, sprinkling it, drawing the marks on it, sprinkling it with water, heaping fuel on the fire and scattering (Kusa grass) around it, he offers burnt oblations to the following deities, to Agni Svâhâ, to Pragâpati

9. 2. M. and the MSS. of the commentary read *kiravâsâh* instead of *kiravâsâh*, 'clad with a garment of bark or grass,' and Govinda explains the var. lect. by 'dressed in old clothes.'

3. This rule refers to the case only where the performer of the vow is unable to bear the prolonged fasting.

4. A *sthandîla* is the raised mound, four fingers high, which is used as the altar for the *Grîhya* ceremonies. Regarding the term, 'a bull's hide,' see Vishnu XCII, 2. The marks (*lakshana*) are the lines which must be drawn on the altar; see e.g. Âsvalâyana *Grîhya-sûtra* I, 3, 1.

Svâhâ, to Soma Svâhâ, to all the gods Svâhâ, to Svayambhu, to the *Rikas*, to the Yagus, to the Sâmans, to the Atharvans, to faith, to right knowledge, to wisdom, to fortune, to modesty, to Savitri, to the Sâvitri (verse), to Sadasaspati, and to Anumati.

5. Having offered (these oblations), he must begin with the beginning of the Veda and continuously recite (it).

6. Let him not interrupt (the recitation) by talking, nor by stopping.

7. Now if he converses in between or stops, let him thrice suppress his breath, and begin just there where he left off.

8. If he has forgotten (a passage), he shall recite for as long a time as he does not recollect it, what (he may know, *Rik*-verses) for *Rik*-verses, (Yagus-formulas) for Yagus-formulas, (Sâmans) for Sâmans.

9. He may (also) recite the Brâhmaṇa of that (forgotten passage) or (the passage from the Anukramant regarding) its metre and its deities.

10. Let him recite the Samhitâ of (his) Veda twelve (times). He thereby removes (faults committed by) studying on forbidden (days, by) angering his teacher, (and through) improper acts. His (knowledge of the) Veda is sanctified, is purified.

11. (If he reads) more than that, a cumulation (of rewards will be the result).

12. If he recites the Samhitâ of the Veda another twelve (times), he gains thereby the world of Usanas.

13. If he recites the Samhitâ of the Veda another

6. 'By talking, i. e. by uttering words not connected with the Veda.'—Govinda.

twelve (times), he gains thereby the world of *Brihaspati*.

14. If he recites the *Samhitâ* of the Veda another twelve (times), he gains thereby the world of *Pragâpati*.

15. If, fasting, he recites the *Samhitâ* one thousand (times), he becomes one with Brahman, resplendent like Brahman (and) Brahman (itself).

16. If he subsists during a year on food obtained by begging, he gains (the power of) supernatural vision.

17. If during six months he subsists on barley-gruel, during four months on water and barley-flour, during two months on fruit, (and) during one month on water, or performs *Krikkhra* penances of twelve days, he (obtains the power of) suddenly disappearing, and sanctifies seven descendants, seven ancestors, and himself as the fifteenth, and (any) company (of *Brâhmanas*) which he may enter.

18. They call that the ladder of the gods.

19. By means of that the gods reached their divine station and the sages the position of *Rishis*.

20. The periods for beginning this sacrifice, forsooth, are three, the time of the morning libation, the time of the midday libation, and the last part of the night, (the *Muhûrta*) sacred to Brahman.

21. *Pragâpati*, forsooth, proclaimed this (rite) to the seven *Rishis*, the seven *Rishis* to *Mahâgagñu*, and *Mahâgagñu* to the *Brâhmanas*.

18. Govinda explains *nihsrenîm*, 'the ladder,' by *nihsreyasahetum*, 'a cause of supreme bliss.'

21. The name of the *Rishi* who proclaimed it to the *Brâhmanas* is not certain. The Dekhan MSS. read *Mahâgagru* and *Mahâgagnu*, M. *Mahâgagñu*, the I. O. copy of the commentary *Mahâyagñu* and *Mahâgagñu*, and the Telugu copy *Mahâgagñu*.

PRASNA III, ADHYĀYA 10.

1. The law of castes and of orders has been declared.

2. Now, indeed, man (in) this (world is polluted) by a vile action or acts wrongly, (e. g.) sacrifices for men unworthy to offer a sacrifice, accepts presents from those whose gifts ought not to be accepted, eats the food of those whose food ought not to be eaten, (and) practises what is forbidden.

3. They are in doubt if he shall perform a penance for such (a deed) or if he shall not do it.

4. (They declare that he shall not do it) because the deed does not perish.

5. (The correct opinion is) that he shall perform (a penance).

6. It is declared in the Veda, 'Let him offer a Punastoma; (those who offer it, may) again come to (partake of) the libations of Soma.'

7. 'He who offers a horse-sacrifice conquers all sin, he effaces the guilt of the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.'

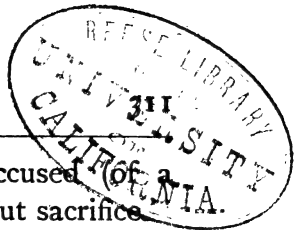
10. 1. As stated formerly, Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. li, this chapter is borrowed from Gautama XIX. I have therefore adopted the same division of the Sūtras as in the translation of the latter work.

2. I read, with the MSS. of the commentary, atha khalvayam puruṣo yāpyena karmanā mithyā vākaraty ayāgyam vā yāgayaty apratigrāhyasya vā pratigrīhṇāty anāsyānnasya vānnam asnāty ākarāṇīyena vākarati. M. reads yāgayitvā, and the Dekhan MSS. yāgayitvā and pratigrīhya.

5. The Dekhan MSS. read kūryād ity eva, M. kūryād eva, and Govinda kuryāt tv eva.

6. All the MSS. of the text omit the word vigṛhṇāyate, 'it is declared in the Veda,' which is given by Govinda.

7. All the MSS. of the text give at the beginning of this Sūtra



8. Moreover, 'He who is being accused (of a heinous crime) shall perform an Agnishrut sacrifice.

9. Reciting the Veda, austerity, a sacrifice, fasting, giving gifts are the means for expiating such (a blamable act).

10. The purificatory (texts are), the Upanishads, the initial (verses) of the Vedas, the ends of the Vedas (vedântas), the *Samhitâs* of all the Vedas, (the *Anuvâkas* called) *Madhu*, (the hymn of) *Aghamarshana*, the *Atharvasiras*, (the *Anuvâkas* called the) *Rudras*, the *Purusha* hymn, the two *Sâmans* (called) *Râgina* and *Rauhineya*, the *Bṛihat* (*Sâman*) and the *Rathantara*, the *Purushagati* (*Sâman*), the *Mahânâmnîs*, the *Mahâvairâga* (*Sâman*), the *Mahâdivâkīrtya* (*Sâman*), any of the *Gyeshtha* *Sâmans*, the *Bahishpavamâna* *Sâman*, the *Kûshmândîs*, the *Pâvamânîs*, and the *Sâvitṛi*.

11. To live on milk alone, as if one were fasting, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruit only, (to live on) gruel prepared of a handful of barley-grains, to eat gold, to eat clarified butter (are the modes of subsistence) which purify.

12. All mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, bathing-places, the dwellings of *Rishis*, cowpens, (holy) plains and temples of the gods (are) places (which destroy sin).

athâpy udâharanti, 'now they quote also,' which Govinda omits, and which is inappropriate, because the following passages are taken from the Veda.

10. The word *vedâdayaḥ*, which occurs also in some MSS. of *Vasishtha* (XXII, 9), must be explained, according to the analogy of *karmâdi*, 'the beginning of the sacrifices' (*Sâyana* on *Taitt. Âr.* II, 7, 5), by 'the initial verses of the Vedas.' The *Pâvamânîs* are added on the authority of Govinda alone.

12. 'Kshetra, (holy) plains, e.g. the *Kurukshetra*.'—Govinda.

13. Abstention from injuring living beings, truthfulness, abstention from theft (or unrighteously appropriating anything), bathing in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, obedience towards Gurus, continence, sleeping on the ground, dressing in one garment only, and abstaining from food (are the various kinds of) austerity.

14. Gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter, and food (are) the gifts.

15. A year, six months, four (months), three (months), two (months), one (month), twenty-four days, twelve days, six days, three days, a day and a night, (and) one day are the periods (for penances).

16. These (acts) may be optionally performed if no (particular penance) has been prescribed,

17. (Viz.) for great crimes difficult (penances) and for trivial faults easy ones.

18. The *Krikkhra* and the *Atikrikkhra*, as well as the *Kândrâyana*, are penances for all (offences).

PRASNA IV, ADHYĀYA 1.

1. We will separately explain the various penances for the several offences, both heavier and lighter ones.

2. Let him prescribe whatever may be befitting for each (case),—heavier (penances) for great (crimes) and easier ones for trivial (faults).

3. Let him perform the penances according to the rule given in the Institutes (of the Sacred Law in cases) where an offence has been committed with the organ or with the feet (and) the arms, through

3. The construction is certainly elliptical. I understand *tatra* with the first half-verse. Govinda separates the two half-verses, *yad upasthakṛtām papam, &c.*, from the first, and reads at the end

thoughts or speech, through the ear, the skin, the nose or the eye.

4. Or, in (the case of) transgressions committed through the organ of vision, of hearing, of sensation, of smelling, and through thoughts, he also becomes pure by three suppressions of the breath.

5. In case (he commits the offences) of eating the food of a Sûdra or of cohabiting with a Sûdra female, severally, he must perform, during seven days, seven suppressions of the breath on each day.

6. For partaking of food unfit for eating or drinking, and for selling forbidden merchandise, excepting honey, meat, clarified butter, oil, pungent condiments and bad food, and for similar (offences), he must perform, during twelve days, twelve suppressions of the breath on each day.

7. For other transgressions excepting mortal sins (pâtaka), crimes causing loss of caste (patantya), and the minor faults (called upapâtaka), he must perform, during half a month, twelve suppressions of the breath on each day.

8. For other transgressions excepting mortal sins

of the half-verse prânâyâmân samâkaret, 'one should perform suppressions of the breath (in even or equal numbers).'

5. Govinda tries to reconcile this rule with the one given above, I, 1, 2, 7, by assuming that the word Sûdra denotes here a Brâhmana who lives like a Sûdra and neglects his sacred duties.

6. I read, conjecturally, dvâdarâham, 'twelve days.' The MSS. of the text have dvâdasa dvâdarâham, or corruptions pointing to this reading, and C. I. reads ardhamâsam. Regarding avarâna, 'bad food,' see note on Âpastamba II, 6, 15, 16.

7. I read, conjecturally, ardhamâsam, 'half a month;' D. has ardhamâsân; K. dvâdarâham; M. dvâdarârdhamâsam; C. I. dvâdarârdhamâsân, which is explained by shamâsân.

8. I read with M. dvâdasa dvâdarâhân. D. K. have dvâdarâham. The commentary omits the Sûtra altogether.

and crimes causing loss of caste, he must perform, during twelve periods of twelve days, twelve suppressions of the breath on each day.

9. For other transgressions excepting mortal sins he must perform, during twelve half-months, twelve suppressions of the breath on each day.

10. But for mortal sins he must perform, during a year, twelve suppressions of the breath on each day.

11. Let him give his daughter, while she still goes naked, to a man who has not broken the vow of chastity and who possesses good qualities, or even to one destitute of good qualities; let him not keep (the maiden) in (his house) after she has reached the age of puberty.

12. He who does not give away a marriageable daughter during three years doubtlessly contracts a guilt equal to (that of) destroying an embryo.

13. Such will be the case if anybody asks her in marriage, and also if nobody demands her. Manu has declared that at each appearance of the menses (the father incurs the guilt of) a mortal sin.

14. Three years let a marriageable damsel wait for the order of her father. But after (that) time let her choose for herself in the fourth year a husband (of) equal (rank). If no man (of) equal (rank) be found, she may take even one destitute of good qualities.

15. If a damsel has been abducted by force, and has not been wedded with sacred texts, she may lawfully be given to another man; she is even like a maiden.

9. I read with D., K., and M., dvâdarârdhamâsân. The commentary omits also this Sûtra.

11. Vasishṭha XVII, 67-71, and above.

15. Vasishṭha XVII, 73.

16. If, after (a damsel) has been given away, or even after (the nuptial sacrifices) have been offered, the husband dies, she who (thus) has left (her father's house) and has returned, may be again wedded according to the rule applicable to second weddings, provided the marriage had not been consummated.

17. He who does not approach, during three years, a wife who is marriageable, incurs, without doubt, a guilt equal to that of destroying an embryo.

18. But the ancestors of that man who does not approach his wife who bathed after her temporary uncleanness, though he dwells near her, lie during that month in the menstrual excretions (of the wife).

19. They declare that the guilt of the husband who does not approach his wife in due season, of him who approaches her during her temporary uncleanness, and of him who commits an unnatural crime (with her), is equally (great).

20. Let him proclaim in the village a wife who, being obdurate against her husband, makes herself sterile, as one who destroys embryos, and drive her from his house.

21. But for the transgression of that husband who does not approach a wife who bathed after temporary uncleanness, (the performance of) one hundred suppressions of the breath is prescribed (as a penance).

16. Vasishṭha XVII, 74.

21. The MSS. of the text read, *ritusnâtâm tu yo bhâryâm niyâtâm brahma-kârinim | niyamâtikrame tasya prânâyâmasatam smritam*. The commentary omits the first half of the verse altogether. The latter, as read in the MSS., gives no sense. It seems to me that

22. Seated with Kusa grass in his hands, let him repeatedly suppress his breath, and again and again recite purificatory texts, the Vyâhr̥tis, the syllable Om, and the daily portion of the Veda.

23. Always intent on the practice of Yoga, let him again and again suppress his breath. (Thus) he performs the highest austerity up to the ends of his hair and up to the ends of his nails.

24. Through the obstruction (of the respiration) air is generated, through air fire is produced, then through heat water is formed; hence he is internally purified by (those) three.

25. Through the practice of Yoga (true) knowledge is obtained, Yoga is the sum of the sacred law, all good qualities are gained through Yoga; therefore let him always be absorbed in the practice of Yoga.

26. The Vedas likewise begin with the syllable Om, and they end with the syllable Om. The syllable Om and the Vyâhr̥tis are the eternal, everlasting Brahman.

27. For him who is constantly engaged in (reciting) the syllable Om, the seven Vyâhr̥tis, and the three-footed Gâyatrī, no danger exists anywhere.

28. If, restraining his breath, he thrice recites the Gâyatrī together with the syllable Om and with the (text called) Śiras, that is called one suppression of breath.

29. But sixteen suppressions of breath, accom-

either its end must have been *samnidhau nopagakkhati* (as in Sūtra 17), or that a whole half-verse has been lost.

22-24. Vasishṭha XXV, 4-6.

26. Vasishṭha XXV, 10.

28. Vasishṭha XXV, 13.

25. Vasishṭha XXV, 8.

27. Vasishṭha XXV, 9.

29. Vasishṭha XXVI, 4.

panied by (the recitation of) the Vyâhr̥itis and of the syllable Om, repeated daily, purify after a month even the slayer of a learned Brâhmana.

30. That is the highest austerity, that is the best description of the sacred law. That, indeed, is the best means of removing all sin.

PRASNA IV, ADHYÂYA 2.

1. We will separately explain the various penances for the several offences, both heavier and lighter ones.

2. Let him prescribe whatever may be befitting for each (case),—heavier penances for great (crimes), and lighter ones for trivial (faults).

3. Let him perform the penances according to the rule given in the Institutes of the Sacred Law.

4. He who is about to accept gifts, or he who has accepted gifts, must repeatedly recite the four *R̥ik*-verses (called) Taratsamand̥is.

5. But in case one has eaten any kind of forbidden food, or that given by a person whose food must not be eaten, the means of removing the guilt is to sprinkle water (over one's head) while one recites the Taratsamand̥i *R̥ikas*.

6. But we will, hereafter, declare another rule for (the expiation of) the murder of a learned Brâhmana, whereby (men) are freed also from mortal sins of all (kinds).

7. Let him (perform), during twelve nights, sup-

4. Gautama XXIV, 2. The gift is, of course, one which ought not to be accepted.

5. Rig-veda IX, 58. Mârganam, literally 'rubbing,' means sprinkling the head with a handful of water.—Govinda.

pressions of the breath (and) mutter purificatory texts, the Vyâhr̥itis, the syllable Om, (and) the Aghamarshaṇa hymn, (living) on milk;

8. Or (he becomes) pure if he bathes, and during three (days and) nights subsists on air and (remains dressed) in wet clothes.

9. But if he has repeatedly committed forbidden acts of all kinds, and has (afterwards) worshipped reciting the Vâruṇī (texts), he is freed from all sin.

10. Now a student who has broken his vow (avakṛ̥ṇin) shall heap fuel on the fire on the night of the new moon, perform the preparatory ceremonies required for a Darvīthoma, and offer two oblations of clarified butter (reciting the following texts): 'O Lust, I have broken my vow, my vow I have broken, O Lust, to Lust Svâhâ;' 'O Lust, I have done evil, I have done evil, O Lust, to Lust Svâhâ.'

11. After he has made the offering, he shall address the fire, closely joining his hands and turning sideways, (with the following texts): 'May the Maruts grant me, may Indra, may Bṛ̥haspati, may this fire grant me long life and strength, make me long-lived.' The Maruts, forsooth, give back to him the vital airs, Indra gives back to him strength, Bṛ̥haspati the lustre of Brahman, Fire all the remainder. (Thus) his body is made whole, and he attains the full length of life. Let him next address (the gods) with three (repetitions of the texts).

9. 'Upasthâna, "worshipping," i. e. sprinkling one's head with a handful of water.'—Govinda.

10. A repetition of the rule given above, II, 1, 1, 34; see also III, 4.

For the gods are trebly true. (All that) has been declared in the Veda.

12. He who considers himself defiled by minor offences (upapâtaka), will be freed from all guilt if he offers burnt oblations according to this same rule;

13. Or if he has partaken of food unfit to be eaten or to be drunk or of forbidden food, and if he has committed sinful acts or performed sinful rites either unintentionally or intentionally, and if he has had connexion with a female of the Sûdra caste or committed an unnatural crime, he becomes pure by bathing (and reciting) the Ablînga (verses) and (those called) Vârunis.

14. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'If he has partaken of food unfit to be eaten or to be drunk, or of forbidden food, and if he has committed forbidden acts or performed forbidden rites, he will, nevertheless, be freed from (crimes) committed intentionally which are similar to mortal sins, nay, even from mortal sins (pâtaka).'

15. Or let him fast during three (days and) nights, bathe thrice a day, and, suppressing his breath, thrice recite the Aghamarshana. Manu has declared that that is equal (in efficacy) to the final bath at a horse-sacrifice.

12. Gautama XXV, 6.

13. Govinda gives, like Haradatta on Gautama XXV, 7, as an instance of a doshavat karma, 'a sinful rite,' the abhiâra or 'magic rite in order to harm enemies.' The expression has, however, in our Sûtra, a wider sense.

14. I. e. if he performs the penance prescribed in the preceding Sûtra.

15. Vasishtha XXVI, 8; Gautama XXIV, 10.

16. And it is declared in the Veda, '(That is) the ancient purificatory rite, which is widely known (in the Institutes of the Sacred Law); purified thereby man conquers sin. May we, sanctified by this holy means of purification, conquer our enemy, sin.'

PRASNA IV, ADHYĀYA 3.

1. We will explain the (secret) penances which are not prescribed (by others, but by the offender himself, and) particularly what shall be done in (case) faults (have been committed) by men who, with concentrated minds, (are) intent (on the performance of their duties).

2. (Such a man) may sip water, (in order to atone) for all mortal sins, reciting the syllable Om and all the Vyāhritis.

3. When he sips water the first time, he gladdens the *Rig*-veda, the second time the *Yagur*-veda, the third time the *Sāma*-veda.

4. When he wipes (his lips) the first time, he gladdens the *Atharva*-veda, the second time the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*.

5. When he sprinkles water on the right hand, the feet, the head, the heart, the nostrils, the eyes, the ears, and the navel, he gladdens the trees and herbs and all deities. Therefore he is freed from all sin by sipping water.

3. 1. Vasishṭha XXV, 1-2. The whole Adhyāya is left out in the Dekhan MSS., including K. The omission may have been caused by the circumstance that the initial verses of Adhyāyas 3 and 4 are identical.

2. Gautama XXV, 9; Vasishṭha XXV, 4.

3-5. See the rules for sipping water, given above, I, 5, 8, 19-26.

6. Or let him offer in the fire eight pieces of sacred fuel, reciting (the following) eight (texts): 'Thou art the expiation of sin committed by the gods, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of sin committed by men, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of sin committed by the manes, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of sin committed by myself, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of the sin which we have committed either by day or by night, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of the sin which we have committed either sleeping or waking, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of the sin which we have committed either intentionally or unintentionally, Svâhâ;,' 'Thou art the expiation of every sin, Svâhâ.'

7. When he has offered (these eight oblations) he will be freed from all guilt.

8. Now they quote also (the following verse): 'The Aghamarshana, the Devakṛita, the Suddhāvatis, the Taratsamâs, the Kûshmândîs, the Pâvamânts, the Virâgâs, the Mrityulângala, the Durgâ (Sâvitṛî), the Vyâhṛitis, and the Rudras (are texts) which are very efficacious for effacing sin.'

PRASNA IV, ADHYÂYA 4.

1. We will explain the (secret) penances which are not prescribed (by others, but by the offender himself, and) particularly what shall be done in (case) faults (have been committed) by men who, with concentrated minds, (are) intent (on the performance of their duties).

6. Gautama XXV, 10. The Mantras occur Taitt. Âranyaka X, 59.

8. Vishnu LVI, 3, and note; Vasishṭha XXVIII, 10-15.

2. He who, standing in water, thrice recites that (hymn of) Aghamarshana (which begins), 'Both right and truth,' will be freed from all guilt.

3. He who, standing in water, thrice recites the verse, 'This spotted bull,' &c., will be freed from all guilt ;

4. He who, standing in water, thrice recites the verse, 'Freed from the post as it were,' will be freed from all guilt.

5. He who, standing in water, thrice recites the verse, 'A swan dwelling in purity,' will be freed from all guilt ;

6. Or, he who, standing in water, thrice recites the Sāvitrī, foot by foot, half verse by half verse, and afterwards entire, will be freed from all guilt ;

7. Or, he who, standing in water, thrice recites the Vyāhṛitis, both separately and altogether, will be freed from all guilt ;

8. Or, he who, standing in water, thrice recites the syllable Om alone, will be freed from all guilt.

9. Let him not teach these Institutes of the Sacred Law to one who is neither his son nor his pupil, nor has resided (in his house) less than a year.

10. The fee (for teaching it) is one thousand (panas, or) ten cows and a bull, or the worship of the teacher.

PRASNA IV, ADHYĀYA 5.

1. Now, therefore, I will proclaim by what rites, connected with the Sāman, Rik, Yagus, and Atharva-

4. 2. Taitt. Āranyaka X, 1, 13.

3. Taitt. Āranyaka I, 5, 3, 1.

4. Taitt. Brāhmaṇa II, 4, 4, 9.

5. Taitt. Samhitā I, 8, 15, 2.

9. Vasishṭha XXIV, 6-7.

5. 1. All the Dekkhan MSS., including K., have been copied from

vedas, (man) quickly attains the wishes of his heart.

2. Having purified his body by muttered prayers, burnt oblations, Ishṭis, restraints, and the like, he will accomplish all his objects. He will not attain success in any other way.

3. A Brāhmaṇa, who is going to mutter prayers, to offer burnt oblations or Ishṭis, or to practise restraints, shall, first, during the bright half of the month, on a lucky day and under a lucky constellation, cause his hair and beard to be cut.

4. Let him bathe in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; let him beware of anger and untruth; let him not address women and Sūdras; let him be continent, and subsist solely on food fit for offerings.

5. Avoiding to sleep in the day-time, let him worship cows, Brāhmaṇas, manes, and gods. As long as he is engaged in muttering prayers, offering Homas and Ishṭis, and practising restraints, let him stand during the day and sit during the night.

6. The *Krikkhra* (penance) revealed by Pragâpati lasts twelve days, (which are divided into four separate) periods of three days; (during the first period of three days he eats) in the day-time (only, during the second) at night (only, during the third he subsists on) food given without asking, (and during the fourth) finally (he lives on) air.

a MS. the leaves of which were out of order. After the first words of ver. 1, they have *kshīram dadhisarpiḥ kusodakam*, which belongs to ver. 26, and they go on with the text down to IV, 7, 7, after which the end of IV, 5, 1 and 2-25 are given.—‘Yantra, “restraints,” i.e. *Krikkhras* and the like, (which are called so) on account of the restraint of the senses (required for them).’—Govinda.

3-5. *Vasishṭha* XXIV, 5.

6. *Vasishṭha* XXI, 20. Repeated, see above, II, 1, 2, 38.

7. (If one eats on) one (day in) the morning (only), and (on the following day) at night (only, on the next day food) given without asking, (and on the fourth day) subsists on air, and repeats this three times, that is called the *Krikkhra* (penance) of children.

8. (If) one eats one mouthful only at each (meal), following, during (three) periods of three days, the rules given above, and subsists during another period of three days on air, that is called the *Atikrikkhra* penance.

9. (If) during those (first) three periods of three days one partakes of water only, and subsists afterwards (during three days) on air, that third (variety) must be known to be the most efficacious *Krikhrâतिक्रिक्क़्र* penance.

10. If one drinks hot milk, (hot) clarified butter, (and a hot) decoction of *Kusa* grass, each during three days, and fasts during another three days, that is called the *Taptakrikkhra*.

11. (If one lives during one day) on cow's urine, (during one day) on cowdung, (during one day) on milk, (during one day) on sour milk, (during one day) on clarified butter, (during one day) on a decoction of *Kusa* grass, and during one (day and) night on air, that is called the *Sântâpana Krikkhra*.

12. Let him take the cow's urine, reciting the *Gâyatri*; the cowdung, (reciting the text), 'Gandha-

7. *Vasishtha* XXIII, 43; see above, II, 1, 2, 39.

8. *Vasishtha* XXIV, 2-3; see above, II, 1, 2, 40.

9. See above, II, 1, 2, 41.

10. See above, II, 1, 2, 37.

11. *Vasishtha* XXVII, 13; *Vishnu* XLVI, 19.

12. The texts quoted are found, *Taitt. Âranyaka* X, 1, 10; III, 17; *Taitt. Samhitâ* I, 5, 11, 4, 7; I, 1, 10, 3; VII, 1, 11, 1.

dvârâm;' the milk, (reciting the verse), 'Âpyâyasva;' the sour milk, reciting (the verse), 'Dadhikrâvnâ;' the clarified butter, (saying), 'Sukram asi;' the decoction of Kusa grass (with the text), 'Devasya tvâ;'

13. (And mix together) one part of cow's urine, half as much cowdung, three parts of milk, two of sour milk, one part of clarified butter, and one part of water boiled with Kusa grass; a *Sâmtâpana Krikkhra* (performed) in this manner will purify even a *Svapâka*.

14. He who subsists during five (days and) nights on cow's urine, cowdung, milk, sour milk, and clarified butter will be purified by (that) *Pañkagavya* (the five products of the cow).

15. If, self-restrained and attentive, he fasts during twelve days, that is called a *Parâka Krikkhra*, which destroys all sin.

16. If he subsists on cow's urine and the other (substances named above), one day on each, and continues (this mode of life) during thrice seven days, the theologians call that a *Mahâsâmtâpana Krikkhra*.

17. If he daily adds to his food one mouthful during the bright (half of the month) and diminishes it daily by one mouthful during the dark (half of the month), and keeps two fasts in the two halves of the month, that is called a *Kândrâyana*.

18. If, with concentrated mind, a *Brâhmana* eats four mouthfuls in the morning and four mouthfuls when the sun has set, he will perform the *Kândrâyana* of children.

13. *Vasishtha* XXVII, 13.

14. *Vasishtha* XXVII, 14.

15. *Vishnu* XLVI, 18.

16. *Vishnu* XLVI, 20.

17. *Vasishtha* XXVII, 21; see above, III, 8.

18. *Vishnu* XLVII, 8.

19. If, self-restrained, he daily eats, during a month, at midday eight mouthfuls of food, fit for a sacrifice, he will perform the *Kāndrāyana* of ascetics.

20. But a *Brāhmaṇa* who eats anyhow, during a month, thrice eighty mouthfuls of food, fit for a sacrifice, goes to the world of the moon.

21. As the rising moon frees the world from the fear of darkness, even so a *Brāhmaṇa* who performs a *Kāndrāyana* removes the fear of sin.

22. He who lives one day on (rice)-grains, three days on oil-cakes, five days on buttermilk mixed with water, seven days on water, and (one day) on air, (performs) the guilt-destroying *Tulāpuruṣa*.

23. Living on barley-gruel (*yāvaka*) removes the guilt of corporeal beings after seven days, and so does a fast of seven days ; that has been recognised by wise men.

24. By dressing in wet clothes, by living in the open air, and by exposing himself to the sun during the light halves of the months *Pausha* (December-January), *Bhādrapada* (August-September), and *Gyeshtha* (May-June), a *Brāhmaṇa* is freed from (all) sin excepting crimes causing loss of caste (*patantiya*).

25. (If one swallows) cows' urine, cowdung, milk,

19. *Vishṇu* XLVII, 7.

20. *Vishṇu* XLVII, 9. Govinda places this verse before *Sūtra* 19.

22. *Vishṇu* XLVII, 22.

24. The meaning is that the performer is to stand in wet clothes during the first half of the month *Pausha*, in the cold season ; to live in the open air during the first half of *Bhādrapada*, in the rainy season ; and to allow himself to be broiled by the sun in *Gyeshtha*, the hottest time of the hot season.

25. I doubt if the reading of Govinda, *yavātāmena* (explained

sour milk, clarified butter, and a decoction of Kusa grass, mixed with barley gruel, that is the most sanctifying *Brahmakûrka*.

26. He who fasts on the new moon day and eats sesamum grains on the full moon day, will be freed in the course of a year from the sins which he committed in the bright and the dark halves of the month.

27. He who lives on alms obtained from Agni-hotrins is purified in one month; (he who obtains his food) from a *Yâyâvara*, in ten days; he who receives it from a hermit in the forest, in five days;

28. (He who lives) on food given by a person who has a store sufficient for one day only, will be purified in one day; he who drinks water given by a person subsisting by the *Kapota-vritti* (pigeon-life), is purified in three (days).

29. If one recites the whole *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*, or thrice reads one of these Vedas and fasts, (that is) a most efficient means of purification.

30. Now if one is in haste to finish, one may live on air during a day, and pass the night standing in water, that is equal (in efficacy) to a *Prâgâpatya* (*Krikkhra*).

31. He who at sunrise mutters the *Gâyatri* one thousand and eight times, is free from all sin, provided he has not slain a learned *Brâhmana*.

by *yavâgûh*) *samyuktam*, 'mixed with barley-gruel,' is correct. All the MSS. of the text have *yavânâm ekasamyukto*, which I do not understand. Govinda has *Brahmakrikkhra* instead of *Brahmakûrka*. But see the Petersb. Dict. s. v. *brahmakûrka*.

28. Regarding the *Kapota-vritti*, see above, III, 2, 15.

30. *Vasishtha* XXVII, 17. Govinda adds after *kartum*, 'to finish,' 'the rites connected with the Vedas' (*Sûtra* 1).

32. He who distributes food, speaks the truth, and has compassion on all living beings, is more (holy) than all those who have been purified by the restraints mentioned above.

PRASNA IV, ADHYĀYA 6.

1. The (eleven Anuvākas called) Rudras together with (the ten hymns) seen by Madhukṛṇḍas, the Gâyatrī with the syllable Om, and likewise the seven Vyâhr̥tis (are the texts) which should be muttered (and) which remove guilt.

2. The Mr̥gâreshī, the Pavitreshī, the Trihavis, the Pāvamant̥ are the Ish̥tis which efface sin, if they are (each) combined with the Vaisvânara (Dvâdasa-kapāla).

3-4. Learn, also, the following most excellent secret; he will be freed from all sins of all kinds who sprinkles himself with water, reciting the Pavitras, who mutters the eleven (Anuvākas called) Rudras, who offers burnt oblations of butter, reciting the Pavitras, and gives gold, a cow, and sesamum (to Brâhmanas).

5. He who partakes of boiled barley-gruel, mixed with cow's urine, liquid cowdung, sour milk, milk, and butter, is quickly freed from sin.

6. Both he who has begotten a child on a Sûdra woman and he who has had connexion with a female,

6. 1. The hymns are Rig-veda I, 1-10.

2. Regarding the Mr̥gâreshī, see Taitt. Samhitâ IV, 7, 15. In explanation of the term Trihavis, Govinda adds the word Savaneshī.

5. Yâvaka, translated, as usually, by barley-gruel, can also denote, as Govinda points out, other dishes made of barley,

6. See above, II, 1, 2, 7, 10, 13-14.

intercourse with whom is forbidden (agamyâ), are purified (if they live) according to this rule during seven days.

7. (That is likewise) the remedy when one has swallowed semen, ordure, and urine, or eaten the food of persons whose food must not be eaten, (and also) when a younger brother has kindled the sacred fire, has offered a *Srauta* sacrifice, or taken a wife before the elder.

8. He who has committed even a great number of (wicked) actions, excepting mortal sins, will be freed (by that rule) from all guilt. That is the statement of the virtuous.

9. But (this) ordinance, which is based on the authority of the sacred texts, is stated (to be that) through which *Bharadvâga* and others became equal to Brahman.

10. Through the performance of these rites a *Brâhmaṇa*, whose heart is full of peace, obtains whatever desires he may have in his heart.

PRASNA IV, ADHYÂYA 7.

1. The wishes of a *Brâhmaṇa* who has left off evil deeds and is (ever) engaged in holy works are fulfilled even without (the practice of) restraints.

2. Upright *Brâhmaṇas* quickly accomplish what-

7. See above, II, I, 1, 21, 39-40. I follow the reading of M. and of the commentary, *paryâdhânegyayor etat parivitte ka bhe-shagam*. The reading of the Dekhan MSS. is *etat patite kaiva bhoganam*, 'that food must be eaten . . . , and when one has become an outcast.'

7. 1. *Yantrâni*, 'restraints,' i.e. *Krikṣhras*, the fasts, and other practices described in the preceding chapters.

ever they wish in their hearts, if they are purified by honest actions.

3. Thus a wise man should practise those restraints until he has purified his bodily frame.

4. He who has been purified by those restraints should, after fasting three (days and) nights, begin the performance of that sacred rite through which he wishes to gain the fulfilment of his desires,—

5. (Reciting) the Kshâpavitra, the Sahasrâksha, the *Mrigâra*, the two *Ganas* (called) *Amhomuk*, the *Pâvamanis*, the *Kûshmândis*, and the *Rikas*, addressed to Vaisvânara,

6. (And) offering with (each of) these (Mantras) boiled rice and clarified butter during seven days, in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, keeping a rigid silence, living on food fit for a sacrifice, restraining his senses and his actions,

7. He is freed from all crimes, even mortal sins, after looking on a cross-road at a pot filled with water, (and reciting the text), '*Simhe me manyuk.*'

8. He is freed from the multitude of sins, committed unintentionally in old age, in youth, and in infancy, and even from those belonging to former births;

9. After feeding at the end (of the seven days) *Brâhmanas* with milk and rice, well mixed with

5. According to Govinda the Kshâpavitra, or as the Dekhan MSS. read, Kshmâpavitra, occurs in the *Sûtrapâtha* of the *Taittirîyas*, consists of six verses, and begins '*Agne naya.*' The text meant must be similar to *Taitt. Samhitâ* I, 1, 14, 3. The *Sahasrâksha* is the *Purushasûkta*. The *Mrigâra* consists of the *Yâgyânuvâkyâs* of the *Mrigâreshî*, *Taitt. Samhitâ* IV, 7, 15. The two *Ganas* called *Amhomuk* are found *Taitt. Samhitâ* II, 3, 13, 1, '*yâ vâm indrâvarunau*' and '*yo vâm indrâvarunau.*' The verses addressed to Agni Vaisvânara are the first eight of *Taitt. Samhitâ* I, 5, 11.

butter, and distributing to them after their dinner cows, land, sesamum, and gold,

10. A Brâhmaṇa becomes internally pure, his guilt being consumed like fuel, and fit for the performance of rites which secure the fulfilment of wishes and of rites like the kindling of the sacred fire.

PRAŚNA IV, ADHYĀYA 8.

1. He who, through excessive greed or carelessness, performs this rite for others, is tainted by sin, and perishes like one who has swallowed poison.

2. A Brâhmaṇa who performs this rite for his teacher, his father, his mother, or for himself is resplendent like the sun. Therefore this rite may be performed for those (persons).

3. Ka (Pragâpati) purified by means of this rite the god with a thousand eyes (Sahasrâksha), Fire, Wind, the Sun, Soma, Yama, and other lords of the gods.

4. Whatever there is in these three worlds, famed as possessing a holy name, Brâhmaṇas and the rest, (all) that was produced by Ka through this rite of sanctification.

5. This sin-destroying secret of Pragâpati was first produced; thereafter thousands of purificatory rites came into existence.

6. He who performs those eight Ganâhomas on the (first) day of the year, of a half-year, of a season, or of a fortnight, sanctifies ten ancestors and ten descendants of his line;

7. And, while still on earth, he is known to the

8. 5. I.e. those mentioned V, 7, 5.

gods in heaven as a holy man, and (after death) that virtuous man rejoices for a very long time in heaven like a god.

8. If a Brāhmaṇa is unable to offer those eight Ganahomas, let him offer one; thereby his guilt is effaced.

9. He, also, whose sons or pupils offer those eight Ganahomas, is freed from his sin which is bought off by his having instructed (them).

10. Through a desire of removing one's guilt one even may cause (these oblations) to be offered by men who have been engaged for money, in case oneself is unable (to do it); a man need not torment himself.

11. Even among the virtuous a distribution of wealth is made (for the success) of holy rites; sometimes a man who is free from debt is (thereby) freed from guilt.

12. Liberated according to this rule from the ocean of guilt and debt, he considers himself pure and able to successfully perform the sacred rites.

13. But in the case of that pure mortal who, freed from all sin and debts, begins the sacred rites, they will succeed without any effort.

14. Let him daily (study and) teach this holy (rule) of Pragâpati, which the sage has proclaimed, let him remember it or hear it. (By doing that) he is freed from all guilt and will be exalted in Brahman's world.

10. The meaning is that in case a wealthy man is unable to bear 'the restraints,' he may hire others to perform the Homas. Though the hired performer will be guilty of a serious offence (Sûtra 1), the person who causes them to be performed will derive benefit from them.

15. Let him mutter during twelve days those sacred texts through which he wishes to accomplish (his desires), eating once (a day) at night boiled rice with clarified butter, with milk, or with sour milk.

16. (Let him offer) ten times a burnt oblation and sprinkle clarified butter. (That is) the preliminary worship (which must be performed) when one desires to accomplish one's objects through those sacred texts.

PARISHIṢṬĀ.

PRASNA VII, ADHYĀYA 5.

1. We will explain the rule for the adoption of a son.
2. Man, formed of virile seed and uterine blood, proceeds from his mother and father (as an effect) from its cause.
3. (Therefore) the father and the mother have power to give, to abandon, or to sell their (son).
4. But let him not give nor receive (in adoption) an only son ;
5. For he (must remain) to continue the line of the ancestors.
6. Let a woman neither give nor receive a son except with the permission of her husband.
7. He who is desirous of adopting (a son) procures two garments, two earrings, and a finger-ring ; a spiritual guide who has studied the whole Veda ; a layer of Kusa grass and fuel of Pālāsa wood and so forth.

5. 1. This chapter has been translated by Mr. Sutherland, *Dattaka Mīmāṃsā* V, 42, and *Dattaka Kāndrikā* II, 16, and by myself, *Journal Bengal Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. XXXV, p. 162.

2-6. Identical with *Vasishṭha* XV, 1-5. The best MS. omits the particle *tu*, 'but,' in *Sūtra* 6, while others have it.

7-8. *Vasishṭha* XV, 7. The translation of *madhye* by 'in their presence' rests on the authority of the *Saṃskāra*kaustubha 47 b, 11, where it is explained *madhye* [a] *iti bandhusamaksham*. The other explanation 'in the middle (of his dwelling),' to which the interpolated text of the *Dattaka Mīmāṃsā* and *Dattaka Kāndrikā* refers, is, however, also possible.

8. Then he convenes his relations, informs the king (of his intention to adopt) in (their) presence, feeds the (invited) Brâhmaṇas in the assembly or in (his) dwelling, and makes them wish him 'an auspicious day,' 'hail,' (and) 'prosperity.'

9. Then he performs the ceremonies which begin with the drawing of the lines on the altar and end with the placing of the water-vessels, goes to the giver (of the child) and should address (this) request (to him), 'Give me (thy) son.'

10. The other answers, 'I give (him).'

11. He receives (the child with these words), 'I take thee for the fulfilment of (my) religious duties; I take thee to continue the line (of my ancestors).'

12. Then he adorns him with the (above-mentioned) two garments, the two earrings, and the finger-ring, performs the rites which begin with the placing of the (pieces of wood called) paridhis (fences round the altar) and end with the Agni-mukha, and offers (a portion) of the cooked (food) in the fire.

13. Having recited the Puroṇuvâkyâ (verse), 'He who thinking of thee with a discerning mind,' &c., he offers an oblation, reciting the Yâgyâ (verse), 'To which performer of good deeds, thou, O Gâta-vedas,' &c.

14. Then he offers (oblations, reciting) the Vyâ-hṛîtis;—(the ceremonies) which begin the oblation to Agni Svishṭakṛit and end with the presentation

8. The ceremony alluded to is the so-called *pun'yâhavâkanam*.

12. The correct reading is *pakvâg guhoti*.

13. The two texts are found *Taittirîya Samhitâ* I, 4, 46, 1.

14. *Vasishṭha* XV, 7. The parenthetical phrase occurs frequently in the *Dharma-sûtra*; see e. g. III, 4, 3.

of a cow as a fee (to the officiating priest are) known;—

15. And presents (to the spiritual guide) as a sacrificial fee those two dresses, those two earrings, and that finger-ring (with which he had adorned the child).

16. If after the performance of these (rites) a legitimate son of his own body is born (to the adopter, then the adopted son) receives a fourth (of the legitimate son's) share. Thus says Baudhâyana.

16. Vasishtha XV, 9.



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- Tolls, Va. XIX, 25.

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- Trade, Ap. I, 20, 10-21, 4. Ga. VII, 8-21; X, 5, 4, 49. Va. II, 19, 24-39. Ba. I, 2, 4; 18, 14-15; II, 2, 4, 26-29.
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- Ukthya sacrifice, Ap. II, 7, 4. Ga. VIII, 20.
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- Upanishad, Ap. II, 5, 1. Ga. XIX, 12. Va. XXII, 9. Ba. II, 18, 15; III, 10, 10.
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- Usurer, usury, Ap. I, 18, 22; 27, 10; II, 10, 7. Ga. X, 6, 49; XV, 18. Va. II, 40-43; XIV, 3. Ba. I, 10, 21-25.
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- Yāgñavalkya, vol. ii, p. xxxviii. Ba. II, 9, 14.
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- Black, vol. ii, pp. xi, xvi, xxxi.
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- Yama, Va. XI, 20; XIV, 30; XIX, 48; XX, 2.
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- Yoga, Ap. I, 23, 6. Va. XXV, 5-8. Ba. IV, 1, 23-25.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

TO VOLS. II AND XIV.

VOL. II.

- Page xxxii, note 1. Maitrāyaṇīyas still exist in Gugarât, see Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1879-80; Schröder, *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, pp. xxii-xxiii.
- P. xxxii, l. 1. Rão Sâheb V. N. Mândlik, Vyavahâra Mayûkha and Yâgñavalkya, p. 300, has challenged the accuracy of my statement regarding the prevalence of the Âpastamba Sâkhâ in Bombay. He, however, admits that some Devashtas and Drâvidas actually follow the Sâkhâ. His dissent really refers to the Koṅkanasthas, the division to which he himself belongs. Among the latter those who originally were Âpastambīyas have partly gone over to the Hairanyakeśas. But in the old list of the Koṅkanastha families (see Elph. Coll. collection of 1867-68, Cl. xii, no. 5) which I procured from Mr. Limaye of Ashre, the families which really are Âpastambīyas are carefully enumerated. Both in Pune and Bombay I have met with a number of Brâhmanas, who called themselves sometimes Devashtas and sometimes Koṅkanasthas, and were able and willing to recite portions of the Âpastamba Sûtras for a small consideration.
- P. xxxvii, note 1. The date of the Kârikâ vṛtti has been shown by Professor Max Müller to be about 650 A. D.
- P. xlix, l. 10, *for* Baudhâyaṇa I, 1, 21, *read* Baudhâyaṇa I, 1, 2-6.
- P. xlix, l. 28, *for* Baudhâyaṇa I, 1, 17-24, *read* Baudhâyaṇa I, 1, 2, 1-8.
- P. li, note 1, l. 5 seqq., *for* Baudhâyaṇa III, 5, *read* Baudhâyaṇa III, 10.
- P. 78, l. 32 (Ap. I, 9, 23, 28, note), *for* Baudhâyaṇa, Pr. I, Adhy. 10, *read* Baudhâyaṇa I, 10, 19, 1.
- P. 90, l. 33 (Ap. I, 10, 29, 9, note), *for* Baudhâyaṇa Pr. I, Adhy. 12, *read* Baudhâyaṇa II, 1, 2, 18.
- P. 176, l. 20 (Ga. I, 28, note), *read* Vasishṭha III, 43.
- P. 206, l. 33 (Ga. VI, 5, note), *for* Manu III, 123, *read* Manu II, 123.
- P. 210, l. 18 (Ga. VII, 17), *for* others *read* for another.
- P. 222, l. 13 (Ga. IX, 61), *read* Nor shall he bathe, &c.
- P. 254, l. 9 (Ga. XV, 17), *read* Whosoever lives, &c.
- P. 291, l. 2-3, *for* Defiled by, &c., *read* Oh lust, I have been incontinent, incontinent, &c.; oh lust, I have committed evil, I have committed evil, oh lust, &c.

VOL. XIV.

- P. 24, l. 25 (Va. III, 56, note), *for* Baudhâyaṇa I, 5, 52, *read* Baudhâyaṇa I, 5, 9, 11.
- P. 50, l. 9 (Va. XI, 7). Govindasvâmin on Baudhâyaṇa II, 7, 13, 3 gives

for pradâtâb the reading pragâtâb, '(newly)-confined women,' which seems to be the correct one. Owing to the peculiar Indian pronunciation of ga as a d mouillé, da sometimes occurs by mistake for ga in Sanskrit MSS. In Prakrit words da is also sometimes the representative of ga.

- P. 99, l. 3 (Va. XIX, 23), *for* pradâtâb *read* pragâtâb, '(newly)-confined women.'
- P. 102, l. 12 (Va. XIX, 48), *read* for a sacrificial session.
- P. 111, l. 27 (Va. XXI, 6, note). The Siras text occurs Taitt. Âr. x, 35.
- P. 122, l. 19 (Va. XXIII, 39), *dele* which does not cause loss of caste.
- P. 127, l. 31 (Va. XXVI, 8), *for* Manu LI, 251, *read* Manu XI, 251.
- P. 206, l. 19 (Ba. I, 11, 20, 12), *for* the sixth *read* the fifth.
- P. 207, l. 1 (Ba. I, 11, 20, 13), *for* the fifth *read* the sixth.
- P. 223, l. 33 (Ba. II, 1, 2, 41, note), *add at end*: But the word refers to the numeration of the *Krikkbra* penances, given Gautama XXVI, 20, and its occurrence shows that Baudhâyana simply copied Gautama.
- P. 267-268 (Ba. II, 8, 14, 7, note), *dele note and substitute*: 'The Agni-mukha is a term denoting the last of the offerings which precede the Pradhânahoma. See Baudhâyana Grîhya-sûtra I, 4, end, and 5.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		II Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	.	𐬙	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬚 (N)	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	.	ह	𐬛 (hv)	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	.	.	.	च	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	k
14 " aspirata	kh	.	.	.	छ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	kh
15 Media	g	.	.	.	ज	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.
16 " aspirata	gh	.	.	.	झ	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	.
17 " Nasalis	ñ	.	.	.	ञ	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	.

CONSONANTS (generalised).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...		य	𐬨𐬀	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...		...	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...		...	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...		श	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...		...	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	...	z
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t	...	...		त	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...		थ	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	ת	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...		द	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	ד	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...		ध	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	ד	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...		न	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...		ल	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	ל	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...		...	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...		स	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	...	...	ש	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	s (ʃ)	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	z (ʃ)	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	z (ʃ)	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		...	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		...	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			र	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä		
25 Palatalis fracta	ī		
26 Labialis fracta	ū		
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō		

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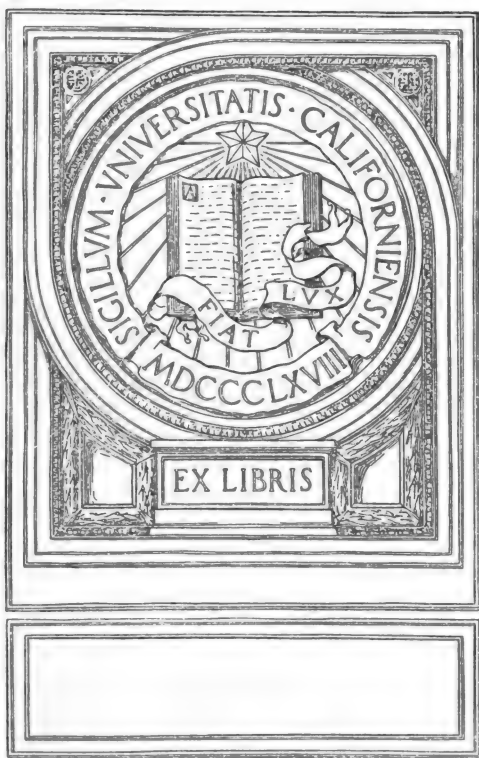
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· SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST·

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

·15·

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XV



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1884

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THE UPANISHADS

TRANSLATED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

PART II

THE KATHA-UPANISHAD

THE MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD

THE TAITTIRĪYAKA-UPANISHAD

THE BRĪHADĀRAṆYAKA-UPANISHAD

THE SVETĀSVATARA-UPANISHAD

THE PRASŌA-UPANISHAD

THE MAITRĀYANA-BRĀHMAṆA-UPANISHAD



Orford

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1884

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS second volume completes the translation of the principal Upanishads to which Śaṅkara appeals in his great commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras¹, viz. :

1. *Khândogya*-upanishad,
- 2. *Talavakâra* or *Kena*-upanishad,
3. *Aitareya*-upanishad,
4. *Kaushîtaki*-upanishad,
- 5. *Vâgasaneyi* or *Îsâ*-upanishad,
6. *Katha*-upanishad, ✓
- 7. *Mundaka*-upanishad, ✓
8. *Taittirîyaka*-upanishad, ✓
9. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*-upanishad, ✓
10. *Svetâsvatara*-upanishad,
11. *Prasṇa*-upanishad.

These eleven have sometimes² been called the old and genuine Upanishads, though I should be satisfied to call them the eleven classical Upanishads, or the fundamental Upanishads of the Vedānta philosophy.

Vidyâranya³, in his 'Elucidation of the meaning of all the Upanishads,' Sarvopaniṣhadarthânubhûti-prakâsa, confines himself likewise to those treatises, dropping, however, the *Îsâ*, and adding the *Maitrâyaṇa*-upanishad, of which I have given a translation in this volume, and the *Nṛsiṃhottara-tapanîya*-upanishad, the translation of which had to be reserved for the next volume.

¹ See Deussen, Vedānta, Einleitung, p. 38. Śaṅkara occasionally refers also to the *Pañḍgi*, *Agnirahasya*, *Gâbâla*, and *Nârâyanya* Upanishads.

² Deussen, loc. cit. p. 82.

³ I state this on the authority of Professor Cowell. See also Fitzedward Hall, Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems, pp. 116 and 236.

It is more difficult to determine which of the Upanishads were chosen by Saṅkara or deserving the honour of a special commentary. We possess his commentaries on the eleven Upanishads mentioned before¹, with the exception of the Kaushîtaki²-upanishad. We likewise possess his commentary on the Mândûkya-upanishad, but we do not know for certain whether he left commentaries on any of the other Upanishads. Some more or less authoritative statements have been made that he wrote commentaries on some of the minor Upanishads, such as the Atharvasiras, Atharva-sikhâ, and the Nṛisimhatâpanî³. But as, besides Saṅkarâkârya, the disciple of Govinda, there is Saṅkarânanda, the disciple of Ânandâtman, another writer of commentaries on the Upanishads, it is possible that the two names may have been confounded by less careful copyists⁴.

With regard to the Nṛisimhatâpanî all uncertainty might seem to be removed, after Professor Râmamaya Tarkaratna has actually published its text with the commentary of Saṅkarâkârya in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1871. But some uncertainty still remains. While at the end of each *Khanda* of the Nṛisimha-pûrvatâpanî we read that the Bhâshya was the work of the Paramahansa-parivrâgakâkârya Srî-Saṅkara, the pupil of Govinda, we have no such information for the Nṛisimha-uttaratâpanî, but are told on the contrary that the words Srî-Govindabhagavat &c. have been added at the end by the editor, because he thought fit to do so. This is, to say the least, very suspicious, and we must wait for further confirmation. There is another commentary on this Upanishad by Nârâyanabhattacha, the son of Bhattacha Ratnâkara⁵, who is well known as the author of Dîpikâs on several Upanishads.

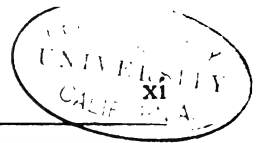
¹ They have been published by Dr. Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica.

² Dr. Weber's statement that Saṅkara wrote a commentary on the Kaushîtaki-upanishad has been corrected by Deussen, loc. cit. p. 39.

³ See Deussen, loc. cit. p. 39.

⁴ A long list of works ascribed to Saṅkara may be seen in Regnaud, Philosophie de l'Inde, p. 34, chiefly taken from Fitzedward Hall's Index of Indian Philosophical Systems.

⁵ See Tarkaratna's Vigrahâpana, p. 3, l. 5.



I subjoin a list of thirty of the smaller Upanishads, published by Professor Rāmamaya Tarkaratna in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, with the commentaries of Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa.

1. Sira-upanishad, pp. 1-10; Dīpikā by Nārāyaṇa, pp. 42-60.
2. Garbha-upanishad, pp. 11-15; " pp. 60-73.
3. Nāḍavindu-upanishad, pp. 15-17; " pp. 73-78.
4. Brahmavindu-upanishad, pp. 18-20; " pp. 78-82.
5. Amṛtavindu-upanishad, pp. 21-25; " pp. 83-101.
6. Dhyānavindu-upanishad, pp. 26-28; " pp. 102-114.
7. Tegovindu-upanishad, pp. 29-30; " pp. 114-118.
8. Yogasikhā-upanishad, pp. 31-32; " pp. 118-122.
9. Yogatattva-upanishad, pp. 33-34; " pp. 122-127.
10. Sannyāsa-upanishad, pp. 35-39; " pp. 128-184.
11. Āruneya-upanishad, pp. 39-41; " pp. 184-196.
12. Brahmayidyā-upanishad, pp. 197-203; " ibidem.
13. Kshurikā-upanishad, pp. 203-218; " "
14. Kūlikā-upanishad, pp. 219-228; " "
15. Atharvasikhā-upanishad, pp. 229-238; " "
16. Brahma-upanishad, pp. 239-259; " "
17. Prāṇāgnihotra-upanishad, pp. 260-271; " "
18. Nīlarudra-upanishad, pp. 272-280; " "
19. Kanthasruti-upanishad, pp. 281-294; " "
20. Pinda-upanishad, pp. 295-298; " "
21. Ātma-upanishad, pp. 299-303; " "
22. Rāmapūrvatāpanīya-upanishad,
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23. Rāmottaratāpanīya-upanishad,
pp. 359-384; " "
24. Hanumadukta-Rāma-upanishad,
pp. 385-393; " "
25. Sarvopanishat-sāraḥ, pp. 394-404; " "
26. Hamsa-upanishad, pp. 404-416; " "
27. Paramahamsa-upanishad, pp. 417-436; " "
28. Gābāla-upanishad, pp. 437-455; " "
29. Kaivalya-upanishad, pp. 456-464; " "
- Kaivalya-upanishad, pp. 465-479; Dīpikā by
 Saṅkarānanda, "
30. Garuḍa-upanishad, pp. 480 seq.; Dīpikā by
 Nārāyaṇa, "

We owe to the same editor in the earlier numbers of the Bibliotheca the following editions :

Nṛisimhapûrvatâpanî-upanishad, with commentary.

Nṛisimhottaratâpanî-upanishad, with commentary.

Shatākra-upanishad, with commentary by Nârâyana.

Lastly, Haraṅdra Vidyâbhūṣaṇa and Visvanâtha Sâstrî have published in the Bibliotheca Indica an edition of the Gopâlatâpanî-upanishad, with commentary by Visvesvara.

These editions of the text and commentaries of the Upanishads are no doubt very useful, yet there are many passages where the text is doubtful, still more where the commentaries leave us without any help.

Whatever other scholars may think of the difficulty of translating the Upanishads, I can only repeat what I have said before, that I know of few Sanskrit texts presenting more formidable problems to the translator than these philosophical treatises. It may be said that most of them had been translated before. No doubt they have been, and a careful comparison of my own translation with those of my predecessors will show, I believe, that a small advance, at all events, has now been made towards a truer understanding of these ancient texts. But I know full well how much still remains to be done, both in restoring a correct text, and in discovering the original meaning of the Upanishads ; and I have again and again had to translate certain passages tentatively only, or following the commentators, though conscious all the time that the meaning which they extract from the text cannot be the right one.

As to the text, I explained in my preface to the first volume that I attempted no more than to restore the text, such as it must have existed at the time when Saṅkara wrote his commentaries. As Saṅkara lived during the ninth century A.D.¹, and as we possess no MSS. of so early a date, all reasonable demands of textual criticism would thereby seem to be satisfied. Yet, this is not quite so. We may draw such a line, and for the present keep within it, but scholars who hereafter take up the study of the

¹ India, What can it teach us? p. 360.

Upanishads will probably have to go beyond. Where I had an opportunity of comparing other commentaries, besides those of Saṅkara, it became quite clear that they often followed a different text, and when, as in the case of the Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, I was enabled to collate copies which came from the South of India, the opinion which I have often expressed of the great value of Southern MSS. received fresh confirmation. The study of Grantha and other Southern MSS. will inaugurate, I believe, a new period in the critical treatment of Sanskrit texts, and the text of the Upanishads will, I hope, benefit quite as much as later texts by the treasures still concealed in the libraries of the Dekhan.

The rule which I have followed myself, and which I have asked my fellow translators to follow, has been adhered to in this new volume also, viz. whenever a choice has to be made between what is not quite faithful and what is not quite English, to surrender without hesitation the idiom rather than the accuracy of the translation. I know that all true scholars have approved of this, and if some of our critics have been offended by certain unidiomatic expressions occurring in our translations, all I can say is, that we shall always be most grateful if they would suggest translations which are not only faithful, but also idiomatic. For the purpose we have in view, a rugged but faithful translation seems to us more useful than a smooth but misleading one.

However, we have laid ourselves open to another kind of censure also, namely, of having occasionally not been literal enough. It is impossible to argue these questions in general, but every translator knows that in many cases a literal translation may convey an entirely wrong meaning. I shall give at least one instance.

My old friend, Mr. Nehemiah Goreh—at least I hope he will still allow me to call him so—in the ‘Occasional Papers on Missionary Subjects,’ First Series, No. 6, quotes, on p. 39, a passage from the *Khândogya*-upanishad, translates it into English, and then remarks that I had not translated it accurately. But the fault seems to me to lie

entirely with him, in attempting to translate a passage without considering the whole chapter of which it forms a part. Mr. Nehemiah Goreh states the beginning of the story rightly when he says that a youth by name Sveta-ketu went, by the advice of his father, to a teacher to study under him. After spending twelve years, as was customary, with the teacher, when he returned home he appeared rather elated. Then the father asked him:

Uta tam âdesam aprâksho¹ yenâsrutam srutam bhavaty amatam matam avigñâtam vigñâtam iti?

I translated this: 'Have you ever asked for that instruction by which we hear what cannot be heard, by which we perceive what cannot be perceived, by which we know what cannot be known?'

Mr. Nehemiah Goreh translates: 'Hast thou asked (of thy teacher) for that instruction by which what is not heard becomes heard, what is not comprehended becomes comprehended, what is not known becomes known?'

I shall not quarrel with my friend for translating man by to comprehend rather than by to perceive. I prefer my own translation, because manas is one side of the common sensory (*antaḥkaraṇa*), buddhi, the other; the original difference between the two being, so far as I can see, that the manas originally dealt with percepts, the buddhi with concepts². But the chief difference on which my critic lays stress is that I translated *asrutam*, *amatam*, and *avigñâtam* not by 'not heard, not comprehended, not known,' but by 'what cannot be heard, what cannot be perceived, what cannot be known.'

Now, before finding fault, why did he not ask himself what possible reason I could have had for deviating from the original, and for translating *avigñâta* by unknowable or

¹ Mr. Nehemiah Goreh writes *aprâkshyo*, and this is no doubt the reading adopted by Roer in his edition of the *Khândogya-upanishad* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 384. In *Śaṅkara's* commentary also the same form is given. Still grammar requires *aprâksho*.

² The *Pañcadāśī* (I, 20) distinguishes between *manas* and *buddhi*, by saying, *mano vimarsarūpam syād buddhiḥ syān nistayātmikā*, which places the difference between the two rather in the degree of certainty, ascribing deliberation to *manas*, decision to *buddhi*.

what cannot be known, rather than by unknown, as every one would be inclined to translate these words at first sight? If he had done so, he would have seen in a moment, that without the change which I introduced in the idiom, the translation would not have conveyed the sense of the original, nay, would have conveyed no sense at all. What could Sveta-ketu have answered, if his father had asked him, whether he had not asked for that instruction by which what is not heard becomes heard, what is not comprehended becomes comprehended, what is not known becomes known? He would have answered, 'Yes, I have asked for it; and from the first day on which I learnt the Sikshâ, the A B C, I have every day heard something which I had not heard before, I have comprehended something which I had not comprehended before, I have known something which I had not known before.' Then why does he say in reply, 'What is that instruction?' Surely Mr. Nehemiah Goreh knew that the instruction which the father refers to, is the instruction regarding Brahman, and that in all which follows the father tries to lead his son by slow degrees to a knowledge of Brahman¹. Now that Brahman is called again and again 'that which cannot be seen, cannot be heard, cannot be perceived, cannot be conceived,' in the ordinary sense of these words; can be learnt, in fact, from the Veda only². It was in order to bring out this meaning that I translated *asrutam* not by 'not heard,' but by 'not hearable,' or, in better English, by 'what cannot be heard'³.

¹ In the Vedânta-Sâra, Sadânanda lays great stress on the fact that in this very chapter of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, the principal subject of the whole chapter is mentioned both in the beginning and in the end. *Tatra prakaraṇapratipâdyasyârthasya tadâdyantayor upâdânam upakramasamhâram. Yathâ Khândogyaashashânaprapâhake prakaraṇapratipâdyasyâdvityavastuna ekam evâdvityam* (VI, 2, 1) *ityâdâv âitadâtmyam idam sarvam* (VI, 16, 3) *ity ante ka pratipâdanam*. 'The beginning with and ending with' imply that the matter to be declared in any given section is declared both at the beginning and at the end thereof:—as, for instance, in the sixth section of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, 'the Real, besides which there is nought else'—which is to be explained in that section—is declared at the outset in the terms, 'One only, without a second,' and at the end in the terms 'All this consists of That.'

² Vedânta-Sâra, No. 118, *tatraivâdvityavastuno mânântarâvishayikarânam*.

³ See *Mund. Up.* I, 1, 6, *adresyam agrâhyam*.

Any classical scholar knows how often we must translate *invictus* by *invincible*, and how Latin tolerates even *invictissimus*, which we could never render in English by 'the most unconquered,' but 'the unconquerable.' English idiom, therefore, and common sense required that *aviḡñāta* should be translated, not by *inconceived*, but by *inconceivable*, if the translation was to be faithful, and was to give to the reader a correct idea of the original.

Let us now examine some other translations, to see whether the translators were satisfied with translating literally, or whether they attempted to translate thoughtfully.

Anquetil Duperron's translation, being in Latin, cannot help us much. He translates: 'Non auditum, auditum fiat; et non scitum, scitum; et non cognitum, cognitum.'

Rajendralal Mitra translates: 'Have you enquired of your tutor about that subject which makes the unheard-of heard, the unconsidered considered, and the unsettled settled?'

He evidently knew that *Brahman* was intended, but his rendering of the three verbs is not exact.

Mr. Gough (p. 43) translates: 'Hast thou asked for that instruction by which the unheard becomes heard, the unthought thought, the unknown known?'

But now let us consult a scholar who, in a very marked degree, always was a thoughtful translator, who felt a real interest in the subject, and therefore was never satisfied with mere words, however plausible. The late Dr. Ballantyne, in his translation of the *Vedānta-Sāra*¹, had occasion to translate this passage from the *Khândogya-upanishad*, and how did he translate it? 'The eulogizing of the subject is the glorifying of what is set forth in this or that section (of the Veda); as, for example, in that same section, the sixth chapter of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, the glorifying of the Real, besides whom there is nought else, in the following terms: "Thou, O disciple, hast asked for that instruction whereby the unheard-of becomes heard, the inconceiv-

¹ Lecture on the *Vedānta*, embracing the text of the *Vedānta-Sāra*, Allahabad, 1851, p. 69. *Vedāntasāra*, with *Nṛsiṃha-Sarasvatī's* *Subodhinī*, and *Rāmatīrtha's* *Vidvanmanoraṅginī*, Calcutta, 1860, p. 89. Here we find the right reading, *aprākṣaḥ*.

able becomes conceived, and the unknowable becomes thoroughly known.”’

Dr. Ballantyne therefore felt exactly what I felt, that in our passage a strictly literal translation would be wrong, would convey no meaning, or a wrong meaning; and Mr. Nehemiah Goreh will see that he ought not to express blame, without trying to find out whether those whom he blames for want of exactness, were not in reality more scrupulously exact in their translation than he has proved himself to be.

Mr. Nehemiah Goreh has, no doubt, great advantages in interpreting the Upanishads, and when he writes without any theological bias, his remarks are often very useful. Thus he objects rightly, I think, to my translation of a sentence in the same chapter of the *Khândogya*-upanishad, where the father, in answer to his son's question, replies: ‘Sad eva, Somya, idam agra âsîd ekam evâdvityam.’ I had tried several translations of these words, and yet I see now that the one I proposed in the end is liable to be misunderstood. I had translated: ‘In the beginning, my dear, there was that only which is, one only, without a second.’ The more faithful translation would have been: ‘The being alone was this in the beginning.’ But ‘the being’ does not mean in English that which is, *τὸ ὄν*, and therefore, to avoid any misunderstanding, I translated ‘that which is.’ I might have said, however, ‘The existent, the real, the true (*satyam*) was this in the beginning,’ just as in the *Aitareya*-upanishad we read: ‘The Self was all this, one alone, in the beginning¹.’ But in that case I should have sacrificed the gender, and this in our passage is of great importance, being neuter, and not masculine.

What, however, is far more important, and where Mr. Nehemiah Goreh seems to me to have quite misapprehended the original Sanskrit, is this, that *sat*, *τὸ ὄν*, and *âtâmâ*, the Self, are the subjects in these sentences, and not predicates. Now Mr. Nehemiah Goreh translates: ‘This was the existent one itself before, one only without a second;’ and he

¹ *Âtmâ vâ idam eka evâgra âsîd.*

explains: 'This universe, before it was developed in the present form, was the existent one, Brahma, itself.' This cannot be. If 'idam,' this, i.e. the visible world, were the subject, how could the Upanishad go on and say, tad aikshata bahu syâm pragâyeyeti tat tego 'srigata, 'that thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire.' This can be said of the Sat only, that is, the Brahman¹. Sat, therefore, is the subject, not idam, for a Vedântist may well say that Brahman is the world, or sent forth the world, but not that the world, which is a mere illusion, was, in the beginning, Brahman.

This becomes clearer still in another passage, Maitr. Up. VI, 17, where we read: Brahma ha vâ idam agra âsîd eko 'nantaḥ, 'In the beginning Brahman was all this. He was one, and infinite.' Here the transition from the neuter to the masculine gender shows that Brahman only can be the subject, both in the first and in the second sentence.

In English it may seem to make little difference whether we say, 'Brahman was this,' or 'this was Brahman.' In Sanskrit too we find, Brahma khalv idam vâva sarvam, 'Brahman indeed is all this' (Maitr. Up. IV, 6), and Sarvam khalv idam Brahma, 'all this is Brahman indeed' (Khând. Up. III, 14, 1). But the logical meaning is always that Brahman was all this, i.e. all that we see now, Brahman being the subject, idam the predicate. Brahman becomes idam, not idam Brahman.

Thus the Pañkadasî, I, 18, says:

Ekâdasendriyair yuktyâ sâstrenâpy avagamyate

Yâvat kimkîd bhaved etad idamsabdoditam gagat,
which Mr. A. Venis (Pandit, V, p. 667) translates: 'Whatever may be apprehended through the eleven organs, by argument and revelation, i.e. the world of phenomena, is expressed by the word idam, this.' The Pañkadasî then goes on:

Idam sarvam purâ sṛishṭer ekam evâdvitīyakam

Sad evâsîn nâmarûpe nâstâm ity Âruner vakāḥ.

This Mr. Venis translates: 'Previous to creation, all this

¹ Saṅkara says (p. 398, l. 5): ekam evâdvitīyam paramârthata idam buddhi-kâlê 'pi tat sad aikshata.

was the existent (*sat*), one only without a second : name and form were not :—this is the declaration of the son of Aruṇa.’

This is no doubt a translation grammatically correct, but from the philosophical standpoint of the Vedānta, what is really meant is that, before the *srishā* (which is not creation, but the sending forth of the world, and the sending forth of it, not as something real, but as a mere illusion), the Real alone, i. e. the Brahman, was, instead of this, i. e. instead of this illusory world. The illusion was not, but the Real, i. e. Brahman, was. What became, or what seemed to change, was Brahman, and therefore the only possible subject, logically, is Brahman, everything else being a predicate, and a phenomenal predicate only.

If I were arguing with a European, not with an Indian scholar, I should venture to go even a step further, and try to prove that the *idam*, in this and similar sentences, does not mean this, i. e. this world, but that originally it was intended as an adverb, meaning now, or here. This use of *idam*, unsuspected by native scholars, is very frequent in Vedic literature, and instances may be seen in Boehtlingk’s Dictionary. In that case the translation would be : ‘The real (*rò ōv*), O friend, was here in the beginning.’ This meaning of *idam*, however, would apply only to the earliest utterances of ancient Brahmvādins, while in later times *idam* was used and understood in the sense of all that is seen, the visible universe, just as *iyam* by itself is used in the sense of the earth.

However, difficulties of this kind may be overcome, if once we have arrived at a clear conception of the general drift of the Upanishads. The real difficulties are of a very different character. They consist in the extraordinary number of passages which seem to us utterly meaningless and irrational, or, at all events, so far-fetched that we can hardly believe that the same authors who can express the deepest thoughts on religion and philosophy with clearness, nay, with a kind of poetical eloquence, could have uttered in the same breath such utter rubbish. Some of the sacrificial technicalities, and their philosophical interpretations with which the Upanishads abound, may perhaps in time assume a clearer meaning, when we shall have more fully mastered

the intricacies of the Vedic ceremonial. But there will always remain in the Upanishads a vast amount of what we can only call meaningless jargon, and for the presence of which in these ancient mines of thought I, for my own part, feel quite unable to account. 'Yes,' a friend of mine wrote to me, after reading some of the Sacred Books of the East, 'you are right, how tremendously ahead of other sacred books is the Bible. The difference strikes one as almost unfairly great.' So it does, no doubt. But some of the most honest believers and admirers of the Bible have expressed a similar disappointment, because they had formed their ideas of what a Sacred Book ought to be, theoretically, not historically. The Rev. J. M. Wilson, in his excellent Lectures on the Theory of Inspiration, p. 32, writes: 'The Bible is so unlike what you would expect; it does not consist of golden sayings and rules of life; give explanations of the philosophical and social problems of the past, the present, and the future; contain teachings immeasurably unlike those of any other book; but it contains history, ritual, legislation, poetry, dialogue, prophecy, memoirs, and letters; it contains much that is foreign to your idea of what a revelation ought to be. But this is not all. There is not only much that is foreign, but much that is opposed, to your preconceptions. The Jews tolerated slavery, polygamy, and other customs and cruelties of imperfect civilisation. There are the vindictive psalms, too, with their bitter hatred against enemies,—psalms which we chant in our churches. How can we do so? There are stories of immorality, of treachery, of crime. How can we read them?' Still the Bible has been and is a truly sacred, because a truly historical book, for there is nothing more sacred in this world than the history of man, in his search after his highest ideals. All ancient books which have once been called sacred by man, will have their lasting place in the history of mankind, and those who possess the courage, the perseverance, and the self-denial of the true miner, and of the true scholar, will find even in the darkest and dustiest shafts what they are seeking for,—real nuggets of thought, and precious jewels of faith and hope.

I.

THE KATHA-UPANISHAD.

THE *Katha*-upanishad is probably more widely known than any other Upanishad. It formed part of the Persian translation, was rendered into English by Rāmmohun Roy, and has since been frequently quoted by English, French, and German writers as one of the most perfect specimens of the mystic philosophy and poetry of the ancient Hindus.

It was in the year 1845 that I first copied at Berlin the text of this Upanishad, the commentary of Sāṅkara (MS. 127 Chambers¹), and the gloss of Gopālayogin (MS. 224 Chambers). The text and commentary of Sāṅkara and the gloss of Ānandagiri have since been edited by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, with translation and notes. There are other translations, more or less perfect, by Rāmmohun Roy, Windischmann, Poley, Weber, Muir, Regnaud, Gough, and others. But there still remained many difficult and obscure portions, and I hope that in some at least of the passages where I differ from my predecessors, not excepting Sāṅkara, I may have succeeded in rendering the original meaning of the author more intelligible than it has hitherto been.

The text of the *Katha*-upanishad is in some MSS. ascribed to the Yagur-veda. In the Chambers MS. of the commentary also it is said to belong to that Veda², and in the *Muktikopanishad* it stands first among the *Upanishads* of the Black Yagur-veda. According to Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 96, note) it is referred to the *Sāma-veda* also. Generally, however, it is counted as one of the *Ātharvāna Upanishads*.

The reason why it is ascribed to the Yagur-veda, is probably because the legend of Nāṅketas occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya Yagur-veda*. Here we read (III, 1, 8):

Vāgasravasa, wishing for rewards, sacrificed all his

¹ MS. 133 is a mere copy of MS. 127.

² Yagurvede *Kaṭhāvallībhāṣyam*.

wealth. He had a son, called Nāṣiketas. While he was still a boy, faith entered into him at the time when the cows that were to be given (by his father) as presents to the priests, were brought in. He said: 'Father, to whom wilt thou give me?' He said so a second and third time. The father turned round and said to him: 'To Death, I give thee.'

Then a voice said to the young Gautama, as he stood up: 'He (thy father) said, Go away to the house of Death, I give thee to Death.' Go therefore to Death when he is not at home, and dwell in his house for three nights without eating. If he should ask thee, 'Boy, how many nights hast thou been here?' say, 'Three.' When he asks thee, 'What didst thou eat the first night?' say, 'Thy offspring.' 'What didst thou eat the second night?' say, 'Thy cattle.' 'What didst thou eat the third night?' say, 'Thy good works.'

He went to Death, while he was away from home, and he dwelt in his house for three nights without eating. When Death returned, he asked: 'Boy, how many nights hast thou been here?' He answered: 'Three.' 'What didst thou eat the first night?' 'Thy offspring.' 'What didst thou eat the second night?' 'Thy cattle.' 'What didst thou eat the third night?' 'Thy good works.'

Then he said: 'My respect to thee, O venerable sir! Choose a boon.'

'May I return living to my father,' he said.

'Choose a second boon.'

'Tell me how my good works may never perish.'

Then he explained to him this Nāṣiketa fire (sacrifice), and hence his good works do not perish.

'Choose a third boon.'

'Tell me the conquest of death again.'

Then he explained to him this (chief) Nāṣiketa fire (sacrifice), and hence he conquered death again¹.

This story, which in the Brāhmaṇa is told in order to explain the name of a certain sacrificial ceremony called

¹ The commentator explains punar-mṛtyu as the death that follows after the present inevitable death.

Nâliketa, was used as a peg on which to hang the doctrines of the Upanishad. In its original form it may have constituted one Adhyâya only, and the very fact of its division into two Adhyâyas may show that the compilers of the Upanishad were still aware of its gradual origin. We have no means, however, of determining its original form, nor should we even be justified in maintaining that the first Adhyâya ever existed by itself, and that the second was added at a much later time. Whatever its component elements may have been before it was an Upanishad, when it was an Upanishad it consisted of six Vallîs, neither more nor less.

The name of vallî, lit. creeper, as a subdivision of a Vedic work, is important. It occurs again in the Taittiriya Upanishads. Professor Weber thinks that vallî, creeper, in the sense of chapter, is based on a modern metaphor, and was primarily intended for a creeper, attached to the sâkhâs or branches of the Veda¹. More likely, however, it was used in the same sense as parvan, a joint, a shoot, a branch, i. e. a division.

Various attempts have been made to distinguish the more modern from the more ancient portions of our Upanishad². No doubt there are peculiarities of metre, grammar, language, and thought which indicate the more primitive or the more modern character of certain verses. There are repetitions which offend us, and there are several passages which are clearly taken over from other Upanishads, where they seem to have had their original place. Thirty-five years ago, when I first worked at this Upanishad, I saw no difficulty in re-establishing what I thought the original text of the Upanishad must have been. I now feel that we know so little of the time and the circumstances when these half-prose and half-metrical Upanishads were first put together, that I should hesitate

¹ History of Indian Literature, p. 93, note ; p. 157.

² Though it would be unfair to hold Professor Weber responsible for his remarks on this and other questions connected with the Upanishads published many years ago (*Indische Studien*, 1853, p. 197), and though I have hardly ever thought it necessary to criticise them, some of his remarks are not without their value even now.

before expunging even the most modern-sounding lines from the original context of these Vedântic essays¹.

The mention of *Dhâtri*, creator, for instance (*Kath. Up.* II, 20), is certainly startling, and seems to have given rise to a very early conjectural emendation. But *dhâtri* and *vidhâtri* occur in the hymns of the Rig-veda (X, 82, 2), and in the Upanishads (*Maitr. Up.* VI, 8); and *Dhâtri*, as almost a personal deity, is invoked with *Pragâpati* in Rig-veda X, 184, 1. *Deva*, in the sense of God (*Kath. Up.* II, 12), is equally strange, but occurs in other Upanishads also (*Maitr. Up.* VI, 23; *Svetâsv. Up.* I, 3). Much might be said about *setu*, bridge (*Kath. Up.* III, 2; *Mund. Up.* II, 2, 5), *âdarsa*, mirror (*Kath. Up.* VI, 5), as being characteristic of a later age. But *setu* is not a bridge, in our sense of the word, but rather a wall, a bank, a barrier, and occurs frequently in other Upanishads (*Maitr. Up.* VII, 7; *Khând. Up.* VIII, 4; *Brih. Up.* IV, 4, 22, &c.), while *âdarsas*, or mirrors, are mentioned in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* and the *Srauta-sûtras*. Till we know something more about the date of the first and the last composition or compilation of the Upanishads, how are we to tell what subjects and what ideas the first author or the last collector was familiar with? To attempt the impossible may seem courageous, but it is hardly scholarlike.

With regard to faulty or irregular readings, we can never know whether they are due to the original composers, the compilers, the repeaters, or lastly the writers of the Upanishads. It is easy to say that *adresya* (*Mund. Up.* I, 1, 6) ought to be *adrisya*; but who would venture to correct that form? Whenever that verse is quoted, it is quoted with *adresya*, not *adrisya*. The commentators themselves tell us sometimes that certain forms are either Vedic or due to carelessness (*pramâdapâtḥa*); but that very fact shows that such a form, for instance, as *samîyâta* (*Khând. Up.* I, 12, 3) rests on an old authority.

No doubt, if we have the original text of an author, and can prove that his text was corrupted by later compilers

¹ See Regnaud, *Le Pessimisme Brahmanique*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1880; tom. i, p. 101.

or copyists or printers, we have a right to remove those later alterations, whether they be improvements or corruptions. But where, as in our case, we can never hope to gain access to original documents, and where we can only hope, by pointing out what is clearly more modern than the rest or, it may be, faulty, to gain an approximate conception of what the original composer may have had in his mind, before handing his composition over to the safe keeping of oral tradition, it is almost a duty to discourage, as much as lies in our power, the work of reconstructing an old text by so-called conjectural emendations or critical omissions.

I have little doubt, for instance, that the three verses 16-18 in the first Valli of the *Kaṭha-upanishad* are later additions, but I should not therefore venture to remove them. Death had granted three boons to Naṅiketas, and no more. In a later portion, however, of the *Upanishad* (II, 3), the expression *srīṅkā vittamayī* occurs, which I have translated by 'the road which leads to wealth.' As it is said that Naṅiketas did not choose that *srīṅkā*, some reader must have supposed that a *srīṅkā* was offered him by Death. *Srīṅkā*, however, meant commonly a string or necklace, and hence arose the idea that Death must have offered a necklace as an additional gift to Naṅiketas. Besides this, there was another honour done to Naṅiketas by *Mrityu*, namely, his allowing the sacrifice which he had taught him, to be called by his name. This also, it was supposed, ought to have been distinctly mentioned before, and hence the insertion of the three verses 16-18. They are clumsily put in, for after *punar evāha*, 'he said again,' verse 16 ought not to have commenced by *tam abravīt*, 'he said to him.' They contain nothing new, for the fact that the sacrifice is to be called after Naṅiketas was sufficiently indicated by verse 19, 'This, O Naṅiketas, is thy fire which leads to heaven, which thou hast chosen as thy second boon.' But so anxious was the interpolator to impress upon his hearers the fact that the sacrifice should in future go by that name, that, in spite of the metre, he inserted *tavaiva*, 'of thee alone,' in verse 19.

II.

THE MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD.

THIS is an Upanishad of the Atharva-veda. It is a Mantra-upanishad, i. e. it has the form of a Mantra. But, as the commentators observe, though it is written in verse, it is not, like other Mantras, to be used for sacrificial purposes. Its only object is to teach the highest knowledge, the knowledge of Brahman, which cannot be obtained either by sacrifices or by worship (upâsana), but by such teaching only as is imparted in the Upanishad. A man may a hundred times restrain his breath, &c., but without the Upanishad his ignorance does not cease. Nor is it right to continue for ever in the performance of sacrificial and other good works, if one wishes to obtain the highest knowledge of Brahman. The Sannyâsin alone, who has given up everything, is qualified to know and to become Brahman. And though it might seem from Vedic legends that *Grihasthas* also who continued to live with their families, performing all the duties required of them by law, had been in possession of the highest knowledge, this, we are told, is a mistake. Works and knowledge can be as little together as darkness and light.

This Upanishad too has been often translated since it first appeared in the Persian translation of Dârâ Shukoh. My own copy of the text and Saṅkara's commentary from the MS. in the Chambers Collection was made in October 1844. Both are now best accessible in the Bibliotheca Indica, where Dr. Roer has published the text, the commentary by Saṅkara, a gloss by Ânandagñâna, and an English translation with notes.

The title of the Upanishad, *Mundaka*, has not yet been explained. The Upanishad is called *Mundaka-upanishad*, and its three chapters are each called *Mundakam*. Native commentators explain it as the shaving Upanishad, that is, as the Upanishad which cuts off the errors of the mind, like a razor. Another Upanishad also is called *Kshurikâ*, the razor, a name which is explained in the text itself as

meaning an instrument for removing illusion and error. The title is all the more strange because *Mundaka*, in its commonest acceptation, is used as a term of reproach for Buddhist mendicants, who are called 'Shavelings,' in opposition to the Brāhmans, who dress their hair carefully, and often display by its peculiar arrangement either their family or their rank. Many doctrines of the Upanishads are, no doubt, pure Buddhism, or rather Buddhism is on many points the consistent carrying out of the principles laid down in the Upanishads. Yet, for that very reason, it seems impossible that this should be the origin of the name, unless we suppose that it was the work of a man who was, in one sense, a *Mundaka*, and yet faithful to the Brahmanic law.

III.

THE TAITTIRĪYAKA-UPANISHAD.

THE Taittirīyaka-upanishad seems to have had its original place in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka. This Āraṇyaka consists, as Rajendralal Mitra has shown in the Introduction to his edition of the work in the Bibliotheca Indica, of three portions. Out of its ten Prapāṭhakas, the first six form the Āraṇyaka proper, or the Karma-kāṇḍa, as Sāyana writes. Then follow Prapāṭhakas VII, VIII, and IX, forming the Taittirīyaka-upanishad; and lastly, the tenth Prapāṭhaka, the Yâgñīkī or Mahânârâyana-upanishad, which is called a Khila, and was therefore considered by the Brāhmans themselves as a later and supplementary work.

Saṅkara, in his commentary on the Taittirīyaka-upanishad, divides his work into three Adhyāyas, and calls the first Sikshā-vallī, the second the Brahmānanda-vallī, while he gives no special name to the Upanishad explained in the third Adhyāya. This, however, may be due to a mere accident, for whenever the division of the Taittirīyaka-upanishad into Vallīs is mentioned, we always have three¹, the

¹ Saṅkara (ed. Roer, p. 141) himself speaks of two Vallīs, teaching the paramātmagñāna (the Sikshā-vallī has nothing to do with this), and Anquetil has Anandbli = Ānanda-vallī, and Bharkbli = Bhrigu-vallī.

Sikshâ-vallî, the Brahmananda-vallî, and the Bhrîgu-vallî¹. Properly, however, it is only the second Anuvâka of the seventh Prapâthaka which deserves and receives in the text itself the name of Sikshâdhyâya, while the rest of the first Vallî ought to go by the name of Sâmhîta-upanishad², or Sâmhîti-upanishad.

Sâyana³, in his commentary on the Taittirîya-âraṇyaka, explains the seventh chapter, the Sikshâdhyâya (twelve anuvâkas), as Sâmhîti-upanishad. His commentary, however, is called Sikshâ-bhâshya. The same Sâyana treats the eighth and ninth Prapâthakas as the Vârûṇy-upanishad⁴.

The Ânanda-vallî and Bhrîgu-vallî are quoted among the Upanishads of the Âtharvâṇa⁵.

At the end of each Vallî there is an index of the Ânuvâkas which it contains. That at the end of the first Vallî is intelligible. It gives the Pratîkas, i. e. the initial words, of each Anuvâka, and states their number as twelve. At the end of the first Anuvâka, we have the final words 'satyam vadishyâmi,' and pañka ka, i. e. five short paragraphs at the end. At the end of the second Anuvâka, where we expect the final words, we have the initial, i. e. śikshâm, and then pañka, i. e. five sections in the Anuvâka. At the end of the third Anuvâka, we have the final words, but no number of sections. At the end of the fourth Anuvâka, we have the final words of the three sections, followed by one paragraph; at the end of the fifth Anuvâka, three final words, and two paragraphs, though the first paragraph belongs clearly to the third section. In the sixth Anuvâka, we have the final words of the two Anuvâkas, and one paragraph. In the seventh Anuvâka, there is the final word

¹ The third Vallî ends with Bhrîgur ity upanishat.

² See Taittirîyaka-upanishad, ed. Roer, p. 12.

³ See M. M., Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Upanishads, p. 144.

⁴ The Anukramanî of the Âtreya school (see Weber, Indische Studien, II, p. 208) of the Taittirîyaka gives likewise the name of Vârûṇî to the eighth and ninth Prapâthaka, while it calls the seventh Prapâthaka the Sâmhîti, and the tenth Prapâthaka the Yâgñîki-upanishad. That Anukramanî presupposes, however, a different text, as may be seen both from the number of Anuvâkas, and from the position assigned to the Yâgñîkî as between the Sâmhîti and Vârûṇî Upanishads.

⁵ See M. M., Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Upanishads.

sarvam, and one paragraph added. In the eighth Anuvāka, we have the initial word, and the number of sections, viz. ten. In the ninth Anuvāka, there are the final words of one section, and six paragraphs. In the tenth Anuvāka, there is the initial word, and the number of paragraphs, viz. six. In the eleventh Anuvāka, we have the final words of four sections, and seven paragraphs, the first again forming an integral portion of the last section. The twelfth Anuvāka has one section, and five paragraphs. If five, then the *sānti* would here have to be included, while, from what is said afterwards, it is clear that as the first word of the Valli is *sam naḥ*, so the last is *vaktāram*.

In the second Valli the index to each Anuvāka is given at the end of the Valli.

1st Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *brahma*vid, and some other catchwords, *idam*, *ayam*, *idam*. Number of sections, 21.

2nd Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *annād*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 26.

3rd Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *prāṇam*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 22.

4th Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *yataḥ*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 18.

5th Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *viḡṇānam*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 22.

6th Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *asanneva*, then *atha* (deest in *Taitt. Ār.* 7). Sections, 28.

7th Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *asat*. Sections, 16.

8th Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *bhīṣhāsmāt*, and other catchwords ; last word, *upasaṅkrāmati*. Sections, 51.

9th Anuvāka : *pratīka* : *yataḥ*—*kutasthana* ; then *tam* (deest in *Taitt. Ār.*). Sections, 11.

In the third Valli the *Anukramanī* stands at the end.

1. The first word, *bhrīguḥ*, and some other catchwords. Sections, 13.

2. The first word, *annam*. Sections, 12.

3. The first word, *prāṇam*. Sections, 12.

4. The first word, *manah*. Sections, 12.

5. The first word, *viḡṇānam*, and some other words. Sections, 12.

6. The first word, *ânanda*, and some other words. Sections, 10.
7. The first words, *annam na nindyât, prânah, sarîram*. Sections, 11.
8. The first words, *annam na parikakshita, âpo gyoiti*. Sections, 11.
9. The first words, *annam bahu kurvita prithivim âkâsa*. Sections, 11.
10. The first words, *na kañkana*. Sections 61. The last words of each section are given for the tenth Anuvâka.

IV.

THE BRĪHADĀRANYAKA-UPANISHAD.

THIS Upanishad has been so often edited and discussed that it calls for no special remarks. It forms part of the Satapatha-brâhmana. In the Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ of that Brâhmana, which has been edited by Professor Weber, the Upanishad, consisting of six adhyâyas, begins with the fourth adhyâya (or third prapâthaka) of the fourteenth book.

There is a commentary on the *Brihadâranyaka-upanishad* by Dvivedasrînârâyanasûnu Dvivedagaṅga, which has been carefully edited by Weber in his great edition of the *Satapatha-brâhmana* from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, formerly belonging to Dr. Mill, in which the Upanishad is called *Mâdhyandiniya-brâhmana-upanishad*.

In the *Kânva-sâkhâ* the *Brihadâranyaka-upanishad* forms the seventeenth book of the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, consisting of six adhyâyas.

As Sâṅkara's commentary and the gloss of Ânandatîrtha, edited by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, follow the *Kânva-sâkhâ*, I have followed the same text in my translation.

Besides Dr. Roer's edition of the text, commentary, and gloss of this Upanishad, there is Poley's edition of the text. There is also a translation of it by Dr. Roer, with large extracts from Sâṅkara's commentary.

V.



THE SVETĀSVATARA-UPANISHAD.

THE Svetāsvatara-upanishad has been handed down as one of the thirty-three Upanishads of the Taittirīyas, and though this has been doubted, no real argument has ever been brought forward to invalidate the tradition which represents it as belonging to the Taittirīya or Black Yagur-veda.

It is sometimes called Svetāsvatārāzām Mantropanishad (p. 274), and is frequently spoken of in the plural, as Svetāsvataropanishadaḥ. At the end of the last Adhyāya we read that Svetāsvatara told it to the best among the hermits, and that it should be kept secret, and not be taught to any one except to a son or a regular pupil. It is also called Svetāsva¹, though, it would seem, for the sake of the metre only. The Svetāsvataras are mentioned as a Sākhā², subordinate to the Karakas; but of the literature belonging to them in particular, nothing is ever mentioned beyond this Upanishad.

Svetāsvatara means a white mule, and as mules were known and prized in India from the earliest times, Svetāsvatara, as the name of a person, is no more startling than Svetāsra, white horse, an epithet of Arguna. Now as no one would be likely to conclude from the name of one of the celebrated Vedic Rishis, Syāvāsra, i.e. black horse, that negro influences might be discovered in his hymns, it is hardly necessary to say that all speculations as to Christian influences, or the teaching of white Syro-Christian missionaries, being indicated by the name of Svetāsvatara, are groundless³.

The Svetāsvatara-upanishad holds a very high rank among the Upanishads. Though we cannot say that it is quoted by name by Bādarāyaṇa in the Vedānta-sūtras,

¹ Vākaspatyam, p. 1222.

² Catal. Bodl. p. 271 a; p. 222 a.

³ See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, pp. 400, 421.

it is distinctly referred to as *sruta* or revealed¹. It is one of the twelve Upanishads chosen by Vidyâranya in his *Sarvopaniṣad-arthânabhûtiprakâṣa*, and it was singled out by Saṅkara as worthy of a special commentary.

The *Svetâsvatara-upaniṣad* seems to me one of the most difficult, and at the same time one of the most interesting works of its kind. Whether on that and on other grounds it should be assigned to a more ancient or to a more modern period is what, in the present state of our knowledge, or, to be honest, of our ignorance of minute chronology during the Vedic period, no true scholar would venture to assert. We must be satisfied to know that, as a class, the Upanishads are presupposed by the *Kalpa-sûtras*, that some of them, called *Mantra-upaniṣads*, form part of the more modern *Samhitâs*, and that there are portions even in the *Rig-veda-samhitâ*² for which the name of Upanishad is claimed by the *Anukramanîs*. We find them most frequent, however, during the *Brâhmaṇa*-period, in the *Brâhmaṇas* themselves, and, more especially, in those portions which are called *Âranyakas*, while a large number of them is referred to the *Atharva-veda*. That, in imitation of older Upanishads, similar treatises were composed to a comparatively recent time, has, of course, long been known³.

But when we approach the question whether among the ancient and genuine Upanishads one may be older than the other, we find that, though we may guess much, we can prove nothing. The Upanishads belonged to *Parishads* or settlements spread all over India. There is a stock of ideas, even of expressions, common to most of them. Yet, the ideas collected in the Upanishads cannot all have grown up in one and the same place, still less in regular succession. They must have had an independent growth, determined by individual and local influences, and opinions which in one village might seem far advanced, would in another be looked upon as behind the world. We may

¹ See Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 24; *Ved. Sûtra* I, 1, 11; I, 4, 8; II, 3, 22.

² See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. lxvi.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. lxvii.

admire the ingeniousness of those who sometimes in this, sometimes in that peculiarity see a clear indication of the modern date of an Upanishad, but to a conscientious scholar such arguments are really distasteful for the very sake of their ingeniousness. He knows that they will convince many who do not know the real difficulties; he knows they will have to be got out of the way with no small trouble, and he knows that, even if they should prove true in the end, they will require very different support from what they have hitherto received, before they can be admitted to the narrow circle of scientific facts.

While fully admitting therefore that the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* has its peculiar features and its peculiar difficulties, I must most strongly maintain that no argument that has as yet been brought forward, seems to me to prove, in any sense of the word, its modern character.

It has been said, for instance, that the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* is a sectarian Upanishad, because, when speaking of the Highest Self or the Highest Brahman, it applies such names to him as Hara (I, 10), Rudra (II, 17; III, 2; 4; IV, 12; 21; 22), Siva (III, 14; IV, 10), Bhagavat (III, 14), Agni, Âditya, Vâyu, &c. (IV, 2). But here it is simply taken for granted that the idea of the Highest Self was developed first, and, after it had reached its highest purity, was lowered again by an identification with mythological and personal deities. The questions whether the conception of the Highest Self was formed once and once only, whether it was formed after all the personal and mythological deities had first been merged into one Lord (Pragâpati), or whether it was discovered behind the veil of any other name in the mythological pantheon of the past, have never been mooted. Why should not an ancient *Rîshi* have said: What we have hitherto called Rudra, and what we worship as Agni, or Siva, is in reality the Highest Self, thus leaving much of the ancient mythological phraseology to be used with a new meaning? Why should we at once conclude that late sectarian worshippers of mythological gods replaced again the Highest Self, after their fathers had discovered it, by their own sectarian names? If we adopt the former

view, the Upanishads, which still show these rudera of the ancient temples, would have to be considered as more primitive even than those in which the idea of the Brahman or the Highest Self has reached its utmost purity..

It has been considered a very strong argument in support of the modern and sectarian character of the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, that 'it inculcates what is called Bhakti¹, or implicit reliance on the favour of the deity worshipped.' Now it is quite true that this Upanishad possesses a very distinct character of its own, by the stress which it lays on the personal, and sometimes almost mythical character of the Supreme Spirit; but, so far from inculcating bhakti, in the modern sense of the word, it never mentions that word, except in the very last verse, a verse which, if necessary, certain critics would soon dispose of as a palpable addition. But that verse says no more than this: 'If these truths (of the Upanishad) have been told to a high-minded man, who feels the highest devotion for God, and for his Guru as for God, then they will shine forth indeed.' Does that prove the existence of Bhakti as we find it in the *Sândilya-sûtras*²?

Again, it has been said that the Svetâsvatara-upanishad is sectarian in a philosophical sense, that it is in fact an Upanishad of the Sâṅkhya system of philosophy, and not of the Vedânta. Now I am quite willing to admit that, in its origin, the Vedânta philosophy is nearer to the Vedic literature than any other of the six systems of philosophy, and that if we really found doctrines, peculiar to the Sâṅkhya, and opposed to the Vedânta, in the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, we might feel inclined to assign to our Upanishad a later date. But where is the proof of this?

No doubt there are expressions in this Upanishad which remind us of technical terms used at a later time in the Sâṅkhya system of philosophy, but of Sâṅkhya doctrines, which I had myself formerly suspected in this Upanishad,

¹ Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 422; and History of Indian Literature, p. 238.

² The Aphorisms of *Sândilya*, or the Hindu Doctrine of Faith, translated by E. B. Cowell, Calcutta, 1878.

I can on closer study find very little. I think it was Mr. Gough who, in his *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, for the first time made it quite clear that the teaching of our Upanishad is, in the main, the same as that of the other Upanishads. 'The *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* teaches,' as he says, 'the unity of souls in the one and only Self; the unreality of the world as a series of figments of the self-feigning world-fiction; and as the first of the fictitious emanations, the existence of the Demiurgos or universal soul present in every individual soul, the deity that projects the world out of himself, that the migrating souls may find the recompense of their works in former lives.'

I do not quite agree with this view of the *Îsvara*, whom Mr. Gough calls the Demiurgos, but he seems to me perfectly right when he says that the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* propounds in *Sâṅkhya* terms the very principles that the *Sâṅkhya* philosophers make it their business to subvert. One might doubt as to the propriety of calling certain terms '*Sâṅkhya* terms' in a work written at a time when a *Sâṅkhya* philosophy, such as we know it as a system, had as yet no existence, and when the very name *sâṅkhya* meant something quite different from the *Sâṅkhya* system of Kapila. *Sâṅkhya* is derived from *saṅkhyâ*, and that meant counting, number, name, corresponding very nearly to the Greek *λόγος*. *Sâṅkhya*, as derived from it, meant originally no more than theoretic philosophy, as opposed to yoga, which meant originally practical religious exercises and penances, to restrain the passions and the senses in general. All other interpretations of these words, when they had become technical names, are of later date.

But even in their later forms, whatever we may think of the coincidences and differences between the *Sâṅkhya* and *Vedânta* systems of philosophy, there is one point on which they are diametrically opposed. Whatever else the *Sâṅkhya* may be, it is dualistic; whatever else the *Vedânta* may be, it is monistic. In the *Sâṅkhya*, nature, or whatever else we may call it, is independent of the *purusha*; in the *Vedânta* it is not. Now the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* states distinctly that nature, or what in the *Sâṅkhya* philosophy

is intended by Pradhâna, is not an independent power, but a power (*sakti*) forming the very self of the Deva. 'Sages,' we read, 'devoted to meditation and concentration, have seen the power belonging to God himself, hidden in its own qualities.'

What is really peculiar in the Svetâsvatara-upanishad is the strong stress which it lays on the personality of the Lord, the *Īsvara*. Deva, in the passage quoted, is perhaps the nearest approach to our own idea of a personal God, though without the background which the Vedânta always retains for it. It is God as creator and ruler of the world, as *Īsvara*, lord, but not as *Paramâtman*, or the Highest Self. The *Paramâtman* constitutes, no doubt, his real essence, but creation and creator have a phenomenal character only¹. The creation is *mâyâ*, in its original sense of work, then of phenomenal work, then of illusion. The creator is *mâyin*, in its original sense of worker or maker, but again, in that character, phenomenal only². The *Gunas* or qualities arise, according to the Vedânta, from *prakṛiti* or *mâyâ*, within, not beside, the Highest Self, and this is the very idea which is here expressed by 'the Self-power of God, hidden in the *gunas* or determining qualities.' How easily that *sakti* or power may become an independent being, as *Mâyâ*, we see in such verses as:

Sarvabhūteshu sarvâtman yâ saktir aparâbhavâ
Gurûsrayâ namas tasyai sarvatâyai paresvara³.

But the important point is this, that in the Svetâsvatara-upanishad this change has not taken place. Throughout the whole of it we have one Being only, as the cause of everything, never two. Whatever Sâṅkhya philosophers of a later date may have imagined that they could discover in that Upanishad in support of their theories⁴, there is not one passage in it which, if rightly interpreted, not by itself, but in connection with the whole text, could be quoted in

¹ Prathamam *Īsvarâtmanâ mâyirūpenâvatishkate brahma*; see p. 280, l. 5.

² *Mâyâ sṛigate sarvam etat*.

³ See p. 279, l. 5. *Sarvâtman* seems a vocative, like *paresvara*.

⁴ See *Sarvadarsanaśaṅgraha*, p. 152.

support of a dualistic philosophy such as the Sāṅkhya, as a system, decidedly is.

If we want to understand, what seems at first sight contradictory, the existence of a God, a Lord, a Creator, a Ruler, and at the same time the existence of the super-personal Brahman, we must remember that the orthodox view of the Vedānta¹ is not what we should call Evolution, but Illusion. Evolution of the Brahman, or *Parināma*, is heterodox, illusion or *Vivarta* is orthodox Vedānta. Brahman is a concept involving such complete perfection that with it evolution, or a tendency towards higher perfection, is impossible. If therefore there is change, that change can only be illusion, and can never claim the same reality as Brahman. To put it metaphorically, the world, according to the orthodox Vedāntin, does not proceed from Brahman as a tree from a germ, but as a mirage from the rays of the sun. The world is, as we express it, phenomenal only, but whatever objective reality there is in it, is Brahman, 'das Ding an sich,' as Kant might call it.

Then what is *Īsvara* or *Deva*, the Lord or God? The answers given to this question are not very explicit. Historically, no doubt, the idea of the *Īsvara*, the personal God, the creator and ruler, the omniscient and omnipotent, existed before the idea of the absolute Brahman, and after the idea of the Brahman had been elaborated, the difficulty of effecting a compromise between the two ideas, had to be overcome. *Īsvara*, the Lord, is Brahman, for what else could he be? But he is Brahman under a semblance, the semblance, namely, of a personal creating and governing God. He is not created, but is the creator, an office too low, it was supposed, for Brahman. The power which enabled *Īsvara* to create, was a power within him, not independent of him, whether we call it *Devātmasakti*, *Māyā*, or *Prakṛiti*. That power is really inconceivable, and it has assumed such different forms in the mind of different Vedāntists, that in the end *Māyā* herself is represented as the creating power, nay, as having created *Īsvara* himself.

¹ Vedāntaparibhāṣā, in the Pandit, vol. iv, p. 496.

In our Upanishad, however, *Īsvara* is the creator, and though, philosophically speaking, we should say that he was conceived as phenomenal, yet we must never forget that the phenomenal is the form of the real, and *Īsvara* therefore an aspect of Brahman¹. 'This God,' says Pramāda Dāsa Mitra², 'is the spirit conscious of the universe. Whilst an extremely limited portion, and that only of the material universe, enters into my consciousness, the whole of the conscious universe, together, of course, with the material one that hangs upon it, enters into the consciousness of God.' And again, 'Whilst we (the *gīvātman*s) are subject to *Mâyā*, *Mâyā* is subject to *Īsvara*. If we truly know *Īsvara*, we know him as Brahman; if we truly know ourselves, we know ourselves as Brahman. This being so, we must not be surprised if sometimes we find *Īsvara* sharply distinguished from Brahman, whilst at other times *Īsvara* and Brahman are interchanged.'

Another argument in support of the sectarian character of the *Svetāsvatara-upanishad* is brought forward, not by European students only, but by native scholars, namely, that the very name of Kapila, the reputed founder of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy, occurs in it. Now it is quite true that if we read the second verse of the fifth *Adhyāya* by itself, the occurrence of the word *Kapila* may seem startling. But if we read it in connection with what precedes and follows, we shall see hardly anything unusual in it. It says :

'It is he who, being one only, rules over every germ (cause), over all forms, and over all germs; it is he who, in the beginning, bears in his thoughts the wise son, the fiery, whom he wished to look on while he was born.'

Now it is quite clear to me that the subject in this verse is the same as in IV, 11, where the same words are used, and where *yo yonim yonim adhitishthaty ekaḥ* refers clearly to Brahman. It is equally clear that the *prasūta*, the son, the offspring of Brahman, in the *Vedānta* sense, can only be the same person who is elsewhere called *Hiraṇyagarbha*,

¹ Savishesam Brahma, or sabalam Brahma.

² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1878, p. 40.

the personified Brahman. Thus we read before, III, 4, 'He the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer (maharshi), the lord of all, formerly gave birth to Hiranyagarbha;' and in IV, 11, we have the very expression which is used here, namely, 'that he saw Hiranyagarbha being born.' Unfortunately, a new adjective is applied in our verse to Hiranyagarbha, namely, kapila, and this has called forth interpretations totally at variance with the general tenor of the Upanishad. If, instead of kapilam, reddish, fiery¹, any other epithet had been used of Hiranyagarbha, no one, I believe, would have hesitated for a moment to recognise the fact that our text simply repeats the description of Hiranyagarbha in his relation to Brahman, for the other epithet *rishim*, like maharshim, is too often applied to Brahman himself and to Hiranyagarbha to require any explanation.

But it is a well known fact that the Hindus, even as early as the Brâhmana-period, were fond of tracing their various branches of knowledge back to Brahman or to Brahman Svayambhû and then through Pragâpati, who even in the Rig-veda (X, 121, 10) replaces Hiranyagarbha, and sometimes through the Devas, such as Mrityu, Vâyu, Indra, Agni², &c., to the various ancestors of their ancient families.

In the beginning of the Mundakopanishad we are told that Brahman told it to Atharvan, Atharvan to Ângir, Ângir to Satyavâha Bhâradvâga, Bhâradvâga to Ângiras, Ângiras to Saunaka. Manu, the ancient lawgiver, is called both Hairanyagarbha and Svâyambhuva, as descended from Svayambhu or from Hiranyagarbha³. Nothing therefore was more natural than that the same tendency should have led some one to assign the authorship of a great philosophical system like the Sâṅkhya to Hiranyagarbha, if not to Brahman Svayambhû. And if the name of Hiranyagarbha had been used already for the ancestors of other sages, and the inspirers of other systems, what could be more natural than that another name of the same Hiranya-

¹ Other colours, instead of kapila, are nîla, harita, lohitaṅksha; see IV, 1; 4.

² See Vamsa-brâhmana, ed. Burnell, p. 10; Brihadâranyaka-up. pp. 185, 224.

³ See M. M., India, p. 372.

garbha should be chosen, such as Kapila. If we are told that Kapila handed his knowledge to Âsuri, Âsuri to Pañkasikha, this again is in perfect keeping with the character of literary tradition in India. Âsuri occurs in the Vamsas of the Satapatha-brâhmana (see above, pp. 187, 226); Pañkasikha¹, having five tufts, might be either a general name or a proper name of an ascetic, Buddhist or otherwise. He is quoted in the Sâṅkhya-sûtras, V, 32; VI, 68.

But after all this was settled, after Kapila had been accepted, like Hiranyagarbha, as the founder of a great system of philosophy, there came a reaction. People had now learnt to believe in a real Kapila, and when looking out for credentials for him, they found them wherever the word Kapila occurred in old writings. The question whether there ever was a real historical person who took the name of Kapila and taught the Sâṅkhya-sûtras, does not concern us here. I see no evidence for it. What is instructive is this, that our very passage, which may have suggested at first the name of Kapila, as distinct from Hiranyagarbha Kapila, was later on appealed to to prove the primordial existence of a Kapila, the founder of the Sâṅkhya philosophy. However, it requires but a very slight acquaintance with Sanskrit literature and very little reflection in order to see that the author of our verse could never have dreamt of elevating a certain Kapila, known to him as a great philosopher, if there ever was such a man, to a divine rank². Hiranyagarbha kapila may have given birth to Kapila, the hero of the Sâṅkhya philosophers, but Kapila, a real human person, was never changed into Hiranyagarbha kapila.

Let us see now what the commentators say. Saṅkara first explains kapilam by kanakam³ kapilavarnam Hiranyagarbham. Kapilo 'graga iti purâṇavakânât. Kapilo Hiranyagarbho vâ nirdisyate. But he afterwards quotes some verses in support of the theory that Kapila was a

¹ For fuller information on Pañkasikha, Kapila, &c., see F. Hall's Preface to Sâṅkhya-pravakana-bhâshya, p. 9 seq.; Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 433.

² Weber, Hist. of Indian Literature, p. 236.

³ This ought to be Kanakavarnam, and I hope will not be identified with the name of Buddha in a former existence.

Paramarshi, a portion of Vishnu, intended to destroy error in the *Kṛita* Yuga, a teacher of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

Vigñānātman explains the verse rightly, and without any reference to Kapila, the Sāṅkhya teacher.

Saṅkarānanda goes a step further, and being evidently fully aware of the misuse that had been made of this passage, even in certain passages of the Mahābhārata (XII, 13254, 13703), and elsewhere, declares distinctly that kapila cannot be meant for the teacher of the Sāṅkhya (na tu sāṅkhyapranetā kapilaḥ, nāmamātrasāmyena tad-grahane syād atiprasaṅgaḥ). He is fully aware of the true interpretation, viz. *avyākṛitasya prathamakāryabhūtam kapilam vikītravarṇam gñānakriyāsaktyātmakam Hiranyagarbham ityārthaḥ*, but he yields to another temptation, and seems to prefer another view which makes Kapila Vāsudevasyāvatārabhūtam Sagaraputrānām dagdhāram, an Avatāra of Vāsudeva, the burner of the sons of Sagara. What vast conclusions may be drawn from no facts, may be seen in Weber's *Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 430, and even in his *History of Indian Literature*, published in 1878.

Far more difficult to explain than these supposed allusions to the authors and to the teaching of the Sāṅkhya philosophy are the frequent references in the Svetāsvatara-upanishad to definite numbers, which are supposed to point to certain classes of subjects as arranged in the Sāṅkhya and other systems of philosophy. The Sāṅkhya philosophy is fond of counting and arranging, and its very name is sometimes supposed to have been chosen because it numbers (*saṅkhyā*) the subjects of which it treats. It is certainly true that if we meet, as we do in the Svetāsvatara-upanishad, with classes of things¹, numbered as one, two, three, five, eight, sixteen, twenty, forty-eight, fifty and more, and if some of these numbers agree with those recognised in the later Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems, we feel doubtful as to whether these coincidences are accidental, or whether, if not accidental, they are due to borrowing on the part of those later systems, or on the part of the Upanishads. I feel

¹ See I, 4; 5; VI, 3.

it impossible to come to a decision on this point. Even so early as the hymns of the Rig-veda we meet with these numbers assigned to days and months and seasons, rivers and countries, sacrifices and deities. They clearly prove the existence of a considerable amount of intellectual labour which had become fixed and traditional before the composition of certain hymns, and they prove the same in the case of certain Upanishads. But beyond this, for the present, I should not like to go; and I must say that the attempts of most of the Indian commentators at explaining such numbers by a reference to later systems of philosophy or cosmology, are generally very forced and unsatisfactory.

One more point I ought to mention as indicating the age of the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, and that is the obscurity of many of its verses, which may be due to a corruption of the text, and the number of various readings, recognised as such, by the commentators. Some of them have been mentioned in the notes to my translation.

The text of this Upanishad was printed by Dr. Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica, with Saṅkara's commentary. I have consulted besides, the commentary of Vigñânâtman, the pupil of Paramahansa-parivrâgakâkârya-srîmag-Gñânottamâkârya, MS. I. O. 1133; and a third commentary, by Saṅkarânanda, the pupil of Paramahansa-parivrâgakâkâryânandâtman, MS. I. O. 1878. These were kindly lent me by Dr. Rost, the learned and liberal librarian of the India Office.

VI.

PRASŪA-UPANISHAD.

THIS Upanishad is called the Prasūa or Shat-prasūa-upanishad, and at the end of a chapter we find occasionally *iti prasūaprativakānam*, i. e. thus ends the answer to the question. It is ascribed to the Atharva-veda, and occasionally to the Pippalâda-sâkhâ, one of the most important sâkhâs of that Veda. Pippalâda is mentioned in the Upanishad as the name of the principal teacher.

Saṅkara, in the beginning of his commentary, says:

Mantroktasyârthasya vistarânuvâdîdam Brâhmaṇam ârabhyate, which would mean 'this Brâhmaṇa is commenced as more fully repeating what has been declared in the Mantra.' This, however, does not, I believe, refer to a Mantra or hymn in the Atharva-veda-saṃhitâ, but to the *Mundaka-upanishad*, which, as written in verse, is sometimes spoken of as a Mantra, or Mantropanishad. This is also the opinion of Ânandagiri, who says, 'one might think that it was mere repetition (punarukti), if the essence of the Self, which has been explained by the Mantras, were to be taught here again by the Brâhmaṇa.' For he adds, 'by the Mantras "Brahma devânâm," &c.,' and this is evidently meant for the beginning of the *Mundaka-upanishad*, 'Brahmâ devânâm.' Ânandagiri refers again to the *Mundaka* in order to show that the *Prasṇa* is not a mere repetition, and if Saṅkara calls the beginning of it a Brâhmaṇa, this must be taken in the more general sense of 'what is not Mantra¹.' Mantropanishad is a name used of several Upanishads which are written in verse, and some of which, like the *Îśâ*, have kept their place in the *Samhitâs*.

VII.

MAITRÂYANA-BRÂHMAṆA-UPANISHAD.

IN the case of this Upanishad we must first of all attempt to settle its right title. Professor Cowell, in his edition and translation of it, calls it *Maitri* or *Maitrâyanyâ-upanishad*, and states that it belongs to the *Maitrâyanyâ-sâkhâ* of the Black Yagur-veda, and that it formed the concluding portion of a lost Brâhmaṇa of that Sâkhâ, being preceded by the sacrificial (karma) portion, which consisted of four books.

In his MSS. the title varied between *Maitry-upanishad* and *Maitrî-sâkhâ-upanishad*. A Poona MS. calls it *Maitrâyanyâ-sâkhâ-upanishad*, and a MS. copied for Baron von Eckstein, *Maitrâyanyâ-upanishad*. I myself in the Alphabetical List of the Upanishads, published in the *Journal of*

¹ Mantravyatiriktabhâge tu brâhmaṇasabdak, *Rig-veda*, Sâyana's Introduction, vol. i, p. 23.

the German Oriental Society, called it, No. 104, *Maitrâyana* or *Maitri-upanishad*, i.e. either the Upanishad of the *Maitrâyanas*, or the Upanishad of *Maitri*, the principal teacher.

In a MS. which I received from Dr. Burnell, the title of our Upanishad is *Maitrâyani-brâhmana-upanishad*, varying with *Maitrâyani-brâhmana-upanishad*, and *Srîyagussâkhâyâm Maitrâyaniya-brâhmana-upanishad*.

The next question is by what name this Upanishad is quoted by native authorities. *Vidyâranya*, in his *Sarvopanishad-arthânubhûtiprakâsa*¹, v. 1, speaks of the *Maitrâyaniyanâmni yâgushî sâkhâ*, and he mentions *Maitra* (not *Maitri*) as the author of that *Sâkhâ* (vv. 55, 150).

In the *Muktikâ-upanishad*² we meet with the name of *Maitrâyani* as the twenty-fourth Upanishad, with the name of *Maitreyî* as the twenty-ninth; and again, in the list of the sixteen Upanishads of the *Sâma-veda*, we find *Maitrâyani* and *Maitreyî* as the fourth and fifth.

Looking at all this evidence, I think we should come to the conclusion that our Upanishad derives its name from the *Sâkhâ* of the *Maitrâyanas*, and may therefore be called *Maitrâyana-upanishad* or *Maitrâyani Upanishad*. *Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad* seems likewise correct, and *Maitrâyani-brâhmana-upanishad*, like *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad* and *Vâgasaneyi-samhitopanishad*, might be defended, if *Maitrâyanin* were known as a further derivative of *Maitrâyana*. If the name is formed from the teacher *Maitri* or *Maitra*, the title of *Maitri-upanishad* would also be correct, but I doubt whether *Maitri-upanishad* would admit of any grammatical justification³.

Besides this *Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad*, however, I possess a MS. of what is called the *Maitreyopanishad*, sent to me likewise by the late Dr. Burnell. It is very short, and contains no more than the substance of the first *Prapâṭhaka* of the *Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad*. I give

¹ See Cowell, *Maitr. Up.* pref. p. iv.

² Calcutta, 1791 (1869), p. 4; also as quoted in the *Mahāvākya-ratnâvalī*, p. 2^b.

³ Dr. Burnell, in his *Tanjore Catalogue*, mentions, p. 35^a, a *Maitrâyani-brâhmanopanishad*, which can hardly be a right title, and p. 36^b a *Maitrâyaniya* and *Maitreyībrâhmana*.

the text of it, as far as it can be restored from the one MS. in my possession :

Harih Om. *Bṛihadratho vai nāma rāgā vairāgye putram nidhāpayitvedam aśāsvatam manyamānaḥ sarīram vairāgyam upeto 'ranyam nirgagāma. Sa tatra paramam tapa¹ ādityam udikshamāna ūrdhvas tishṭhaty. Ante sahasrasya muner antikam āgagāma². Atha Bṛihadratho brahmavit-pravaram munīndram sampūgya stutvā bahusāḥ pranāmam akarot. So 'bravid agnir ivādhūmakas tegasā nirdahann ivātmavid Bhagavān khākāyanya, uttishṭhottishṭha varam vrinīshveti rāgānam abravīt³. Sa tasmai punar namaskri-tyovāka, Bhagavan nā(ha)mātmavit tvam tattvavik khu-rumo vayam; sa tvam no brūhity etad vratam purastād asakyam mā prikkha prasānam Aikshvākānyān kāmān vrinīshveti Sākāyanyaḥ. Sarīrasya sarīre (sic) karanāv abhimriśyamāno rāgemām gāthām gagāda. 1*

Bhagavann, *asthikarmasnāyumaggāmāmsasuklasanīta-sreshmāsrudashikāvinmūtrapittakaphasamghāte durgandhe nīksāre 'smiñ kharīre kim kāmabhogaiḥ. 2*

Kāmakrodhalobhamohabhayavishādersheshṭaviyogānish-tasamprayogakshutpipāsāgarāmṛityurogasokādyair abhiha-te 'smiñ kharīre kim kāmabhogaiḥ. 3

Sarvam *kedam* kshayishnu pasyāmo yatheme dāmsama-sakādayas *trinavan*⁴ nasyata yodbhūtapradhvamsinaḥ. 4

Atha kim etair vā pare 'nye dhamartharās (sic) kakra-vartinaḥ Sudyumnabhūridyumnakuvalayāsvayauvanāsva-vaddhriyāsvāsvapatih sasabindur hariskandro 'mbarīsho nanukastvayātir yayātir anaranyokshasenādayo maruta-bharataprabhṛitayo rāgāno mishato bandhuvargasya ma-hatim sriyam tyaktvāsmāl lokād amum lokam prayānti. 5.

Atha kim etair vā pare 'nye gandharvāsurasayaksharāksha-sabhūtaganapisākoragrahādīnām nirodhanam pasyāmaḥ. 6

Atha kim etair vānyānām soshanam mahārnāvānām

¹ One expects āsthāya.

² This seems better than the Maitrāyana text. He went near a Muni, viz. Sākāyanya.

³ This seems unnecessary.

⁴ There may be an older reading hidden in this, from which arose the reading of the Maitrāyana B. U. *trinavanaspatayodbhūtapradhvamsinaḥ*, or *yodbhūtapradhvamsinaḥ*.

sikharinâm prapatanam dhruvasya prakalanam vâtarûnâm
nimagganam prithivyâh sthânâpasaranam surânâm. So
'ham ity etadvidhe 'smin samsâre kim kâmapabhogair yair
evâsritasya sakrid âvartanam drisyata ity uddhartum arhasi
tyandodapânabheka ivâham asmin sam Bhagavas tvam gatis
tvam no gatih iti. 7

Ayam¹ agnir vaisvânaro yo 'yam antaḥ purushe yenedam
annam pakṣyate yad idam adyate tasyaisha ghosho bhavati
yam etat karnâv apidhâya *srinoti*, sa yadotkramishyan²
bhavati nainam ghosham *srinoti*. 8

Yathâ³ nirindhano vahniḥ svayonâv upasâmyati. 9⁴

Sa sivaḥ so 'nte vaisvânaro bhûtvâ sa dagdhvâ sarvâni
bhûtâni prithivyapsu praliyate⁵, âpas tegasi liyante⁶, tego
vâyau praliyate⁷, vâyur âkâse vilîyate⁸, âkâsam indriyeshv,
indriyâni tanmâtreshu, tanmâtrâni bhûtâdau vilîyante⁹,
bhûtâdi mahati vilîyate¹⁰, mahân avyakte vilîyate¹¹, avyak-
tam akshare vilîyate¹², aksharam tamasi vilîyate¹³, tama
ekîbhavati parasmin, parastân na¹⁴ san nâsan na sad ityetan
nirvânânam anurâsanam iti vedânusâsanam.

We should distinguish therefore between the large Maitrâ-
yana-brâhmana-upanishad and the smaller Maitreyopani-
shad. The title of Maitreyî-brâhmana has, of course, a
totally different origin, and simply means the Brâhmana
which tells the story of Maitreyî¹⁵.

As Professor Cowell, in the Preface to his edition and
translation of the Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad, has
discussed its peculiar character, I have little to add on that
subject. I agree with him in thinking that this Upanishad
has grown, and contains several accretions. The Sanskrit
commentator himself declares the sixth and seventh chap-
ters to be Khilas or supplementary. Possibly the Mai-
treya-upanishad, as printed above, contains the earliest
framework. Then we have traces of various recensions.
Professor Cowell (Preface, p. vi) mentions a MS., copied

¹ Maitr. Up. II, 6; p. 32.

² kramishyân, m.

³ Yadhâ, m.

⁴ Maitr. Up. VI, 34; p. 178.

⁵ lipiyate.

⁶ lipyante.

⁷ liyyate.

⁸ liyyate.

⁹ liyante.

¹⁰ liyyate.

¹¹ lipiyate.

¹² liyyate.

¹³ liyyate.

¹⁴ tânasannâ.

¹⁵ See *Khând.* Up. p. 623.

for Baron Eckstein, apparently from a Telugu original, which contains the first five chapters only, numbered as four. The verses given in VI, 34 (p. 177), beginning with *atreme slokâ bhavanti*, are placed after IV, 3. In my own MS. these verses are inserted at the beginning of the fifth chapter¹. Then follows in Baron Eckstein's MS. as IV, 5, what is given in the printed text as V, 1, 2 (pp. 69-76). In my own MS., which likewise comes from the South, the Upanishad does not go beyond VI, 8, which is called the sixth chapter and the end of the Upanishad.

We have in fact in our Upanishad the first specimen of that peculiar Indian style, so common in the later fables and stories, which delights in enclosing one story within another. The kernel of our Upanishad is really the dialogue between the Vâlakhilyas and Pragâpati Kratu. This is called by the commentator (see p. 331, note) a Vyâkhyâna, i. e. a fuller explanation of the Sûtra which comes before, and which expresses in the few words, 'He is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman,' the gist of the whole Upanishad.

This dialogue, or at all events the doctrine which it was meant to illustrate, was communicated by Maitri (or Maitra) to Sâkâyanya, and by Sâkâyanya to King Brihadratha Aikshvâka, also called Marut (II, 1; VI, 30). This dialogue might seem to come to an end in VI, 29, and likewise the dialogue between Sâkâyanya and Brihadratha; but it is carried on again to the end of VI, 30, and followed afterwards by a number of paragraphs which may probably be considered as later additions.

But though admitting all this, I cannot bring myself to follow Professor Cowell in considering, as he does, even the earlier portion of the Upanishad as dating from a late period, while the latter portions are called by him comparatively modern, on account of frequent Vaishnava quotations. What imparts to this Upanishad, according to my opinion, an exceptionally genuine and ancient character, is the preservation in it of that peculiar Sandhi which,

¹ See p. 303, note 1; p. 305, note 1; p. 312, note 1.

thanks to the labours of Dr. von Schroeder, we now know to be characteristic of the Maitrāyaṇa-sākhā. In that Sākhā final unaccented *a* and *e* are changed into *ā*, if the next word begins with an accented vowel, except *a*. Before initial *a*, however, *e* remains unchanged, and *a* becomes *o*, and the initial *a* is sometimes elided, sometimes not. Some of these rules, it must be remembered, run counter to Pāṇini, and we may safely conclude therefore that texts in which they are observed, date from the time before Pāṇini. In some MSS., as, for instance, in my own MS. of the Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, these rules are not observed, but this makes their strict observation in other MSS. all the more important. Besides, though to Dr. von Schroeder belongs, no doubt, the credit of having, in his edition of the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā, first pointed out these phonetic peculiarities, they were known as such to the commentators, who expressly point out these irregular Sandhis as distinctive of the Maitrāyaṇi sākhā. Thus we read Maitr. Up. II, 3 (p. 18), that tigmategasā ūrdhvaretaso, instead of tigmategasa, is evamvidha etakkkākhāsanketapāthas kkhāndasakh sarvatra, i.e. is throughout the Vedic reading indication of that particular Sākhā, namely, the Maitrāyaṇi.

A still stranger peculiarity of our Sākhā is the change of a final *t* before initial *s* into *ñ*. This also occurs in our Upanishad. In VI, 8, we read svāñ sarīrād; in VI, 27, yañ sarīrasya. Such a change seems phonetically so unnatural, that the tradition must have been very strong to perpetuate it among the Maitrāyaṇas.

Now what is important for our purposes is this, that these phonetic peculiarities run through all the seven chapters of our Upanishad. This will be seen from the following list :

I. Final *a* changed into *ā* before initial vowel¹ :

II, 3, tigmategasā ūrdhvaretaso (Comm. etakkkākhā-sanketapāthas kkhāndasakh sarvatra).

II, 5, vibodhā evam. II, 7, avasthitā iti.

¹ I have left out the restriction as to the accent of the vowels, because they are disregarded in the Upanishad. It should be observed that this peculiar Sandhi occurs in the Upanishad chiefly before *iti*.

- III, 5, etair abhibhûâtâ iti. IV, 1, vidyatâ iti.
 VI, 4, prañavâ iti; bhûmyâdayâ eko.
 VI, 6, âdityâ iti; âhavanîyâ iti; sûryâ iti; ahañkârâ
 iti; vyânâ iti. VI, 7, bhargâ iti.
 VI, 7, sannivishâtâ iti. VI, 23, devâ oñkâro.
 VI, 30, prâyâtâ iti. VI, 30, vinirgatâ iti.

II. Final e before initial vowels becomes â. For instance:

- I, 4, drîsyatâ iti. II, 2, nishpadyatâ iti.
 III, 2, âpadyatâ iti. III, 2, pushkarâ iti.
 IV, 1, vidyatâ iti. VI, 10, bhuñktâ iti.
 VI, 20, asnutâ iti. VI, 30, ekâ âhur.

Even pragrîhya e is changed to â in—

VI, 23, etâ upâsita, i. e. ete uktalakshane brahmañi.

In VI, 31, instead of te etasya, the commentator seems to have read te vâ etasya.

III. Final as before â, u, and au becomes a, and is then contracted. For instance:

- I, 4, vanaspatayodbhûta, instead of vanaspataya
 udbhûta. (Comm. Sandhis *khandaso vâ, ukâro
 vâtra lupto drashavyah.*)
 II, 6, devaushnyam, instead of deva aushnyam.
 (Comm. Sandhis *khandasah.*)
 VI, 24, atamâvishîtam, instead of atama-âvishîtam
 (Comm. Sandhis *khandasah*); cf. *Khând. Up.*
 VI, 8, 3, asanâyeti (Comm. *visarganiyalopah*).

IV. Final e before i becomes a, and is then contracted. For instance:

- VI, 7, âtmâ ganîteti for ganîta iti. (Comm. *gânîte,
 gânâti.*)
 VI, 28, avataiva for avata iva. (Comm. Sandhi-
 vridhî *khandase.*)

V. Final au before initial vowels becomes â. For instance:

- II, 6, yena vâ etâ anugrîhâtâ iti.
 VI, 22, asâ abhidhyâtâ.

On abhibhûyamânay iva, see p. 295, note 2.

V, 2, asâ âtmâ (var. lect. asâv âtmâ).

VI. Final o of atho produces elision of initial ā. For instance :

III, 2, atho 'bhibhûtatvât. (Comm. Sandhis *khândasaḥ*.) Various reading, ato 'bhibhûtatvât.

VI, 1, so antar is explained as sa u.

VII. Other irregularities :

VI, 7, âpo pyâyanât, explained by pyâyanât and âpyâyanât. Might it be, âpo 'py ayanât?

VI, 7, âtmano tmâ netâ.

II, 6, so tmânam abhidhyâtvâ.

VI, 35, dvidharmondham for dvidharmândham. (Comm. *khândasa*.)

VI, 35, tegasendham, i.e. tegasâ-iddhan. (In explaining other irregular compounds, too, as in I, 4, the commentator has recourse to a *khândasa* or *prâmâdika* licence.)

VI, 1, *hiranyavasthât* for *hiranyâvasthât*. Here the dropping of a in *avasthât* is explained by a reference to Bhâguri (*vashî* Bhâgurir *allopam avâpyor upasargayoh*). See Vopadeva III, 171.

VIII. Vislish/apâtha :

VII, 2, brahmadhiyâlambana. (Comm. vislish/apâthas *khândasaḥ*.)

VI, 35, apyay aṅkurâ for apy aṅkurâ. (Comm. yakârah *pramâdapatḥitaḥ*.)

On the contrary VI, 35, vliyânte for vilîyante.

If on the grounds which we have hitherto examined there seems good reason to ascribe the Maitrâyaṇa-brâhmana-upanishad to an early rather than to a late period, possibly to an ante-Pâvînean period, we shall hardly be persuaded to change this opinion on account of supposed references to Vaishṇava or to Bauddha doctrines which some scholars have tried to discover in it.

As to the worship of Vishṇu, as one of the many manifestations of the Highest Spirit, we have seen it alluded to in other Upanishads, and we know from the Brâhmanas that the name of Vishṇu was connected with many of the earliest Vedic sacrifices.

As to Bauddha doctrines, including the very name of *Nirvâna* (p. xlvi, l. 19), we must remember, as I have often remarked, that there were Bauddhas before Buddha. *Bṛihaspati*, who is frequently quoted in later philosophical writings as the author of an heretical philosophy, denying the authority of the Vedas, is mentioned by name in our Upanishad (VII, 9), but we are told that this *Bṛihaspati*, having become *Sukra*, promulgated his erroneous doctrines in order to mislead the Asuras, and thus to insure the safety of Indra, i.e. of the old faith.

The fact that the teacher of King *Bṛihadhratha* in our Upanishad is called *Sâkâyanya*, can never be used in support of the idea that, being a descendant of *Sâka*¹, he must have been, like *Sâkyamuni*, a teacher of Buddhist doctrines. He is the very opposite in our Upanishad, and warns his hearers against such doctrines as we should identify with the doctrines of Buddha. As I have pointed out on several occasions, the breaking through the law of the *Āśramas* is the chief complaint which orthodox Brâhman make against Buddhists and their predecessors, and this is what *Sâkâyanya* condemns. A Brâhman may become a *Sannyâsin*, which is much the same as a Buddhist *Bhikshu*, if he has first passed through the three stages of a student, a householder, and a *Vânaprastha*. But to become a *Bhikshu* without that previous discipline, was heresy in the eyes of the Brâhman, and it was exactly that heresy which the Bauddhas preached and practised. That this social laxity was gaining ground at the time when our Upanishad was written is clear (see VII, 8). We hear of people who wear red dresses (like the Buddhists) without having a right to them; we even hear of books, different from the Vedas, against which the true Brâhman are warned. All this points to times when what we call Buddhism was in the air, say the sixth century B. C., the very time to which I have always assigned the origin of the genuine and classical Upanishads.

The Upanishads are to my mind the germs of Buddhism,

¹ *Sâkâyanya* means a grandson or further descendant of *Sâka*; see *Ganaratnâvali* (Baroda, 1874), p. 57ⁿ.

while Buddhism is in many respects the doctrine of the Upanishads carried out to its last consequences, and, what is important, employed as the foundation of a new social system. In doctrine the highest goal of the Vedānta, the knowledge of the true Self, is no more than the Buddhist Samyaksambodhi; in practice the Sannyâsin is the Bhikshu, the friar, only emancipated alike from the tedious discipline of the Brâhmanic student, the duties of the Brâhmanic householder, and the yoke of useless penances imposed on the Brâhmanic dweller in the forest. The spiritual freedom of the Sannyâsin becomes in Buddhism the common property of the Saṅgha, the Fraternity, and that Fraternity is open alike to the young and the old, to the Brâhman and the Sûdra, to the rich and the poor, to the wise and the foolish. In fact there is no break between the India of the Veda and the India of the Tripitaka, but there is an historical continuity between the two, and the connecting link between extremes that seem widely separated must be sought in the Upanishads¹.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

OXFORD, February, 1884.

¹ As there is room left on this page, I subjoin a passage from the Abhidharma-kosha-vyākhyâ, ascribed to the Bhagavat, but which, as far as style and thought are concerned, might be taken from an Upanishad: Uktam hi Bhagavatâ: Prithivî bho Gautama kutra pratish/ñitâ? Prithivî Brâhmana abmandale pratish/ñitâ. Abmandalam bho Gautama kva pratish/ñitam? Vâyau pratish/ñitam. Vâyur bho Gautama kva pratish/ñitâ? Âkâse pratish/ñitâ. Âkâsam bho Gautama kutra pratish/ñitam? Atisarasi Mahâbrâhmana, atisarasi Mahâbrâhmana. Âkâsam Brâhmanâpratish/ñitam, anâlambanam iti vistara. Tas-mâd asty âkâsam iti Vaibhâshikâ. (See Brâhad-Âr. Up. III, 6, 1. Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme, p. 449.)

'For it is said by the Bhagavat: "O Gautama, on what does the earth rest?" "The earth, O Brâhmana, rests on the sphere of water." "O Gautama, on what does the sphere of water rest?" "It rests on the air." "O Gautama, on what does the air rest?" "It rests on the ether (âkâsa)." "O Gautama, on what does the ether rest?" "Thou goest too far, great Brâhmana; thou goest too far, great Brâhmana. The ether, O Brâhmana, does not rest. It has no support." Therefore the Vaibhâshikas hold that there is an ether,' &c.

KATHA-UPANISHAD.



KATHA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST VALLÎ.

1. VÂGASRAVASA¹, desirous (of heavenly rewards), surrendered (at a sacrifice) all that he possessed. He had a son of the name of Naïketas.

2. When the (promised) presents were being given (to the priests), faith entered into the heart of Naïketas, who was still a boy, and he thought :

3. 'Unblessed², surely, are the worlds to which a man goes by giving (as his promised present at a sacrifice) cows which have drunk water, eaten hay, given their milk³, and are barren.'

4. He (knowing that his father had promised to give up all that he possessed, and therefore his son also) said to his father : 'Dear father, to whom wilt thou give me ?'

¹ Vâgasravasa is called Âruni Auddâlaki Gautama, the father of Naïketas. The father of Svetaketu, another enlightened pupil (see *Khând. Up.* VI, 1, 1), is also called Âruni (Uddâlaka, comm. *Kaush. Up.* I, 1) Gautama. Svetaketu himself is called Âruneya, i. e. the son of Âruni, the grandson of Aruna, and likewise Auddâlaki. Auddâlaki is a son of Uddâlaka, but Saṅkara (*Kâth. Up.* I, 11) takes Auddâlaki as possibly the same as Uddâlaka. See *Brîh. Âr. Up.* III, 6, 1.

² As to ānanda, unblessed, see *Brîh. Âr. Up.* IV, 4, 11; *Vâgas. Samh. Up.* 3 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 311).

³ Ānandagiri explains that the cows meant here are cows no longer able to drink, to eat, to give milk, and to calve.

He said it a second and a third time. Then the father replied (angrily):

‘I shall give thee¹ unto Death.’

(The father, having once said so, though in haste, had to be true to his word and to sacrifice his son.)

5. The son said: ‘I go as the first, at the head of many (who have still to die); I go in the midst of many (who are now dying). What will be the work of Yama (the ruler of the departed) which to-day he has to do unto me²?’

¹ Dadāmi, I give, with the meaning of the future. Some MSS. write dāsyāmi.

² I translate these verses freely, i. e. independently of the commentator, not that I ever despise the traditional interpretation which the commentators have preserved to us, but because I think that, after having examined it, we have a right to judge for ourselves. Śaṅkara says that the son, having been addressed by his father full of anger, was sad, and said to himself: ‘Among many pupils I am the first, among many middling pupils I am the middlemost, but nowhere am I the last. Yet though I am such a good pupil, my father has said that he will consign me unto death. What duty has he to fulfil toward Yama which he means to fulfil to-day by giving me to him? There may be no duty, he may only have spoken in haste. Yet a father’s word must not be broken.’ Having considered this, the son comforted his father, and exhorted him to behave like his forefathers, and to keep his word. I do not think this view of Śaṅkara’s could have been the view of the old poet. He might have made the son say that he was the best or one of the best of his father’s pupils, but hardly that he was also one of his middling pupils, thus implying that he never was among the worst. That would be out of keeping with the character of Naṭiketas, as drawn by the poet himself. Naṭiketas is full of faith and wishes to die, he would be the last to think of excuses why he should not die. The second half of the verse may be more doubtful. It may mean what Śaṅkara thinks it means, only that we should get thus again an implied complaint of Naṭiketas against his father, and this is not in keeping with his character. The mind of Naṭiketas is bent on what is to come, on what he will see after death, and on what Yama will do unto him. ‘What has Yama to do,’ he asks, ‘what can he do, what is it that he will to-day do unto

6. 'Look back how it was with those who came before, look forward how it will be with those who come hereafter. A mortal ripens like corn, like corn he springs up again ¹.'

(Naïketas enters into the abode of Yama Vaivasvata, and there is no one to receive him. Thereupon one of the attendants of Yama is supposed to say :)

7. 'Fire enters into the houses, when a Brâhmana enters as a guest². That fire is quenched by this peace-offering ;—bring water, O Vaivasvata ³!

8. 'A Brâhmana that dwells in the house of a foolish man without receiving food to eat, destroys his hopes and expectations, his possessions, his righteousness, his sacred and his good deeds, and all his sons and cattle ⁴.'

(Yama, returning to his house after an absence of three nights, during which time Naïketas had received no hospitality from him, says :)

9. 'O Brâhmana, as thou, a venerable guest, hast dwelt in my house three nights without eating,

me?' This seems to me consistent with the ancient story, while Saṅkara's interpretations and interpolations savour too much of the middle ages of India.

¹ Sasya, corn rather than grass; *śā, śīov*, Benfey; Welsh haidd, according to Rhys; different from sash-pa, ces-pes, Benfey.

² Cf. Vasishṭha XI, 13; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 51.

³ Vaivasvata, a name of Yama, the ruler of the departed. Water is the first gift to be offered to a stranger who claims hospitality.

⁴ Here again some words are translated differently from Saṅkara. He explains âsâ as asking for a wished-for object, pratikshâ as looking forward with a view to obtaining an unknown object. Saṅgata he takes as reward for intercourse with good people; sūnritâ, as usual, as good and kind speech; ishâ as rewards for sacrifices; pūrta as rewards for public benefits.

therefore choose now three boons. Hail to thee!
and welfare to me!

10. Naïketas said: 'O Death, as the first of the three boons I choose that Gautama, my father, be pacified, kind, and free from anger towards me; and that he may know me and greet me, when I shall have been dismissed by thee.'

11. Yama said: 'Through my favour Auddālaki Āruṇi, thy father, will know thee, and be again towards thee as he was before. He shall sleep peacefully through the night, and free from anger, after having seen thee freed from the mouth of death.'

12. Naïketas said: 'In the heaven-world there is no fear; thou art not there, O Death, and no one is afraid on account of old age. Leaving behind both hunger and thirst, and out of the reach of sorrow, all rejoice in the world of heaven.'

13. 'Thou knowest, O Death, the fire-sacrifice⁽²⁾ which leads us to heaven; tell it to me, for I am full of faith. Those who live in the heaven-world reach immortality, — this I ask as my second boon.'

14. Yama said: 'I tell it thee, learn it from me, and when thou understandest that fire-sacrifice which leads to heaven, know, O Naïketas, that it is the attainment of the endless worlds, and their firm support, hidden in darkness¹.'

15. Yama then told him that fire-sacrifice, the beginning of all the worlds², and what bricks are

¹ The commentator translates: 'I tell it thee, attend to me who knows the heavenly fire.' Here the nom. sing. of the participle would be very irregular, as we can hardly refer it to *bravīmi*. Then, 'Know this fire as a means of obtaining the heavenly world, know that fire as the rest or support of the world, when it assumes the form of *Virāg*, and as hidden in the heart of men.'

² *Saṅkara*: the first embodied, in the shape of *Virāg*.

required for the altar, and how many, and how they are to be placed. And Nâiketas repeated all as it had been told to him. Then Mrityu, being pleased with him, said again :

16. The generous¹, being satisfied, said to him : 'I give thee now another boon ; that fire-sacrifice shall be named after thee, take also this many-coloured chain².'

17. 'He who has three times performed this Nâiketa-rite, and has been united with the three (father, mother, and teacher), and has performed the three duties (study, sacrifice, almsgiving) overcomes birth and death. When he has learnt and understood this fire, which knows (or makes us know) all that is born of Brahman³, which is venerable and divine, then he obtains everlasting peace.'

18. 'He who knows the three Nâiketa fires, and knowing the three, piles up the Nâiketa sacrifice, he, having first thrown off the chains of death, rejoices in the world of heaven, beyond the reach of grief.'

19. 'This, O Nâiketas, is thy fire which leads to heaven, and which thou hast chosen as thy second boon. That fire all men will proclaim⁴. Choose now, O Nâiketas, thy third boon.'

20. Nâiketas said : 'There is that doubt, when a man is dead,—some saying, he is ; others, he is not. This I should like to know, taught by thee ; this is the third of my boons.'

21. Death said : 'On this point even the gods

(3)

¹ Verses 16-18 seem a later addition.

² This arises probably from a misunderstanding of verse II, 3.

³ Gâtavedas.

⁴ Tavaiva is a later addition, caused by the interpolation of verses 15-18.

have doubted formerly ; it is not easy to understand. That subject is subtle. Choose another boon, O Naïketas, do not press me, and let me off that boon.'

22. Naïketas said: 'On this point even the gods have doubted indeed, and thou, Death, hast declared it to be not easy to understand, and another teacher like thee is not to be found :—surely no other boon is like unto this.'

23. Death said: 'Choose sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold, and horses. Choose the wide abode of the earth, and live thyself as many harvests as thou desirest.'

24. 'If you can think of any boon equal to that, choose wealth, and long life. Be (king), Naïketas, on the wide earth¹. I make thee the enjoyer of all desires.'

25. 'Whatever desires are difficult to attain among mortals, ask for them according to thy wish ;—these fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments,—such are indeed not to be obtained by men,—be waited on by them whom I give to thee, but do not ask me about dying.'

26. Naïketas said: 'These things last till to-morrow, O Death, for they wear out this vigour of all the senses. Even the whole of life is short. Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself.'

27. 'No man can be made happy by wealth. Shall we possess wealth, when we see thee? Shall we live,

¹ Mahâbhūmau, on the great earth, has been explained also by mahâ bhūmau, be great on the earth. It is doubtful, however, whether mahâ for mahân could be admitted in the Upanishads, and whether it would not be easier to write mahân bhūmau.

as long as thou rulest? Only that boon (which I have chosen) is to be chosen by me.'

28. 'What mortal, slowly decaying here below, and knowing, after having approached them, the freedom from decay enjoyed by the immortals, would delight in a long life, after he has pondered on the pleasures which arise from beauty and love ¹?'

29. 'No, that on which there is this doubt, O Death, tell us what there is in that great Hereafter. Naïketas does not choose another boon but that which enters into the hidden world.'

¹ A very obscure verse. Saṅkara gives a various reading *kva tadâsthaḥ* for *kvadhaḥsthaḥ*, in the sense of 'given to these pleasures,' which looks like an emendation. I have changed *agîryatâm* into *agâryatâm*, and take it for an acc. sing., instead of a gen. plur., which could hardly be governed by *upetya*.

SECOND VALLÎ.

1. Death said: 'The good is one thing, the pleasant another; these two, having different objects, chain a man. It is well with him who clings to the good; he who chooses the pleasant, misses his end.'

2. 'The good and the pleasant approach man: the wise goes round about them and distinguishes them. Yea, the wise prefers the good to the pleasant, but the fool chooses the pleasant through greed and avarice.'

3. 'Thou, O Naïketas, after pondering all pleasures that are or seem delightful, hast dismissed them all. Thou hast not gone into the road¹ that leadeth to wealth, in which many men perish.'

4. 'Wide apart and leading to different points are these two, ignorance, and what is known as wisdom. I believe Naïketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear thee away².'

5. 'Fools dwelling in darkness, wise in their own conceit, and puffed up with vain knowledge, go round and round, staggering to and fro, like blind men led by the blind³.'

6. 'The Hereafter never rises before the eyes of the careless child, deluded by the delusion of wealth. "This is the world," he thinks, "there is no other;"—thus he falls again and again under my sway.'

7. 'He (the Self) of whom many are not even able

¹ Cf. I, 16.

² The commentator explains lolupantaḥ by vikṣhedam kritavantaḥ. Some MSS. read lolupante and lolupanti, but one expects either lolupyante or lolupati.

³ Cf. Mund. Up. II, 8.

to hear, whom many, even when they hear of him, do not comprehend; wonderful is a man, when found, who is able to teach him (the Self); wonderful is he who comprehends him, when taught by an able teacher¹.'

8. 'That (Self), when taught by an inferior man, is not easy to be known, even though often thought upon²; unless it be taught by another, there is no way to it, for it is inconceivably smaller than what is small³.'

9. 'That doctrine is not to be obtained⁴ by argument, but when it is declared by another, then, O dearest, it is easy to understand. Thou hast obtained it now⁵; thou art truly a man of true resolve. May we have always an inquirer like thee⁶!'

10. Nâziketas said: 'I know that what is called a treasure is transient, (for that eternal is not obtained by things which are not eternal). Hence the Nâziketa fire(-sacrifice) has been laid by me (first); then, by means of transient things, I have obtained what is not transient (the teaching of Yama)⁷.'

11. Yama said: 'Though thou hadst seen the fulfilment of all desires, the foundation of the world, the endless rewards of good deeds, the shore where

¹ Cf. Bhag. Gîtâ II, 29.

² Cf. Mund. Up. II, 4.

³ I read *anupramânât*. Other interpretations: If it is taught by one who is identified with the Self, then there is no uncertainty. If it has been taught as identical with ourselves, then there is no perception of anything else. If it has been taught by one who is identified with it, then there is no failure in understanding it (*agati*).

⁴ *Âpaneyâ*; should it be *âpanâya*, as afterwards *sugñânâya*?

⁵ Because you insist on my teaching it to thee.

⁶ Unless no is negative, for Yama, at first, does not like to communicate his knowledge.

⁷ The words in parentheses have been added in order to remove the otherwise contradictory character of the two lines.

there is no fear, that which is magnified by praise, the wide abode, the rest¹, yet being wise thou hast with firm resolve dismissed it all.'

12. 'The wise who, by means of meditation on his Self, recognises the Ancient, who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God, he indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind².'

13. 'A mortal who has heard this and embraced it, who has separated from it all qualities, and has thus reached the subtle Being, rejoices, because he has obtained what is a cause for rejoicing. The house (of Brahman) is open, I believe, O Naïketas.'

14. Naïketas said: 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future, tell me that.'

15. Yama said: 'That word (or place) which all the Vedas record, which all penances proclaim, which men desire when they live as religious students, that word I tell thee briefly, it is Om³.'

16. 'That (imperishable) syllable means Brahman, that syllable means the highest (Brahman); he who knows that syllable, whatever he desires, is his.'

17. 'This is the best support, this is the highest support; he who knows that support, is magnified in the world of Brahmā.'

18. 'The knowing (Self) is not born, it dies not; it sprang from nothing, nothing sprang from it. The

¹ Cf. *Khând. Up.* VII, 12, 2.

² Yama seems here to propound the lower Brahman only, not yet the highest. Deva, God, can only be that as what the Old, i. e. the Self in the heart, is to be recognised. It would therefore mean, he who finds God or the Self in his heart. See afterwards, verse 21.

³ Cf. *Svet. Up.* IV, 9; *Bhag. Gitâ* VIII, 11.

Ancient is unborn, eternal, everlasting; he is not killed, though the body is killed ¹.'

19. 'If the killer thinks that he kills, if the killed thinks that he is killed, they do not understand; for this one does not kill, nor is that one killed.'

20. 'The Self ², smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of that creature. A man who is free from desires and free from grief, sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator ³.'

21. 'Though sitting still, he walks far; though lying down, he goes everywhere ⁴. Who, save myself, is able to know that God who rejoices and rejoices not?'

22. 'The wise who knows the Self as bodiless within the bodies, as unchanging among changing things, as great and omnipresent, does never grieve.'

23. 'That Self ⁵ cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by ~~understanding~~ ^{intellect}, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own.'

24. 'But he who has not first turned away from his wickedness, who is not tranquil, and subdued, or whose mind is not at rest, he can never obtain the Self (even) by knowledge.'

25. 'Who then knows where He is, He to whom the Brahmans and Kshatriyas are (as it were) but food ⁶, and death itself a condiment?'

¹ As to verses 18 and 19, see Bhag. Gîtâ II, 19, 20.

² Cf. Svet. Up. III, 20; Taitt. Âr. X, 12, 1.

³ The commentator translates 'through the tranquillity of the senses,' i. e. dhâtuprasâdât, taking prasâda in the technical sense of samprasâda. As to kratu, desire, or rather, will, see Brîh. Âr. IV, 4, 5.

⁴ Cf. Tal. Up. 5.

⁵ Cf. I, 7-9; Mund. Up. III, 2, 3; Bhag. Gîtâ I, 53.

⁶ In whom all disappears, and in whom even death is swallowed up.

Doctrine of Intellect

THIRD VALLÎ.

1. 'There are the two¹, drinking their reward in the world of their own works, entered into the cave (of the heart), dwelling on the highest summit (the ether in the heart). Those who know Brahman call them shade and light; likewise, those householders who perform the Trinâkiketa sacrifice.'

2. 'May we be able to master that Nâkiketa rite which is a bridge for sacrificers; also that which is the highest, imperishable Brahman for those who wish to cross over to the fearless shore².'

3. 'Know the Self to be sitting in the chariot, the body to be the chariot, the intellect (buddhi) the charioteer, and the mind the reins³.'

4. 'The senses they call the horses, the objects of the senses their roads. When he (the Highest Self) is in union with the body, the senses, and the mind, then wise people call him the Enjoyer.'

5. 'He who has no understanding and whose mind

¹ The two are explained as the higher and lower Brahman, the former being the light, the latter the shadow. *Rita* is explained as reward, and connected with *sukṛita*, lit. good deeds, but frequently used in the sense of *svakṛita*, one's own good and evil deeds. The difficulty is, how the highest Brahman can be said to drink the reward (*ritapa*) of former deeds, as it is above all works and above all rewards. The commentator explains it away as a metaphorical expression, as we often speak of many, when we mean one. (Cf. *Mund. Up.* III, 1, 1.) I have joined *sukṛitasya* with *loke, loka* meaning the world, i. e. the state, the environment, which we made to ourselves by our former deeds.

² These two verses may be later additions.

³ The simile of the chariot has some points of similarity with the well-known passage in Plato's *Phædros*, but Plato did not borrow this simile from the Brahmins, as little as Xenophon need have consulted our Upanishad (II, 2) in writing his prologue of *Prodikos*.

(the reins) is never firmly held, his senses (horses) are unmanageable, like vicious horses of a charioteer.'

6. 'But he who has understanding and whose mind is always firmly held, his senses are under control, like good horses of a charioteer.'

7. 'He who has no understanding, who is unmindful and always impure, never reaches that place, but enters into the round of births.'

8. 'But he who has understanding, who is mindful and always pure, reaches indeed that place, from whence he is not born again.'

9. 'But he who has understanding for his charioteer, and who holds the reins of the mind, he reaches the end of his journey, and that is the highest place of Vishnu.'

10. 'Beyond the senses there are the objects, beyond the objects there is the mind, beyond the mind there is the intellect, the Great Self is beyond the intellect.'

11. 'Beyond the Great there is the Undeveloped, beyond the Undeveloped there is the Person (purusha). Beyond the Person there is nothing—this is the goal, the highest road.'

12. 'That Self is hidden in all beings and does not shine forth, but it is seen by subtle seers through their sharp and subtle intellect.'

13. 'A wise man should keep down speech and mind¹; he should keep them within the Self which is knowledge; he should keep knowledge within the Self which is the Great; and he should keep that (the Great) within the Self which is the Quiet.'

14. 'Rise, awake! having obtained your boons²,

¹ Saṅkara interprets, he should keep down speech in the mind.

² Comm., excellent teachers.

understand them! The sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over; thus the wise say the path (to the Self) is hard.'

15. 'He who has perceived that which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay, without taste, eternal, without smell, without beginning, without end, beyond the Great, and unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death.'

16. 'A wise man who has repeated or heard the ancient story of Naïketas told by Death, is magnified in the world of Brahman.'

17. 'And he who repeats this greatest mystery in an assembly of Brâhmans, or full of devotion at the time of the Srâddha sacrifice, obtains thereby infinite rewards.'

SECOND ADHYÂYA:

FOURTH VALLÎ.

1. Death said: 'The Self-existent pierced the openings (of the senses) so that they turn forward: therefore man looks forward, not backward into himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self behind.'

2. 'Children follow after outward pleasures, and fall into the snare of wide-spread death. Wise men only, knowing the nature of what is immortal, do not look for anything stable here among things unstable.'

3. 'That by which we know form, taste, smell, sounds, and loving touches, by that also we know what exists besides. This is that (which thou hast asked for).'

4. 'The wise, when he knows that that by which he perceives all objects in sleep or in waking is the great omnipresent Self, grieves no more.'

5. 'He who knows this living soul which eats honey (perceives objects) as being the Self, always near, the Lord of the past and the future, henceforward fears no more. This is that.'

6. 'He who (knows) him¹ who was born first from

¹ The first manifestation of Brahman, commonly called Hiranyagarbha, which springs from the tapas of Brahman. Afterwards only water and the rest of the elements become manifested. The text of these verses is abrupt, possibly corrupt. The two accusatives, tish/hantam and tish/hantim, seem to me to require veda to be supplied from verse 4.

the brooding heat¹ (for he was born before the water), who, entering into the heart, abides therein, and was perceived from the elements. This is that.'

7. '(He who knows) Aditi also, who is one with all deities, who arises with Prâna (breath or Hiranya-garbha), who, entering into the heart, abides therein, and was born from the elements. This is that.'

8. 'There is Agni (fire), the all-seeing, hidden in the two fire-sticks, well-guarded like a child (in the womb) by the mother, day after day to be adored by men when they awake and bring oblations. This is that.'

9. 'And that whence the sun rises, and whither it goes to set, there all the Devas are contained, and no one goes beyond. This is that².'

10. 'What is here (visible in the world), the same is there (invisible in Brahman); and what is there, the same is here. He who sees any difference here (between Brahman and the world), goes from death to death.'

11. 'Even by the mind this (Brahman) is to be obtained, and then there is no difference whatsoever. He goes from death to death who sees any difference here.'

12. 'The person (purusha), of the size of a thumb³, stands in the middle of the Self (body?), as lord of the past and the future, and henceforward fears no more. This is that.'

13. 'That person, of the size of a thumb, is like a light without smoke, lord of the past and the future, he is the same to-day and to-morrow. This is that.'

¹ Cf. *srishâkrama*.

² Cf. V, 8.

³ Svet. Up. III, 13.

14. 'As rain-water that has fallen on a mountain-ridge runs down the rocks on all sides, thus does he, who sees a difference between qualities, run after them on all sides.'

15. 'As pure water poured into pure water remains the same, thus, O Gautama, is the Self of a thinker who knows.' ✓

FIFTH VALLÎ.

1. 'There is a town with eleven¹ gates belonging to the Unborn (Brahman), whose thoughts are never crooked. He who approaches it, grieves no more, and liberated (from all bonds of ignorance) becomes free. This is that.'

2. 'He (Brahman)² is the swan (sun), dwelling in the bright heaven; he is the Vasu (air), dwelling in the sky; he is the sacrificer (fire), dwelling on the hearth; he is the guest (Soma), dwelling in the sacrificial jar; he dwells in men, in gods (vara), in the sacrifice (*ṛita*), in heaven; he is born in the water, on earth, in the sacrifice (*ṛita*), on the mountains; he is the True and the Great.'

3. 'He (Brahman) it is who sends up the breath (*prâna*), and who throws back the breath (*apâna*). All the Devas (senses) worship him, the adorable (or the dwarf), who sits in the centre.'

4. 'When that incorporated (Brahman), who dwells in the body, is torn away and freed from the body, what remains then? This is that.'

5. 'No mortal lives by the breath that goes up and by the breath that goes down. We live by another, in whom these two repose.'

6. 'Well then, O Gautama, I shall tell thee this mystery, the old Brahman, and what happens to the Self, after reaching death.'

¹ Seven apertures in the head, the navel, two below, and the one at the top of the head through which the Self escapes. Cf. Svet. Up. III, 18; Bhag. Gitâ V, 13.

² Cf. Rig-veda IV, 40, 5.

7. 'Some enter the womb in order to have a body, as organic beings, others go into inorganic matter, according to their work and according to their knowledge ¹.'

8. (He, the highest Person, who is awake in us while we are asleep, shaping one lovely sight after another, that indeed is the Bright, that is Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal.) All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond. This is that ².'

9. 'As the one fire, after it has entered the world, though one, becomes different according to whatever it burns, thus the one Self within all things becomes different, according to whatever it enters, and exists also without ³.'

10. 'As the one air, after it has entered the world, though one, becomes different according to whatever it enters, thus the one Self within all things becomes different, according to whatever it enters, and exists also without.'

11. 'As the sun, the eye of the whole world, is not contaminated by the external impurities seen by the eyes, thus the one Self within all things is never contaminated by the misery of the world, being himself without ⁴.'

12. 'There is one ruler, the Self within all things, who makes the one form manifold. The wise who perceive him within their Self, to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others ⁵.'

13. 'There is one eternal thinker, thinking non-

¹ Cf. *Brīh. Âr.* II, 2, 13.

² Cf. IV, 9; VI, 1.

³ Cf. *Brīh. Âr.* II, 5, 19.

⁴ Cf. *Bhag. Gītā* XIII, 52.

⁵ Cf. *Svet. Up.* VI, 12.

SIXTH VALLÎ.

1. 'There is that ancient tree¹, whose roots grow upward and whose branches grow downward;—that² indeed is called the Bright³, that is called Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal⁴. All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond. This is that.'

2. 'Whatever there is, the whole world, when gone forth (from the Brahman), trembles in its breath⁵. That Brahman is a great terror, like a drawn sword. Those who know it become immortal.'

3. 'From terror of Brahman fire burns, from terror the sun burns, from terror Indra and Vâyû, and Death, as the fifth, run away⁶.'

4. 'If a man could not understand it before the falling asunder of his body, then he has to take body again in the worlds of creation⁷.'

¹ The fig-tree which sends down its branches so that they strike root and form new stems, one tree growing into a complete forest.

² Cf. Bhag. Gitâ XV, 1-3.

³ Cf. V, 8.

⁴ The commentator says that the tree is the world, and its root is Brahman, but there is nothing to support this view in the original, where tree, roots, and branches are taken together as representing the Brahman in its various manifestations.

⁵ According to the commentator, in the highest Brahman.

⁶ Cf. Taïtt. Up. II, 8, 1.

⁷ The commentator translates: 'If a man is able to understand (Brahman), then even before the decay of his body, he is liberated. If he is not able to understand it, then he has to take body again in the created worlds.' I doubt whether it is possible to supply so much, and should prefer to read *iha ken nâsakad*, though I find it difficult to explain how so simple a text should have been misunderstood and corrupted.

5. 'As in a mirror, so (Brahman may be seen clearly) here in this body; as in a dream, in the world of the Fathers; as in the water, he is seen about in the world of the Gandharvas; as in light and shade ¹, in the world of Brahmâ.'

6. 'Having understood that the senses are distinct² (from the Âtman), and that their rising and setting (their waking and sleeping) belongs to them in their distinct existence (and not to the Âtman), a wise man grieves no more.'

7. 'Beyond the senses is the mind, beyond the mind is the highest (created) Being³, higher than that Being is the Great Self, higher than the Great, the highest Undeveloped.'

8. 'Beyond the Undeveloped is the Person, the all-pervading and entirely imperceptible. Every creature that knows him is liberated, and obtains immortality.'

9. 'His form is not to be seen, no one beholds him with the eye. He is imagined by the heart, by wisdom, by the mind. Those who know this, are immortal⁴.'

10. 'When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state.'

11. 'This, the firm holding back of the senses, is what is called Yoga. He must be free from thoughtlessness then, for Yoga comes and goes ⁵.'

¹ Roer: 'As in a picture and in the sunshine.'

² They arise from the elements, ether, &c.

³ Buddhi or intellect, cf. III, 10.

⁴ Much better in *Svet. Up.* IV, 20: 'Those who know him by the heart as being in the heart, and by the mind, are immortal.'

⁵ Saṅkara explains *apyaya* by *apâya*.

12. 'He (the Self) cannot be reached by speech, by mind, or by the eye. How can it be apprehended except by him who says: "He is?"'

13. 'By the words "He is," is he to be apprehended, and by (admitting) the reality of both (the invisible Brahman and the visible world, as coming from Brahman). When he has been apprehended by the words "He is," then his reality reveals itself.'

14. 'When all desires that dwell in his heart cease, then the mortal becomes immortal, and obtains Brahman.'

15. 'When all the ties¹ of the heart are severed here on earth, then the mortal becomes immortal—here ends the teaching².'

16. 'There are a hundred and one arteries of the heart³, one of them penetrates the crown of the head⁴. Moving upwards by it, a man (at his death) reaches the Immortal⁵; the other arteries serve for departing in different directions.'

17. 'The Person not larger than a thumb, the inner Self, is always settled in the heart of men⁶. Let a man draw that Self forth from his body with steady-

¹ Ignorance, passion, &c. Cf. *Mund. Up.* II, 1, 10; II, 2, 9.

² The teaching of the Vedānta extends so far and no farther. (Cf. *Prasna Up.* VI, 7.) What follows has reference, according to the commentator, not to him who knows the highest Brahman, for he becomes Brahman at once and migrates no more; but to him who does not know the highest Brahman fully, and therefore migrates to the Brahmaloka, receiving there the reward for his partial knowledge and for his good works.

³ Cf. *Khând. Up.* VIII, 6, 6.

⁴ It passes out by the head.

⁵ The commentator says: He rises through the sun (*Mund. Up.* I, 2, 11) to a world in which he enjoys some kind of immortality.

⁶ *Svet. Up.* III, 13.

ness, as one draws the pith from a reed¹. Let him know that Self as the Bright, as the Immortal; yes, as the Bright, as the Immortal².

18. Having received this knowledge taught by Death and the whole rule of Yoga (meditation, ~~etc.~~)
 ✕ Naïketa became free from passion³ and death, and obtained Brahman. Thus it will be with another also who knows thus what relates to the Self.

19. May He protect us both! May He enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel⁴! Om! Peace! peace! peace! Harih, Om!

¹ Roer: 'As from a painter's brush a fibre.'

² This repetition marks, as usual, the end of a chapter.

³ Viraga, free from vice and virtue. It may have been vigara, free from old age. See, however, *Mund. Up.* I, 2, 11.

⁴ Cf. *Taitt. Up.* III, 1; III, 10, note.

MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD.

MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST MUNDAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. BRAHMÂ was the first of the Devas, the maker of the universe, the preserver of the world. He told the knowledge of Brahman, the foundation of all knowledge, to his eldest son Atharva¹.

2. Whatever Brahmâ told Atharvan, that knowledge of Brahman Atharvan formerly told to Ângir; he told it to Satyavâha Bhâradvâga, and Bhâradvâga told it in succession to Ângiras.

3. Saunaka, the great householder, approached Ângiras respectfully and asked: 'Sir, what is that through which, if it is known, everything else becomes known?'

4. He said to him: 'Two kinds of knowledge must be known, this is what all who know Brahman tell us, the higher and the lower knowledge.'

5. 'The lower knowledge is the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, *Atharva-veda*, *Sikshâ* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ceremonial), *Vyâkarana* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Khandas* (metre), *Gyotisha* (astronomy)²;

¹ The change between Atharva and Atharvan, like that between *Nâkiketas* and *Nâkiketa*, shows the freedom of the phraseology of the Upanishad, and cannot be used for fixing the date of the constituent elements of the Upanishad.

² Other MSS. add here *itihâsa-purâna-nyâya-mimâmsâ-dharma-sâstrâni*.



but the higher knowledge is that by which the Indestructible (Brahman) is apprehended.'

6. 'That which cannot be seen, nor seized, which has no family and no caste¹, no eyes nor ears, no hands nor feet, the eternal, the omnipresent (all-pervading), infinitesimal, that which is imperishable, that it is which the wise regard as the source of all beings.'

7. 'As the spider sends forth and draws in its thread, as plants grow on the earth, as from every man hairs spring forth on the head and the body, thus does everything arise here from the Indestructible.'

8. 'The Brahman swells by means of brooding (penance)²; hence is produced matter (food); from matter breath³, mind, the true⁴, the worlds (seven), and from the works (performed by men in the worlds), the immortal (the eternal effects, rewards, and punishments of works).'

¹ I translate *varṇa* by caste on account of its conjunction with *gotra*. The commentator translates, 'without origin and without qualities.' We should say that which belongs to no genus or species.

² I have translated *tapas* by brooding, because this is the only word in English which combines the two meanings of warmth and thought. Native authorities actually admit two roots, one *tap*, to burn, the other *tap*, to meditate; see commentary on *Parāśara-smṛiti*, p. 39^b (MS. Bodl.), *Tapaḥ krikkhṛakandrāyanādirūpenāhāravarganam*. *Nanu Vyāsenā tapo 'nyathā smaryate, tapaḥ svadharma-vartitvam saukam saṅganibarhanam iti; nāyam doshaḥ, krikkhṛāder api svadharma viśeshāt*. *Tapa samtāpa ity asmād dhātor utpannasya tapaḥ-sabdasya dehasoshane vṛttir mukhyā...* *Yat tu tattraivoktam, ko 'yam mokshaḥ katham tena samsāram pratipannavān ity ālokanam arthagrāhāḥ tapaḥ samsanti panditā iti so 'nya eva tapaḥ-sabdaḥ, tapa āloka ity asmād dhātor utpannaḥ*.

³ *Hiranyagarbha*, the living world as a whole. Comm.

⁴ *Satya*, if we compare *Kaṭh.* VI, 7 and III, 10, seems to mean *buddhi*. Here it is explained by the five elements.

9. 'From him who perceives all and who knows all, whose brooding (penance) consists of knowledge, from him (the highest Brahman) is born that Brahman¹, name, form², and matter (food).'

¹ *Hiranyagarbha*. Comm.

² *Nāmarūpam*, a very frequent concept in Buddhistic literature.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. This is the truth¹: the sacrificial works which they (the poets) saw in the hymns (of the Veda) have been performed in many ways in the Tretâ age². Practise³ them diligently, ye lovers of truth, this is your path that leads to the world of good works⁴!

2. When the fire is lighted and the flame flickers, let a man offer his oblations between the two portions of melted butter, as an offering with faith.

3. If a man's Agnihotra sacrifice⁵ is not followed

¹ In the beginning of the second Khanda the lower knowledge is first described, referring to the performance of sacrifices and other good deeds. The reward of them is perishable, and therefore a desire is awakened after the higher knowledge.

² The Tretâ age is frequently mentioned as the age of sacrifices. I should prefer, however, to take tretâ in the sense of trayî vidyâ, and santata as developed, because the idea that the Tretâ age was distinguished by its sacrifices, seems to me of later origin. Even the theory of the four ages or yugas, though known in the Ait. Brâhmaṇa, is not frequently alluded to in the older Upanishads. See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 283.

³ The termination tha for ta looks suspiciously Buddhistic; see 'Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan,' J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 180.

⁴ Svakṛita and sukrîta are constantly interchanged. They mean the same, good deeds, or deeds performed by oneself and believed to be good.

⁵ At the Agnihotra, the first of all sacrifices, and the type of many others, two portions of âgrya are sacrificed on the right and left side of the Âhavanîya altar. The place between the two is called the Âvâpasthâna, and here the oblations to the gods are to be offered. There are two oblations in the morning to Sûrya and Pragâpati, two in the evening to Agni and Pragâpati. Other sacrifices, such as the Darśa and Pûṛnamâsa, and those mentioned in verse 3, are connected with the Agnihotra.

by the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices, by the four-months' sacrifices, and by the harvest sacrifice, if it is unattended by guests, not offered at all, or without the Vaisvadeva ceremony, or not offered according to rule, then it destroys his seven worlds ¹.

4. Kâlî (black), Karâlî (terrific), Manogavâ (swift as thought), Sulohitâ (very red), Sudhûmravarnâ (purple), Sphulînginî (sparkling), and the brilliant Visvarûptî ² (having all forms), all these playing about are called the seven tongues (of fire).

5. If a man performs his sacred works when these flames are shining, and the oblations follow at the right time, then they lead him as sun-rays to where the one Lord of the Devas dwells.

6. Come hither, come hither! the brilliant oblations say to him, and carry the sacrificer on the rays of the sun, while they utter pleasant speech and praise him, saying: 'This is thy holy Brahma-world (Svarga), gained by thy good works.'

7. But frail, in truth, are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen, in which this lower ceremonial has been told³. Fools who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death.

¹ The seven worlds form the rewards of a pious sacrificer, the first is Bhuh, the last Satya. The seven worlds may also be explained as the worlds of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, of the son, the grandson, and great-grandson, and of the sacrificer himself.

² Or Visvarukî, if there is any authority for this reading in Mahîdhara's commentary to the Vâgas. Samhitâ XVII, 79. The Râjah of Besmah's edition has visvarukî, which is also the reading adopted by Rammohun Roy, see Complete Works, vol. i, p. 579.

³ The commentator takes the eighteen for the sixteen priests, the sacrificer, and his wife. But such an explanation hardly yields a satisfactory meaning, nor does plava mean perishable.

8. Fools dwelling in darkness, wise in their own conceit, and puffed up with vain knowledge, go round and round staggering to and fro, like blind men led by the blind¹.

9. Children, when they have long lived in ignorance, consider themselves happy. Because those who depend on their good works are, owing to their passions, improvident, they fall and become miserable when their life (in the world which they had gained by their good works) is finished.

10. Considering sacrifice and good works as the best, these fools know no higher good, and having enjoyed (their reward) on the height of heaven, gained by good works, they enter again this world or a lower one.

11. But those² who practise ~~penance~~ and faith in the forest, tranquil, wise, and living on alms, depart free from passion through the sun to where that immortal Person dwells whose nature is imperishable³.

12. Let a Brâhmana, after he has examined all these worlds which are gained by works, acquire freedom from all desires. Nothing that is eternal (not made) can be gained by what is not eternal (made). Let him, in order to understand this, take

¹ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* II, 5.

² According to the commentator, this verse refers to those who know the uselessness of sacrifices and have attained to a knowledge of the qualified Brahman. They live in the forest as Vânaprasthas and Samnyâsins, practising tapas, i.e. whatever is proper for their state, and sraddhâ, i.e. a knowledge of Hiraṇyagarbha. The wise are the learned Grîhasthas, while those who live on alms are those who have forsaken their family.

³ That person is Hiraṇyagarbha. His immortality is relative only, it lasts no longer than the world (*samsâra*).

fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman.

13. To that pupil who has approached him respectfully, whose thoughts are not troubled by any desires, and who has obtained perfect peace, the wise teacher truly told that knowledge of Brahman through which he knows the eternal and true Person.

SECOND MUNDAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. This is the truth. As from a blazing fire sparks, being like unto fire¹, fly forth a thousandfold, thus are various beings brought forth from the Imperishable, my friend, and return thither also.

2. That heavenly Person is without body, he is both without and within, not produced, without breath and without mind, pure, higher than the high Imperishable².

3. From him (when entering on creation) is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense, ether, air, light, water, and the earth, the support of all.

4. Fire (the sky) is his head, his eyes the sun and the moon, the quarters his ears, his speech the Vedas disclosed, the wind his breath, his heart the universe; from his feet came the earth; he is indeed the inner Self of all things³.

5. From him comes Agni (fire)⁴, the sun being the fuel; from the moon (Soma) comes rain (Parganya); from the earth herbs; and man gives seed unto the woman. Thus many beings are begotten from the Person (purusha).

6. From him come the *Rik*, the Sâman, the

¹ Cf. *Brîh. Âr.* II, 1, 20.

² The high Imperishable is here the creative, the higher the non-creative Brahman.

³ Called Vishnu and Virâg by the commentators.

⁴ There are five fires, those of heaven, rain, earth, man, and woman. Comm.

Yagush, the Dīkshâ (initiatory rites), all sacrifices and offerings of animals, and the fees bestowed on priests, the year too, the sacrificer, and the worlds, in which the moon shines brightly and the sun.

7. From him the many Devas too are begotten, the Sâdhyas (genii), men, cattle, birds, the up and down breathings, rice and corn (for sacrifices), penance, faith, truth, abstinence, and law.

8. The seven senses (prâṇa) also spring from him, the seven lights (acts of sensation), the seven kinds of fuel (objects by which the senses are lighted), the seven sacrifices (results of sensation), these seven worlds (the places of the senses, the worlds determined by the senses) in which the senses move, which rest in the cave (of the heart), and are placed there seven and seven.

9. Hence come the seas and all the mountains, from him flow the rivers of every kind ; hence come all herbs and the juice through which the inner Self subsists with the elements.

10. The Person is all this, sacrifice, penance, Brahman, the highest immortal ; he who knows this hidden in the cave (of the heart), he, O friend, scatters the knot of ignorance here on earth.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Manifest, near, moving in the cave (of the heart) is the great Being. In it everything is centred which ye know as moving, breathing, and blinking, as being and not-being, as adorable, as the best, that is beyond the understanding of creatures.

¶ 2. That which is brilliant, smaller than small, that on which the worlds are founded and their inhabitants, that is the indestructible Brahman, that is the breath, speech, mind; that is the true, that is the immortal. That is to be hit. Hit it, O friend!

3. Having taken the Upanishad as the bow, as the great weapon, let him place on it the arrow, sharpened by devotion! Then having drawn it with a thought directed to that which is, hit the mark, O friend, viz. that which is the Indestructible!

4. Om is the bow, the Self is the arrow, Brahman is called its aim. It is to be hit by a man who is not thoughtless; and then, as the arrow (becomes one with the target), he will become one with Brahman.

¶ 5. In him the heaven, the earth, and the sky are woven, the mind also with all the senses. Know him alone as the Self, and leave off other words! He is the bridge of the Immortal.

6. He moves about becoming manifold within the heart where the arteries meet, like spokes fastened to the nave. Meditate on the Self as Om! Hail to you, that you may cross beyond (the sea of) darkness!

¶ 7. He who understands all and who knows all, he to whom all this glory in the world belongs, the

Self, is placed in the ether, in the heavenly city of Brahman (the heart). He assumes the nature of mind, and becomes the guide of the body of the senses. He subsists in food, in close proximity to the heart. The wise who understand this, behold the Immortal which shines forth full of bliss.

8. The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved, all his works (and their effects) perish when He has been beheld who is high and low (cause and effect)¹.

9. In the highest golden sheath there is the Brahman without passions and without parts. That is pure, that is the light of lights, that is it which they know who know the Self.

10. The ² sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lighted ³.

11. That immortal Brahman is before, that Brahman is behind, that Brahman is right and left. It has gone forth below and above; Brahman alone is all this, it is the best.

¹ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* VI, 15.

² *Kaṭh. Up.* V, 15.

³ *Svet. Up.* VI, 14; *Bhag. Gītā* IX, 15, 6.

THIRD MUNDAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

Story of two birds
 1. Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating¹.

2. On the same tree man sits grieving, immersed, bewildered by his own impotence (an-īśā). But when he sees the other lord (īśa) contented and knows his glory, then his grief passes away².

3. When the seer sees the brilliant maker and lord (of the world) as the Person who has his source in Brahman, then he is wise, and shaking off good and evil, he reaches the highest oneness, free from passions;

4. For he is the Breath shining forth in all beings, and he who understands this becomes truly wise, not a talker only. He revels in the Self, he delights in the Self, and having performed his works (truthfulness, penance, meditation, &c.) he rests, firmly established in Brahman, the best of those who know Brahman³.

¹ Cf. Rv. I, 164, 20; Nir. XIV, 30; Svet. Up. IV, 6; Kath. Up. III, 1.

² Cf. Svet. Up. IV, 7.

³ The commentator states that, besides *âtmaratiḥ kriyâvân*, there was another reading, viz. *âtmaratikriyâvân*. This probably owed its origin to a difficulty felt in reconciling *kriyâvân*, performing acts, with the *brahmavidâm varishṭhaḥ*, the best of those who know Brahman, works being utterly incompatible with a true knowledge of Brahman. *Kriyâvân*, however, as Saṅkara points out, may mean here simply, having performed meditation and other acts conducive to a knowledge of Brahman. Probably truthfulness,

5. By truthfulness, indeed, by penance, right know-^{truth}ledge, and abstinence must that Self be gained; the Self whom spotless anchorites gain is pure, and like a light within the body. Him, go
Self

6. The true prevails, not the untrue; by the true the path is laid out, the way of the gods (*devayānaḥ*), on which the old sages, satisfied in their desires, proceed to where there is that highest place of the True One.

7. That (true Brahman) shines forth grand, divine, inconceivable, smaller than small; it is far beyond what is far and yet near here, it is hidden in the cave (of the heart) among those who see it even here.

8. He is not apprehended by the eye, nor by speech, nor by the other senses, not by penance or good works¹. When a man's nature has become purified by the serene light of knowledge, then he sees him, meditating on him as without parts.

9. That subtle Self is to be known by thought (*ketas*) there where breath has entered fivefold; for every thought of men is interwoven with the senses, and when thought is purified, then the Self arises.

10. Whatever state a man whose nature is purified imagines, and whatever desires he desires (for himself or for others)², that state he conquers and

penance, &c., mentioned in the next following verse, are the *kriyās* or works intended. For grammatical reasons also this reading is preferable. But the last foot *esha brahma vidām varish/haḥ* is clearly defective. If we examine the commentary, we see that Śaṅkara read *brahmanish/haḥ*, and that he did not read *esha*, which would give us the correct metre, *brahmanish/ho brahma vidām varish/haḥ*.

¹ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up. VI, 12*.

² Cf. *Bṛh. Âr. I, 4, 15*.

those desires he obtains. Therefore let every man who desires happiness worship the man who knows the Self¹.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. He (the knower of the Self) knows that highest home of Brahman², in which all is contained and shines brightly. The wise who, without desiring happiness, worship that Person³, transcend this seed, (they are not born again.)

2. He who forms desires in his mind, is born again through his desires here and there. But to him whose desires are fulfilled and who is conscious of the true Self (within himself) all desires vanish, even here on earth.

3. That Self⁴ cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own.

4. Nor is that Self to be gained by one who is destitute of strength, or without earnestness, or without right meditation. But if a wise man strives after it by those means (by strength, earnestness, and right meditation), then his Self enters the home of Brahman.

5. When they have reached him (the Self), the sages become satisfied through knowledge, they are conscious of their Self, their passions have passed

¹ All this is said by the commentator to refer to a knowledge of the conditioned Brahman only.

² See verse 4.

³ The commentator refers purusha to the knower of the Self.

⁴ Ka/h. Up. II, 23.

away, and they are tranquil. The wise, having reached Him who is omnipresent everywhere, devoted to the Self, enter into him wholly.

6. Having well ascertained the object of the knowledge of the Vedânta¹, and having purified their nature by the Yoga² of renunciation, all anchorites, enjoying the highest immortality, become free at the time of the great end (death) in the worlds of Brahmâ.

7. Their fifteen parts³ enter into their elements, their Devas (the senses) into their (corresponding) Devas⁴. Their deeds and their Self with all his knowledge become all one in the highest Imperishable.

8. As the flowing rivers disappear in the sea⁵, losing their name and their form, thus a wise man, freed from name and form, goes to the divine Person, who is greater than the great⁶.

9. He who knows that highest Brahman, becomes even Brahman. In his race no one is born ignorant of Brahman. He overcomes grief, he overcomes evil; free from the fetters of the heart, he becomes immortal.

10. And this is declared by the following *Rik*-verse: 'Let a man tell this science of Brahman to those only who have performed all (necessary) acts, who are versed in the Vedas, and firmly established in (the lower) Brahman, who themselves offer as

¹ Cf. Taitt. Âr. X, 12, 3; Svet. Up. VI, 22; Kaiv. Up. 3; see Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 288.

² By the Yoga system, which, through restraint (yoga), leads a man to true knowledge.

³ Cf. Prasna Up. VI, 4.

⁴ The eye into the sun, &c.

⁵ Cf. Prasna Up. VI, 5.

⁶ Greater than the conditioned Brahman. Comm.

(an oblation the one *Rishi* (Agni), full of faith, and by whom the rite of (carrying fire on) the head has been performed, according to the rule (of the *Ātharvanas*).'

11. The *Rishi* *Āngiras* formerly told this true (science¹); a man who has not performed the (proper) rites, does not read it. Adoration to the highest *Rishis*! Adoration to the highest *Rishis*!

¹ To Saunaka, cf. I, 1, 3.

5

TAITTIRÎYAKA-
UPANISHAD.

TAITTIRĪYAKA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST VALLĪ,

OR, THE CHAPTER ON ŚIKSHĀ (PRONUNCIATION).

FIRST ANUVĀKA¹.

1. HARIH, Om! May ^{NIGHT} Mitra ^{DAY} be propitious to us, and ^{EYE-SUN} Varuṇa, ^{STRENGTH} Aryaman also, ^{INTELLECT} Indra, Brihaspati, and the wide-striding Vishṇu². ^{FEET}

Adoration to Brahman! Adoration to thee, O Vāyu (air)! Thou indeed art the visible Brahman. I shall proclaim thee alone as the visible Brahman. I shall proclaim the right. I shall proclaim the true (scil. Brahman).

(1-5)³ May it protect me! May it protect the teacher! yes, may it protect me, and may it protect the teacher! Om! Peace! peace! peace!

¹ This invocation is here counted as an Anuvāka; see Taitt. Âr., ed. Rajendralal Mitra, p. 725.

² This verse is taken from Rîg-veda-samhitâ I, 90, 9. The deities are variously explained by the commentators: Mitra as god of the Prâṇa (forth-breathing) and of the day; Varuṇa as god of the Apâna (off-breathing) and of the night. Aryaman is supposed to represent the eye or the sun; Indra, strength; Brihaspati, speech or intellect; Vishṇu, the feet. Their favour is invoked, because it is only if they grant health that the study of the highest wisdom can proceed without fail.

³ Five short sentences, in addition to the one paragraph. Such sentences occur at the end of other Anuvākas also, and are counted separately.

SECOND ANUVÂKA.

1. Om¹! Let us explain Śikshâ, the doctrine of pronunciation, viz. letter, accent, quantity, effort (in the formation of letters), modulation, and union of letters (sandhi). This is the lecture on Śikshâ.

THIRD ANUVÂKA.

1. May glory come to both of us (teacher and pupil) together! May Vedic light belong to both of us!

Now let us explain the Upanishad (the secret meaning) of the union (samhitâ)², under five heads, with regard to the worlds, the heavenly lights, knowledge, offspring, and self (body). People call these the great Samhitâs.

First, with regard to the worlds. The earth is the former element, heaven the latter, ether their union;

2. That union takes place through Vâyu (air). So much with regard to the worlds.

Next, with regard to the heavenly lights. Agni (fire) is the former element, Âditya (the sun) the latter, water their union. That union takes place through lightning. So much with regard to the heavenly lights.

Next, with regard to knowledge. The teacher is the former element,

3. The pupil the latter, knowledge their union. That union takes place through the recitation of the Veda. So much with regard to knowledge.

Next, with regard to offspring. The mother is

¹ Cf. Rig-veda-prâtisâkhya, ed. M. M., p. iv seq.

² Cf. Aitareya-âranyaka III, 1, 1 (Sacred Books, vol. i, p. 247).

the former element, the father the latter, offspring their union. That union takes place through procreation. So much with regard to offspring.

4. Next, with regard to the self (body). The lower jaw is the former element, the upper jaw the latter, speech their union. That union takes place through speech. So much with regard to the Self. These are the great Samhitâs. He who knows these Samhitâs (unions), as here explained, becomes united with offspring, cattle, Vedic light, food, and with the heavenly world.

FOURTH ANUVÂKA.

1. May he¹ who is the strong bull of the Vedas, assuming all forms, who has risen from the Vedas, from the Immortal, may that Indra (lord) strengthen me with wisdom! May I, O God, become an upholder of the Immortal!

May my body be able, my tongue sweet, may I hear much with my ears! Thou (Om) art the shrine (of Brahman), covered by wisdom. Guard what I have learnt².

She (Sri, happiness) brings near and spreads,

2. And makes, without delay, garments for herself, cows, food, and drink at all times; therefore bring that Sri (happiness) hither to me, the woolly, with

¹ The next verses form the prayer and oblation of those who wish for wisdom and happiness. In the first verse it is supposed that the Om is invoked, the most powerful syllable of the Vedas, the essence extracted from all the Vedas, and in the end a name of Brahman. See *Khând. Up.* p. 1 seq.

² Here end the prayers for the attainment of wisdom, to be followed by oblations for the attainment of happiness.

her cattle¹! Svâhâ²! May the Brahman-students come to me, Svâhâ! May they come from all sides, Svâhâ! May they come forth to me, Svâhâ! May they practise restraint, Svâhâ! May they enjoy peace, Svâhâ!

3. May I be a glory among men, Svâhâ! May I be better than the richest, Svâhâ! May I enter into thee, O treasure (Om), Svâhâ! Thou, O treasure³, enter into me, Svâhâ! In thee, consisting of a thousand branches, in thee, O treasure, I am cleansed, Svâhâ! As water runs downward, as the months go to the year, so, O preserver of the world, may Brahman-students always come to me from all sides, Svâhâ!

(1) Thou art a refuge! Enlighten me! Take possession of me!

FIFTH ANUVÂKA.

1. Bhû, Bhuvas, Suvas⁴, these are the three sacred interjections (vyâhrîti). Mâhâlamasya taught a fourth, viz. Mahas, which is Brahman, which is the Self. The others (devatâs) are its members.

Bhû is this world, Bhuvas is the sky, Suvas is the other world.

2. Mahas is the sun. All the worlds are increased by the sun. Bhû is Agni (fire), Bhuvas is Vâyû (air), Suvas is Âditya (sun). Mahas is the moon. All the heavenly lights are increased by the moon.

¹ The construction is not right. Woolly, lomasâ, is explained as 'possessed of woolly sheep.'

² With the interjection Svâhâ each oblation is offered.

³ Bhaga, here explained as bhagavat.

⁴ The text varies between Bhû, Bhuvas, Suvas, Mahas, and Bhû, Bhuvar, Suvar, Mahar.

Bhû is the *Rik*-verses, Bhuvas is the *Sâman*-verses, Suvas is the *Yagus*-verses.

3. Mahas is Brahman. All the Vedas are increased by the Brahman.

(1-2) Bhû is *Prâna* (up-breathing), Bhuvas is *Apâna* (down-breathing), Suvas is *Vyâna* (back-breathing). Mahas is food. All breathings are increased by food.

Thus there are these four times four, the four and four sacred interjections. He who knows these,

(1-2) Knows the Brahman. All Devas bring offerings to him.

SIXTH ANUVÂKA.

1. There is the ether within the heart, and in it there is the Person (purusha) consisting of mind, immortal, golden.

Between the two palates there hangs the uvula, like a nipple—that is the starting-point of Indra (the lord)¹. Where the root of the hair divides, there he opens the two sides of the head, and saying Bhû, he enters Agni (the fire); saying Bhuvas, he enters Vâyu (air);

2. Saying Suvas, he enters Âditya (sun); saying Mahas, he enters Brahman. He there obtains lordship, he reaches the lord of the mind. He becomes lord of speech, lord of sight, lord of hearing, lord of knowledge. Nay, more than this. There is the Brahman whose body is ether, whose nature is true, rejoicing in the senses (*prâna*), delighted in the mind, perfect in peace, and immortal.

(1) Worship thus, O *Prâñnayogya* !

¹ Cf. I, 4, 1.

SEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. 'The earth, the sky, heaven, the four quarters, and the intermediate quarters,'—'Agni (fire), Vâyu (air), Âditya (sun), Kândramas (moon), and the stars,'—'Water, herbs, trees, ether, the universal Self (virâg),'—so much with reference to material objects (bhûta).

Now with reference to the self (the body): 'Prâna (up-breathing), Apâna (down-breathing), Vyâna (back-breathing), Udâna (out-breathing), and Samâna (on-breathing),'—'The eye, the ear, mind, speech, and touch,'—'The skin, flesh, muscle, bone, and marrow.' Having dwelt on this (fivefold arrangement of the worlds, the gods, beings, breathings, senses, and elements of the body), a Rishi said: 'Whatever exists is fivefold (pânkta)¹.'

(1) By means of the one fivefold set (that referring to the body) he completes the other fivefold set.

EIGHTH ANUVÂKA.

1. Om means Brahman. 2. Om means all this. 3. Om means obedience. When they have been told, 'Om, speak,' they speak. 4. After Om they sing Sâmans. 5. After Om they recite hymns. 6. After Om the Adhvaryu gives the response. 7. After Om the Brahman-priest gives orders. 8. After Om he (the sacrificer) allows the performance of the Agnihotra. 9. When a Brâhmana is going to begin his lecture, he says, 10. 'Om, may I acquire Brahman (the Veda).' He thus acquires the Veda.

¹ Cf. Brîh. Âr. Up. I, 4, 17.

NINTH ANUVÂKA¹.

1. (What is necessary?) The right, and learning and practising the Veda. The true, and learning and practising the Veda. Penance, and learning and practising the Veda. Restraint, and learning and practising the Veda. Tranquillity, and learning and practising the Veda. The fires (to be consecrated), and learning and practising the Veda. The Agnihotra sacrifice, and learning and practising the Veda. Guests (to be entertained), and learning and practising the Veda. Man's duty, and learning and practising the Veda. Children, and learning and practising the Veda.

(1-6) Marriage, and learning and practising the Veda. Children's children, and learning and practising the Veda.

Satyavaças Râthîlara thinks that the true only is necessary. Taponitya Paurasishîi thinks that penance only is necessary. Nâka Maudgalya thinks that learning and practising the Veda only are necessary,—for that is penance, that is penance.

TENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. 'I am he who shakes the tree (i.e. the tree of the world, which has to be cut down by knowledge).

2. My glory is like the top of a mountain. 3. I, whose pure light (of knowledge) has risen high, am that which is truly immortal, as it resides in the sun.

¹ This chapter is meant to show that knowledge alone, though it secures the highest object, is not sufficient by itself, but must be preceded by works. The learning of the Veda by heart and the practising of it so as not to forget it again, these two must always have been previously performed.

4. I am the brightest treasure. 5. I am wise, immortal, imperishable¹. 6. This is the teaching of the Veda, by the poet Trisanku.

ELEVENTH ANUVĀKA.

1. After having taught the Veda, the teacher instructs the pupil: 'Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After having brought to thy teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of children! Do not swerve from the truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda!

2. 'Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the Gods and Fathers! (Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee,

3. 'Not others. And there are some Brāhmaṇas better than we. They should be comforted by thee by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith,—with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should

¹ This verse has been translated as the commentator wishes it to be understood, in praise of that knowledge of Self which is only to be obtained after all other duties, and, more particularly, the study of the Veda, have been performed. The text is probably corrupt, and the interpretation fanciful.

be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct,—

4. 'In that case conduct thyself as Brâhmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not¹, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, as Brâhmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty,

(1-7) Thus conduct thyself. 'This is the rule. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (Upanishad) of the Veda. This is the command. Thus should you observe. Thus should this be observed.'

TWELFTH ANUVÂKA.

1. May Mitra be propitious to us, and Varuna, Aryaman also, Indra, Brihaspati, and the wide-striding Vishnu! Adoration to Brahman! Adoration to thee, O Vâyu! Thou indeed art the visible Brahman. I proclaimed thee alone as the visible Brahman.

(1-5) I proclaimed the right. I proclaimed the true. It protected me. It protected the teacher. Yes, it protected me, it protected the teacher. Om! Peace! peace! peace!

¹ Aparaprayuktâ iti svatantrâh. For other renderings, see Weber, Ind. Stud. II, p. 216.

SECOND VALLĪ,

OR, THE CHAPTER ON ÂNANDA (BLISS).

Hariḥ, Om! May it (the Brahman) protect us both (teacher and pupil)! May it enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel! Peace! peace! peace¹!

FIRST ANUVÂKA.

He who knows the Brahman attains the highest (Brahman). On this the following verse is recorded:

‘He who knows Brahman, which is (i. e. cause, not effect), which is conscious, which is without end, as hidden in the depth (of the heart), in the highest ether, he enjoys all blessings, at one with the omniscient Brahman.’

¶ From that Self² (Brahman) sprang ether (ākāśa, that through which we hear); from ether air (that through which we hear and feel); from air fire (that through which we hear, feel, and see); from fire water (that through which we hear, feel, see, and taste); from water earth (that through which we hear, feel, see, taste, and smell). From earth herbs, from herbs food, from food seed, from seed man. Man thus consists of the essence of food. This is his head,

¹ Not counted here as an Anuvâka. The other Anuvâkas are divided into a number of small sentences.

² Compare with this *srīṣhāikrama*, *Khând. Up.* VI, 2; *Ait. Âr.* II, 4, 1.

this his right arm, this his left arm, this his trunk (âtman), this the seat (the support)¹.

On this there is also the following Sloka :

SECOND ANUVĀKA.

¶ 'From food² ~~are produced all creatures~~ which dwell on eārth. Then they live by food, and in the end they return to food. For food is the oldest of all beings, and therefore it is called panacea (sarvaushadha, i. e. consisting of all herbs, or quieting the heat of the body of all beings).'

¶ They who worship food as Brahman³, obtain all food. ~~For food is the oldest of all beings~~, and therefore it is called panacea. From food all creatures are produced; by food, when born, they grow. Because it is fed on, or because it feeds on beings, therefore it is called food (annā).

¶ Different from this, which consists of the essence of food, is the other, the inner Self, which consists of breath. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. Prâna (up-breathing) is its head. Vyâna (back-breathing) is its right arm. Apâna (down-breathing) is its left arm. Ether is its trunk. The earth the seat (the support).

¶ On this there is also the following Sloka :

¹ The text has 'the tail, which is his support.' But pratishhâ seems to have been added, the Anuvâka ending originally with *puṣṭhâ*, which is explained by *nâbher adhistâd yad aṅgam*. In the Persian translation the different members are taken for members of a bird, which is not unlikely.

² Anna is sometimes used in the more general sense of matter.

³ Worship consisting in the knowledge that they are born of food, live by food, and end in food, which food is Brahman.

THIRD ANUVĀKA.

‘The Devas breathe after breath (*prāṇa*), so do men and cattle. Breath is the life of beings, therefore it is called *sarvâyusha* (*all-enlivening*).’

¶ They who worship breath as Brahman, obtain the full life. For breath is the life of all beings, and therefore it is called *sarvâyusha*. The embodied Self of this (consisting of breath) is the same as that of the former (consisting of food).

¶ Different from this, which consists of breath, is the other, the inner Self, which consists of mind. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. *Yagus* is its head. *Rik* is its right arm. *Sâman* is its left arm. The doctrine (*âdesa*, i.e. the *Brâhmaṇa*) is its trunk. The *Atharvângiras* (*Atharva-hymns*) the seat (the support).

On this there is also the following *Sloka* :

FOURTH ANUVĀKA¹.

¶ ‘He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it, he never fears.’ The embodied Self of this (consisting of mind) is the same as that of the former (consisting of breath).

¶ Different from this, which consists of mind, is the other, the inner Self, which consists of understanding. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. Faith is its head. What is right is its right arm. What is true is its left arm.

¹ Cf. II, 9.

Absorption (yoga) is its trunk. The great (intellect?) is the seat (the support).

On this there is also the following Śloka :

FIFTH ANUVĀKA.

‘Understanding performs the sacrifice, it performs all sacred acts. All Devas worship understanding as Brahman, as the oldest. If a man knows understanding as Brahman, and if he does not swerve from it, he leaves all evils behind in the body, and attains all his wishes.’ The embodied Self of this (consisting of understanding) is the same as that of the former (consisting of mind).

¶ Different from this, which consists of understanding, is the other inner Self, which consists of bliss. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. Joy is its head. Satisfaction its right arm. Great satisfaction is its left arm. Bliss is its trunk. Brahman is the seat (the support).

On this there is also the following Śloka :

SIXTH ANUVĀKA.

‘He who knows the Brahman as non-existing, becomes himself non-existing. He who knows the Brahman as existing, him we know himself as existing.’ The embodied Self of this (bliss) is the same as that of the former (understanding).

Thereupon follow the questions of the pupil :

‘Does any one who knows not, after he has departed this life, ever go to that world? Or does he who knows, after he has departed, go to that world¹?’

¹ As he who knows and he who knows not, are both sprung from Brahman, the question is supposed to be asked by the pupil, whether both will equally attain Brahman.

The answer is : He wished, may I be many¹, may I grow forth. He brooded over himself (like a man performing penance). After he had thus brooded, he sent forth (created) all, whatever there is. Having sent forth, he entered into it. Having entered it, he became sat (what is manifest) and tyat (what is not manifest), defined and undefined, supported and not supported, (endowed with) knowledge and without knowledge (as stones), real and unreal². The Sattya (true) became all this whatsoever, and therefore the wise call it (the Brahman) Sat-tya (the true).

On this there is also this Sloka :

SEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

‘In the beginning this was non-existent (not yet defined by form and name). From it was born what exists. That made itself its Self, therefore it is called the Self-made³.’ That which is Self-made is a flavour⁴ (can be tasted), for only after perceiving a flavour can any one perceive pleasure. Who could breathe, who could breathe forth, if that bliss (Brah-

¹ In the *Khândogya-upanishad* VI, 2, 1, where a similar account of the creation is given, the subject is spoken of as tad, neuter. It is said there : ‘In the beginning there was that only which is, one only, without a second. It willed, may I be many,’ &c. (Cf. *Brh. Âr. Up.* vol. ii, p. 52.)

² What appears as real and unreal to the senses, not the really real and unreal.

³ Cf. *Ait. Up.* I, 2, 3.

⁴ As flavour is the cause of pleasure, so Brahman is the cause of all things. The wise taste the flavour of existence, and know that it proceeds from Brahman, the Self-made. See *Kaushîtaki-upanishad* I, 5 ; *Sacred Books*, vol. i, p. 277.

man) existed not in the ether (in the heart)? For he alone causes blessedness.

When he finds freedom from fear and rest in that which is invisible, incorporeal, undefined, unsupported, then he has obtained the fearless. For if he makes but the smallest distinction in it, there is fear for him¹. But that fear exists only for one who thinks himself wise², (not for the true sage.)

On this there is also this S'loka :

EIGHTH ANUVÂKA.

(1) 'From terror of it (Brahman) the wind blows, from terror the sun rises; from terror of it Agni and Indra, yea Death runs as the fifth³.'

Now this is an examination of (what is meant by) Bliss (ânanda):

Let there be a noble young man, who is well read (in the Veda), very swift, firm, and strong, and let the whole world be full of wealth for him, that is one measure of human bliss.

One hundred times that human bliss (2) is one measure of the bliss of human Gandharvas (genii),

¹ Fear arises only from what is not ourselves. Therefore, as soon as there is even the smallest distinction made between our Self and the real Self, there is a possibility of fear. The explanation ud=api, aram=alpam is very doubtful, but recognised in the schools. It could hardly be a proverbial expression, 'if he makes another stomach' meaning as much as, 'if he admits another person.' According to the commentator, we should translate, 'for one who knows (a difference), and does not know the oneness.'

² I read manvânasya, the commentator amanvânasya.

³ Kath. Up. VI, 3.

and likewise of a great sage (learned in the Vedas) who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of human Gandharvas is one measure of the bliss of divine Gandharvas (genii), and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of divine Gandharvas is one measure of the bliss of the Fathers, enjoying their long estate, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the Fathers is one measure of the bliss of the Devas, born in the Āgāna heaven (through the merit of their lawful works), (3) and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the Devas born in the Āgāna heaven is one measure of the bliss of the sacrificial Devas, who go to the Devas by means of their Vaidik sacrifices, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the sacrificial Devas is one measure of the bliss of the (thirty-three) Devas, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the (thirty-three) Devas is one measure of the bliss of Indra, (4) and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of Indra is one measure of the bliss of Bṛihaspati, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of Bṛihaspati is one measure of the bliss of Pragāpati, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of Pragāpati is one

measure of the bliss of Brahman, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

(5) He¹ who is this (Brahman) in man, and he who is that (Brahman) in the sun, both are one².

¹ Cf. III, 10, 4.

² In giving the various degrees of happiness, the author of the Upanishad gives us at the same time the various classes of human and divine beings which we must suppose were recognised in his time. We have Men, human Gandharvas, divine Gandharvas, Fathers (pitara *ġiralokakâh*), born Gods (*âgânagâ devâh*), Gods by merit (karmadevâh), Gods, Indra, *Brihaspati*, *Pragâpati*, Brahman. Such a list would seem to be the invention of an individual rather than the result of an old tradition, if it did not occur in a very similar form in the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ* XIV, 7, 1, 31, *Kânva-sâkhâ* (*Brih. Âr.Up.* IV, 3, 32). Here, too, the highest measure of happiness is ascribed to the *Brahmaloka*, and other beings are supposed to share a certain measure only of its supreme happiness. The scale begins in the *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ* with men, who are followed by the Fathers (pitara *ġitalokâh*), the Gods by merit (karmadevâh), the Gods by birth (*âgânadevâh*, with whom the *Srotriya* is joined), the world of Gods, the world of Gandharvas, the world of *Pragâpati*, the world of Brahman. In the *Brihadâranyaka-upanishad* we have Men, Fathers, Gandharvas, Gods by merit, Gods by birth, *Pragâpati*, and Brahman. If we place the three lists side by side, we find—

TAITTIRÎYA-UPAN. SATAPATHA-BRÂH. BRIHADÂRAN.-UPAN.

Men	Men	Men
Human Gandharvas (and <i>Srotriya</i>)	—	—
Divine Gandharvas	—	—
Fathers (<i>ġiraloka</i>)	Fathers (<i>ġitaloka</i>)	Fathers (<i>ġitaloka</i>) Gandharvas
—	—	—
Gods by birth	Gods by merit	Gods by merit
Gods by merit	Gods by birth (and <i>Srotriya</i>)	Gods by birth (and <i>Srotriya</i>)
Gods	Gods	—
Indra	Gandharvas	—
<i>Brihaspati</i>	—	—
<i>Pragâpati</i>	<i>Pragâpati</i>	<i>Pragâpati</i>
Brahman	Brahman	Brahman.

The commentators do not help us much. Saṅkara on the Taitti-

He who knows this, when he has departed this world, reaches and comprehends the Self which consists of food, the Self which consists of breath, the Self which consists of mind, the Self which consists of understanding, the Self which consists of bliss.

On this there is also this Sloka :

rîyaka-upanishad explains the human Gandharvas as men who have become Gandharvas, a kind of fairies ; divine Gandharvas, as Gandharvas by birth. The Fathers or Manes are called *Kīraloka*, because they remain long, though not for ever, in their world. The *âgânaga* Gods are explained as born in the world of the *Devas* through their good works (*smârta*), while the *Karmadevas* are explained as born there through their sacred works (*voidika*). The Gods are the thirty-three, whose lord is *Indra*, and whose teacher *Brîhaspati*. *Pragâpati* is *Virâg*, Brahman *Hiranyagarbha*. *Dvivedagaṅga*, in his commentary on the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, explains the Fathers as those who, proceeding on the Southern path, have conquered their world, more particularly by having themselves offered in their life sacrifices to their Fathers. The *Karmadevas*, according to him, are those who have become *Devas* by sacred works (*srauta*), the *Âgânadevas* those who were gods before there were men. The Gods are *Indra* and the rest, while the *Gandharvas* are not explained. *Pragâpati* is *Virâg*, Brahman is *Hiranyagarbha*. Lastly, *Śaṅkara*, in his commentary on the *Brîhadâranyaka-upanishad*, gives nearly the same explanation as before ; only that he makes *âgânadevâḥ* still clearer, by explaining them as gods *âgânataḥ*, i. e. *utpattitaḥ*, from their birth.

The arrangement of these beings and their worlds, one rising above the other, reminds us of the cosmography of the Buddhists, but the elements, though in a less systematic form, existed evidently before. Thus we find in the so-called *Gargî-brâhmana* (*Satapatha-brâhmana* XIV, 6, 6, 1) the following succession : Water, air, ether^a, the worlds of the sky^b, heaven, sun, moon, stars, gods, *Gandharvas*^c, *Pragâpati*, Brahman. In the *Kaushîtaki-upanishad* I, 3 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 275) there is another series, the worlds of *Agni*, *Vâyu*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra*, *Pragâpati*, and Brahman. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, p. 224.

^a Deest in *Kânva-sâkhâ*.

^b Between sky and sun, the *Kânva-sâkhâ* places the *Gandharvaloka* (*Brîh. Âr. Up.* III, 6, 1, p. 609).

^c Instead of *Gandharvas*, the *Brîh. Âr. Up.* places *Indra*.

NINTH ANUVÂKA¹.

‘He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it, he fears nothing².’

He does not distress himself with the thought, Why did I not do what is good? Why did I do what is bad? He who thus knows these two (good and bad), frees himself. He who knows both, frees himself³. This is the Upanishad⁴.

¹ Cf. II, 4.

² Even if there is no fear from anything else, after the knowledge of Self and Brahman has been obtained, it might be thought that fear might still arise from the commission of evil deeds, and the omission of good works. Therefore the next paragraphs have been added.

³ The construction of these two sentences is not clear to me.

⁴ Here follows the Anukramanî, and in some MSS. the same invocation with which the next Vallî begins.

THIRD VALLĪ,

OR, THE CHAPTER OF BHRIGU.

Harīh, Om! May it (the Brahman) protect us both! May it enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel! Peace! peace! peace¹!

FIRST ANUVÂKA.

Bhrigu Vârûni went to his father Varûna, saying: 'Sir, teach me Brahman.' He told him this, viz. Food, breath, the eye, the ear, mind, speech.

Then he said again to him: 'That from whence these beings are born, that by which, when born, they live, that into which they enter at their death, try to know that. That is Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

SECOND ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that food is Brahman, for from food these beings are produced; by food, when born, they live; and into food they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varûna, saying: 'Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him: 'Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

¹ The same paragraph, as before (II, 1), occurs at the end of the *Kat̥ha-upanishad*, and elsewhere.

THIRD ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that breath¹ is Brahman, for from breath these beings are born ; by breath, when born, they live ; into breath they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuna, saying : ' Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him : ' Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

FOURTH ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that mind (manas) is Brahman, for from mind these beings are born ; by mind, when born, they live ; into mind they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuna, saying : ' Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him : ' Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

FIFTH ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that understanding (vigñâna) was Brahman, for from understanding these beings are born ; by understanding, when born, they live ; into understanding they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuna, saying : ' Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him : ' Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

¹ Or life ; see Brîh. Âr. Up. IV, 1, 3.

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

SIXTH ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that bliss is Brahman, for from bliss these beings are born ; by bliss, when born, they live ; into bliss they enter at their death.

This is the knowledge of Bhrigu and Varuna¹, exalted in the highest heaven (in the heart). He who knows this becomes exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

SEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

Let him never abuse food, that is the rule.

Breath is food², the body eats the food. The body rests on breath, breath rests on the body. This is the food resting on food³, rests exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

EIGHTH ANUVÂKA.

Let him never shun food, that is the rule. Water is food, the light eats the food. The light rests on water, water rests on light. This is the food resting

¹ Taught by Varuna, learnt by Bhrigu Vâruni.

² Because, like food, it is inside the body.

³ The interdependence of food and breath. The object of this discussion is to show (see Saṅkara's commentary, p. 135) that the world owes its origin to there being an enjoyer (subject) and what is enjoyed (object), but that this distinction does not exist in the Self.

on food¹. He who knows this food resting on food, rests exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

NINTH ANUVÂKA.

Let him acquire much food, that is the rule. Earth is food, the ether eats the food. The ether rests on the earth, the earth rests on the ether. This is the food resting on food. He who knows this food resting on food, rests exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

TENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. Let him never turn away (a stranger) from his house, that is the rule. Therefore a man should by all means acquire much food, for (good) people say (to the stranger): 'There is food ready for him.' If he gives food amply, food is given to him amply. If he gives food fairly, food is given to him fairly. If he gives food meanly, food is given to him meanly.

2. He who knows this, (recognises and worships Brahman²) as possession in speech, as acquisition and possession in up-breathing (prâna) and down-breathing (apâna); as action in the hands; as walking in the feet; as voiding in the anus. These are the human recognitions (of Brahman as manifested in human actions). Next follow the recognitions (of

¹ The interdependence of water and light.

² Brahmana upâsanaprakâraḥ.

Brahman) with reference to the Devas, viz. as satisfaction in rain; as power in lightning;

3. As glory in cattle; as light in the stars; as procreation, immortality, and bliss in the member; as everything in the ether. Let him worship that (Brahman) as support, and he becomes supported. Let him worship that (Brahman) as greatness (*maha*), and he becomes great. Let him worship that (Brahman) as mind, and he becomes endowed with mind.

4. Let him worship that (Brahman) as adoration, and all desires fall down before him in adoration. Let him worship that (Brahman) as Brahman, and he will become possessed of Brahman. Let him worship this as the absorption of the gods¹ in Brahman, and the enemies who hate him will die all around him, all around him will die the foes whom he does not love.

He² who is this (Brahman) in man, and he who is that (Brahman) in the sun, both are one.

5. He who knows this, when he has departed this world, after reaching and comprehending the Self which consists of food, the Self which consists of breath, the Self which consists of mind, the Self which consists of understanding, the Self which consists of bliss, enters and takes possession of these worlds, and having as much food as he likes, and assuming as many forms as he likes, he sits down singing this Sâman (of Brahman): 'Hâvu, hâvu, hâvu!

¹ Cf. Kaush. Up. II, 12. Here the absorption of the gods of fire, sun, moon, and lightning in the god of the air (*vâyu*) is described. Sâṅkara adds the god of rain, and shows that air is identical with ether.

² Cf. II, 8.

6. 'I am food (object), I am food, I am food! I am the eater of food (subject), I am the eater of food, I am the eater of food! I am the poet (who joins the two together), I am the poet, I am the poet! I am the first-born of the Right (*rita*). Before the Devas I was in the centre of all that is immortal. He who gives me away, he alone preserves me: him who eats food, I eat as food.

'I overcome the whole world, I, endowed with golden light ¹. He who knows this, (attains all this).' This is the Upanishad ².

¹ If we read *suvarṇagyotiḥ*. The commentator reads *suvar na gyotiḥ*, i. e. the light is like the sun.

² After the *Anukramanī* follows the same invocation as in the beginning of the third Vallī, 'May it protect us both,' &c.



**BṚHADÂRANYAKA-
UPANISHAD.**

BRĪHADÂRANYAKA- UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily² the dawn is the head of the horse which is fit for sacrifice, the sun its eye, the wind its breath, the mouth the Vaisvânara³ fire, the year the body of the sacrificial horse. Heaven is the back, the sky the belly, the earth the chest⁴, the quarters the two sides, the intermediate quarters the ribs, the members the seasons, the joints the months and half-months, the feet days and nights, the bones the stars, the

¹ It is the third Adhyâya of the Âranyaka, but the first of the Upanishad.

² This Brâhmana is found in the Mâdhyandina text of the Sata-patha, ed. Weber, X, 6, 4. Its object is there explained by the commentary to be the meditative worship of Virâg, as represented metaphorically in the members of the horse. Sâyana dispenses with its explanation, because, as part of the Brîhadâraṇyaka-upanishad, according to the Kânva-sâkhâ, it had been enlarged on by the Vârttikakâra and explained.

³ Agni or fire, as pervading everything, as universally present in nature.

⁴ Pâgasya is doubtful. The commentator suggests pâd-asya, the place of the feet, i. e. the hoof. The Greek Pēgastos, or ἵπποι πηγοί, throws no light on the word. The meaning of hoof would hardly be appropriate here, and I prefer chest on account of uras in I, 2, 3. Deussen (Vedânta, p. 8) translates, die Erde seiner Füße Schemel; but we want some part of the horse.

flesh the clouds. The half-digested food is the sand, the rivers the bowels¹, the liver and the lungs² the mountains, the hairs the herbs and trees. As the sun rises, it is the forepart, as it sets, the hindpart of the horse. When the horse shakes itself³, then it lightens; when it kicks, it thunders; when it makes water, it rains; voice⁴ is its voice.

2. Verily Day arose after the horse as the (golden) vessel⁵, called Mahiman (greatness), which (at the sacrifice) is placed before the horse. Its place is in the Eastern sea. The Night arose after the horse as the (silver) vessel, called Mahiman, which (at the sacrifice) is placed behind the horse. Its place is in the Western sea. Verily, these two vessels (or great-nesses) arose to be on each side of the horse.

As a racer he carried the Devas, as a stallion the Gandharvas, as a runner the Asuras, as a horse men. The sea is its kin, the sea is its birthplace.

SECOND BRÂHMANA⁶.

1. In the beginning there was nothing (to be per-

¹ Guda, being in the plural, is explained by *nâḍī*, channel, and *sirâḥ*; for we ought to read *sirâ* or *hirâgrahane* for *sirâ*, p. 22, l. 16.

² *Klomânaḥ* is explained as a plurale tantum (*nityam bahuvāṇam ekasmin*), and being described as a lump below the heart, on the opposite side of the liver, it is supposed to be the lungs.

³ 'When it yawns.' Ânandagiri.

⁴ Voice is sometimes used as a personified power of thunder and other aerial sounds, and this is identified with the voice of the horse.

⁵ Two vessels, to hold the sacrificial libations, are placed at the *Asvamedha* before and behind the horse, the former made of gold, the latter made of silver. They are called Mahiman in the technical language of the ceremonial. The place in which these vessels are set, is called their *yonī*. Cf. *Vâgas. Samhitâ* XXIII, 2.

⁶ Called the *Agni-brâhmana*, and intended to teach the origin of

ceived) here whatsoever. By Death indeed all this was concealed,—by hunger; for death is hunger. Death (the first being) thought, ‘Let me have a body.’ Then he moved about, worshipping. From him thus worshipping water was produced. And he said: ‘Verily, there appeared to me, while I worshipped (ar̥kate), water (ka).’ This is why water is called ar-ka¹. Surely there is water (or pleasure) for him who thus knows the reason why water is called arka.

2. Verily water is arka. And what was there as the froth of the water, that was hardened, and became the earth. On that earth he (Death) rested, and from him, thus resting and heated, Agni (Virâḡ) proceeded, full of light.

3. That being divided itself threefold, Âditya (the sun) as the third, and Vâyu (the air) as the third². That spirit (prâṇa)³ became threefold. The head was the Eastern quarter, and the arms this and that quarter

Agni, the fire, which is here used for the Horse-sacrifice. It is found in the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ* X, 6, 5, and there explained as a description of *Hiranyagarbha*.

¹ We ought to read *arkasyârkatvam*, as in Poley’s edition, or *ark-kasyârkkatvam*, to make the etymology still clearer. The commentator takes arka in the sense of fire, more especially the sacrificial fire employed at the Horse-sacrifice. It may be so, but the more natural interpretation seems to me to take arka here as water, from which indirectly fire is produced. From water springs the earth; on that earth he (*Mr̥tyu* or *Pragâpati*) rested, and from him, while resting there, fire (*Virâḡ*) was produced. That fire assumed three forms, fire, sun, and air, and in that threefold form it is called *prâṇa*, spirit.

² As Agni, Vâyu, and Âditya.

³ Here Agni (*Virâḡ*) is taken as representing the fire of the altar at the Horse-sacrifice, which is called Arka. The object of the whole *Brâhmana* was to show the origin and true character of that fire (arka).

(i.e. the N. E. and S. E., on the left and right sides). Then the tail was the Western quarter, and the two legs this and that quarter (i.e. the N. W. and S. W.) The sides were the Southern and Northern quarters, the back heaven, the belly the sky, the dust the earth. Thus he (*Mṛityu*, as *arka*) stands firm in the water, and he who knows this stands firm wherever he goes.

4. He desired¹, 'Let a second body be born of me,' and he (Death or Hunger) embraced Speech in his mind. Then the seed became the year. Before that time there was no year. Speech² bore him so long as a year, and after that time sent him forth. Then when he was born, he (Death) opened his mouth, as if to swallow him. He cried *Bhân!* and that became speech³.

5. He thought, 'If I kill him, I shall have but little food.' He therefore brought forth by that speech and by that body (the year) all whatsoever exists, the *Rik*, the *Yagus*, the *Sâman*, the metres, the sacrifices, men, and animals.

And whatever he (Death) brought forth, that he resolved to eat (*ad*). Verily because he eats everything, therefore is Aditi (Death) called Aditi. He who thus knows why Aditi is called Aditi, becomes an eater of everything, and everything becomes his food⁴.

¹ He is the same as what was before called *mṛityu*, death, who, after becoming self-conscious, produced water, earth, fire, &c. He now wishes for a second body, which is the year, or the annual sacrifice, the year being dependent on the sun (*Âditya*).

² The commentator understands the father, instead of Speech, the mother.

³ The interjectional theory.

⁴ All these are merely fanciful etymologies of *asvamedha* and *arka*.

6. He desired to sacrifice again with a greater sacrifice. He toiled and performed penance. And while he toiled and performed penance, glorious power¹ went out of him. Verily glorious power means the senses (*prāṇā*). Then when the senses had gone out, the body took to swelling (*śva-yitum*), and mind was in the body.

7. He desired that this body should be fit for sacrifice (*medhya*), and that he should be embodied by it. Then he became a horse (*aśva*), because it swelled (*aśvat*), and was fit for sacrifice (*medhya*); and this is why the horse-sacrifice is called *Aśva-medha*.

Verily he who knows him thus, knows the *Aśva-medha*. Then, letting the horse free, he thought², and at the end of a year he offered it up for himself, while he gave up the (other) animals to the deities. Therefore the sacrificers offered up the purified horse belonging to *Pragâpati*, (as dedicated) to all the deities.

Verily the shining sun is the *Aśvamedha*-sacrifice, and his body is the year; *Agni* is the sacrificial fire (*arka*), and these worlds are his bodies. These two are the sacrificial fire and the *Aśvamedha*-sacrifice, and they are again one deity, viz. Death. He (who knows this) overcomes another death, death does not reach him, death is his Self, he becomes one of those deities.

¹ Or glory (senses) and power. Comm.

² He considered himself as the horse. Roer.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA¹.

1. There were two kinds of descendants of Pragâpati, the Devas and the Asuras². Now the Devas were indeed the younger, the Asuras the elder ones³. The Devas, who were struggling in these worlds, said: 'Well, let us overcome the Asuras at the sacrifices (the *Gyotishṭoma*) by means of the *udgîtha*.'

2. They said to speech (*Vâk*): 'Do thou sing out for us (the *udgîtha*).' 'Yes,' said speech, and sang (the *udgîtha*). Whatever delight there is in speech, that she obtained for the Devas by singing (the three *pavamânas*); but that she pronounced well (in the other nine *pavamânas*), that was for herself. The Asuras knew: 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer and pierced her with evil. That evil which consists in saying what is bad, that is that evil.

3. Then they (the Devas) said to breath (scent): 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said breath, and sang. Whatever delight there is in breath (smell), that he obtained for the Devas by singing; but that he smelled well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew: 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and

¹ Called the *Udgîtha-brâhmana*. In the *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ*, the *Upanishad*, which consists of six *adhyâyas*, begins with this *Brâhmana* (cf. Weber's edition, p. 1047; Commentary, p. 1109).

² The Devas and Asuras are explained by the commentator as the senses, inclining either to sacred or to worldly objects, to good or evil.

³ According to the commentator, the Devas were the less numerous and less strong, the Asuras the more numerous and more powerful.

pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in smelling what is bad, that is that evil.

4. Then they said to the eye : 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said the eye, and sang. Whatever delight there is in the eye, that he obtained for the Devas by singing ; but that he saw well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in seeing what is bad, that is that evil.

5. Then they said to the ear : 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said the ear, and sang. Whatever delight there is in the ear, that he obtained for the Devas by singing ; but that he heard well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in hearing what is bad, that is that evil.

6. Then they said to the mind : 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said the mind, and sang. Whatever delight there is in the mind, that he obtained for the Devas by singing ; but that he thought well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in thinking what is bad, that is that evil.

Thus they overwhelmed these deities with evils, thus they pierced them with evil.

7. Then they said to the breath in the mouth¹ : 'Do thou sing for us.' 'Yes,' said the breath, and sang. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer

¹ This is the chief or vital breath, sometimes called mukhya.

they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at him and pierced him with evil. Now as a ball of earth will be scattered when hitting a stone, thus they perished, scattered in all directions. Hence the Devas rose, the Asuras fell. He who knows this, rises by his self, and the enemy who hates him falls.

8. Then they (the Devas) said: 'Where was he then who thus stuck to us¹?' It was (the breath) within the mouth (âsye 'ntar²), and therefore called Ayâsya; he was the sap (rasa) of the limbs (aṅga), and therefore called Âṅgirasa.

9. That deity was called Dûr, because Death was far (dûran) from it. From him who knows this, Death is far off.

10. That deity, after having taken away the evil of those deities, viz. death, sent it to where the end of the quarters of the earth is. There he deposited their sins. Therefore let no one go to a man, let no one go to the end (of the quarters of the earth³), that he may not meet there with evil, with death.

11. That deity, after having taken away the evil of those deities, viz. death, carried them beyond death.

12. He carried speech across first. When speech had become freed from death, it became (what it had been before) Agni (fire). That Agni, after having stepped beyond death, shines.

13. Then he carried breath (scent) across. When breath had become freed from death, it became

¹ Asakta from sañg, to embrace; cf. Rig-veda I, 33, 3. Here it corresponds to the German anhänglich.

² See Deussen, Vedânta, p. 359.

³ To distant people.

Vâyu (air). That Vâyu, after having stepped beyond death, blows.

14. Then he carried the eye across. When the eye had become freed from death, it became Âditya (the sun). That Âditya, after having stepped beyond death, burns.

15. Then he carried the ear across. When the ear had become freed from death, it became the quarters (space). These are our quarters (space), which have stepped beyond death.

16. Then he carried the mind across. When the mind had become freed from death, it became the moon (*Kandramas*). That moon, after having stepped beyond death, shines. Thus does that deity carry him, who knows this, across death.

17. Then breath (vital), by singing, obtained for himself eatable food. For whatever food is eaten, is eaten by breath alone, and in it breath rests¹.

The Devas said : 'Verily, thus far, whatever food there is, thou hast by singing acquired it for thyself. Now therefore give us a share in that food.' He said : 'You there, enter into me.' They said Yes, and entered all into him. Therefore whatever food is eaten by breath, by it the other senses are satisfied.

18. If a man knows this, then his own relations come to him in the same manner ; he becomes their supporter, their chief leader, their strong ruler². And if ever any one tries to oppose³ one who is possessed of such knowledge among his own relatives, then he

¹ This is done by the last nine Pavamânas, while the first three were used for obtaining the reward common to all the *prâṇas*.

² Here *annâda* is well explained by *anâmayâvin*, and *vyâdhirahita*, free from sickness, strong.

³ Read *pratipratiḥ* ; see Poley, and Weber, p. 1180.

will not be able to support his own belongings. But he who follows the man who is possessed of such knowledge, and who with his permission wishes to support those whom he has to support, he indeed will be able to support his own belongings.

19. He was called Ayâsya Ângirasa, for he is the sap (rasa) of the limbs (aṅga). Verily, breath is the sap of the limbs. Yes, breath is the sap of the limbs. Therefore from whatever limb breath goes away, that limb withers, for breath verily is the sap of the limbs.

20. He (breath) is also Bṛihaspati, for speech is Bṛihati (Rig-veda), and he is her lord; therefore he is Bṛihaspati.

21. He (breath) is also Brahmanaspati, for speech is Brahman (Yagur-veda), and he is her lord; therefore he is Brahmanaspati.

He (breath) is also Sâman (the Udgîtha), for speech is Sâman (Sâma-veda), and that is both speech (sâ) and breath (ama)¹. This is why Sâman is called Sâman.

22. Or because he is equal (sama) to a grub, equal to a gnat, equal to an elephant, equal to these three worlds, nay, equal to this universe, therefore he is Sâman. He who thus knows this Sâman, obtains union and oneness with Sâman.

23. He (breath) is Udgîtha². Breath verily is Ut, for by breath this universe is upheld (uttabdha); and speech is Gîthâ, song. And because he is ut and gîthâ, therefore he (breath) is Udgîtha.

¹ Cf. *Khând. Up.* V, 2, 6.

² Not used here in the sense of song or hymn, but as an act of worship connected with the Sâman. Comm.

24. And thus Brahmadata Kaikitâneya (the grandson of Kikitâna), while taking Soma (râgan), said: 'May this Soma strike my head off, if Ayâsya Ângirasa sang another Udgîtha than this. He sang it indeed as speech and breath.'

25. He who knows what is the property of this Sâman, obtains property. Now verily its property is tone only. Therefore let a priest, who is going to perform the sacrificial work of a Sâma-singer, desire that his voice may have a good tone, and let him perform the sacrifice with a voice that is in good tone. Therefore people (who want a priest) for a sacrifice, look out for one who possesses a good voice, as for one who possesses property. He who thus knows what is the property of that Sâman, obtains property.

26. He who knows what is the gold of that Sâman, obtains gold. Now verily its gold is tone only. He who thus knows what is the gold of that Sâman, obtains gold.

27. He who knows what is the support of that Sâman, he is supported. Now verily its support is speech only. For, as supported in speech, that breath is sung as that Sâman. Some say the support is in food.

Next follows the Abhyâroha¹ (the ascension) of the Pavamâna verses. Verily the Prastotri begins to sing the Sâman, and when he begins, then let him (the sacrificer) recite these (three Yagus-verses):

'Lead me from the unreal to the real! Lead me

¹ The ascension is a ceremony by which the performer reaches the gods, or becomes a god. It consists in the recitation of three Yagus, and is here enjoined to take place when the Prastotri priest begins to sing his hymn.

from darkness to light! Lead me from death to immortality!’

Now when he says, ‘Lead me from the unreal to the real,’ the unreal is verily death, the real immortality. He therefore says, ‘Lead me from death to immortality, make me immortal.’

When he says, ‘Lead me from darkness to light,’ darkness is verily death, light immortality. He therefore says, ‘Lead me from death to immortality, make me immortal.’

When he says, ‘Lead me from death to immortality,’ there is nothing there, as it were, hidden (obscure, requiring explanation)¹.

28. Next come the other Stotras with which the priest may obtain food for himself by singing them. Therefore let the sacrificer, while these Stotras are being sung, ask for a boon, whatever desire he may desire. An Udgâtri priest who knows this obtains by his singing whatever desire he may desire either for himself or for the sacrificer. This (knowledge) indeed is called the conqueror of the worlds. He who thus knows this Sâman², for him there is no fear of his not being admitted to the worlds³.

¹ See Deussen, Vedânta, p. 86.

² He knows that he is the Prâna, which Prâna is the Sâman. That Prâna cannot be defeated by the Asuras, i.e. by the senses which are addicted to evil; it is pure, and the five senses finding refuge in him, recover there their original nature, fire, &c. The Prâna is the Self of all things, also of speech (*Rig-yaguh-sâmodgîtha*), and of the Sâman that has to be sung and well sung. The Prâna pervades all creatures, and he who identifies himself with that Prâna, obtains the rewards mentioned in the Brâhmaṇa. Comm.

³ In connection with lokagîti, lokyatâ is here explained, and may probably have been intended, as worthiness to be admitted to the highest world. Originally lokyatâ and alokyatâ meant right and wrong. See also I, 5, i7.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA ¹.

1. In the beginning this was Self alone, in the shape of a person (purusha). He looking round saw nothing but his Self. He first said, 'This is I;' therefore he became I by name. Therefore even now, if a man is asked, he first says, 'This is I,' and then pronounces the other name which he may have. And because before (pûrva) all this, he (the Self) burnt down (ush) all evils, therefore he was a person (pur-usha). Verily he who knows this, burns down every one who tries to be before him.

2. He feared, and therefore any one who is lonely fears. He thought, 'As there is nothing but myself, why should I fear?' Thence his fear passed away. For what should he have feared? Verily fear arises from a second only.

3. But he felt no delight. Therefore a man who is lonely feels no delight. He wished for a second. He was so large as man and wife together. He then made this his Self to fall in two (pat), and thence arose husband (pati) and wife (patnî). Therefore Yâgñavalkya said: 'We two² are thus (each of us) like half a shell³.' Therefore the void which was

¹ Called Purushavidhabrâhmana (Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ, p. 1050). See Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 24.

² The Comm. explains *svaḥ* by *âtmanaḥ*, of himself. But see Boehtlingk, Sanskrit Chrestomathie, p. 357.

³ Roer translates: 'Therefore was this only one half of himself, as a split pea is of a whole.' *Brigala* is a half of anything. Muir (Orig. Sansk. Texts, vol. i, p. 25) translates: 'Yâgñavalkya has said that this one's self is like the half of a split pea.' I have translated the sentence according to Professor Boehtlingk's conjecture (Chrestomathie, 2nd ed. p. 357), though the singular after the dual (*svaḥ*) is irregular.

there, is filled by the wife. He embraced her, and men were born.

4. She thought, 'How can he embrace me, after having produced me from himself? I shall hide myself.'

She then became a cow, the other became a bull and embraced her, and hence cows were born. The one became a mare, the other a stallion; the one a male ass, the other a female ass. He embraced her, and hence one-hoofed animals were born. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat; the one became a ewe¹, the other a ram. He embraced her, and hence goats and sheep were born. And thus he created everything that exists in pairs, down to the ants.

5. He knew, 'I indeed am this creation, for I created all this.' Hence he became the creation, and he who knows this lives in this his creation.

6. Next he thus produced fire by rubbing. From the mouth, as from the fire-hole, and from the hands he created fire². Therefore both the mouth and the hands are inside without hair, for the fire-hole is inside without hair.

And when they say, 'Sacrifice to this or sacrifice to that god,' each god is but his manifestation, for he is all gods.

Now, whatever there is moist, that he created from seed; this is Soma. So far verily is this universe either food or eater. Soma indeed is food, Agni eater. This is the highest creation of Brah-

¹ The reading *avir itaro*, i. e. *itarâ u*, is not found in the *Kânva* text. See Boehlingk, *Chrestomathie*, p. 357.

² He blew with the mouth while he rubbed with the hands.

man, when he created the gods from his better part¹, and when he, who was (then) mortal², created the immortals. Therefore it was the highest creation. And he who knows this, lives in this his highest creation.

7. Now all this was then undeveloped. It became developed by form and name, so that one could say, 'He, called so and so, is such a one³.' Therefore at present also all this is developed by name and form, so that one can say, 'He, called so and so, is such a one.'

He (Brahman or the Self) entered thither, to the very tips of the finger-nails, as a razor might be fitted in a razor-case, or as fire in a fire-place⁴.

He cannot be seen, for, in part only, when breathing, he is breath by name; when speaking, speech by name; when seeing, eye by name; when hearing, ear by name; when thinking, mind by name. All these are but the names of his acts. And he who worships (regards) him as the one or the other, does not know him, for he is apart from this (when qualified) by the one or the other (predicate). Let men worship him as Self, for in the Self all these are one. This Self is the footstep of everything, for through it one knows everything⁵. And as one can find again by footsteps what was lost, thus he who knows this finds glory and praise.

¹ Or, when he created the best gods.

² As man and sacrificer. Comm.

³ The Comm. takes *asau-nâmâ* as a compound, instead of *idam-nâmâ*. I read *asau nâma*, he is this by name, viz. *Devadatta*, &c. Dr. Boehtlingk, who in his *Chrestomathie* (2nd ed. p. 31) had accepted the views of the Commentator, informs me that he has changed his view, and thinks that we should read *asaú nâma*.

⁴ Cf. Kaush. Br. Up. VI, 19.

⁵ 'As one finds lost cattle again by following their footsteps, thus one finds everything, if one has found out the Self.' Comm.

8. This, which is nearer to us than anything, this Self, is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth, dearer than all else.

And if one were to say to one who declares another than the Self dear, that he will lose what is dear to him, very likely it would be so. Let him worship the Self alone as dear. He who worships the Self alone as dear, the object of his love will never perish¹.

9. Here they say: 'If men think that by knowledge of Brahman they will become everything, what then did that Brahman know, from whence all this sprang?'

10. Verily in the beginning this was Brahman, that Brahman knew (its) Self only, saying, 'I am Brahman.' From it all this sprang. Thus, whatever Deva was awakened (so as to know Brahman), he indeed became that (Brahman); and the same with *Rishis* and men. The *Rishi* Vâmadeva saw and understood it, singing, 'I was Manu (moon), I was the sun.' Therefore now also he who thus knows that he is Brahman, becomes all this, and even the Devas cannot prevent it, for he himself is their Self.

Now if a man worships another deity, thinking the deity is one and he another, he does not know. He is like a beast for the Devas. For verily, as many beasts nourish a man, thus does every man nourish the Devas. If only one beast is taken away, it is not pleasant; how much more when many are taken! Therefore it is not pleasant to the Devas that men should know this.

11. Verily in the beginning this was Brahman, one

¹ On *rudh*, to lose, see Taitt. Samh. II, 6, 8, 5, pp. 765, 771, as pointed out by Dr. Boehtlingk. On *īsvaro* (*yat*) *tathaiva syât*, see Boehtlingk, s. v.

only. That being one, was not strong enough. It created still further the most excellent Kshatra (power), viz. those Kshatras (powers) among the Devas,—Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parganya, Yama, Mrityu, Îsâna. Therefore there is nothing beyond the Kshatra, and therefore at the Râgasûya sacrifice the Brâhmaṇa sits down below the Kshatriya. He confers that glory on the Kshatra alone. But Brahman is (nevertheless) the birth-place of the Kshatra. Therefore though a king is exalted, he sits down at the end (of the sacrifice) below the Brahman, as his birth-place. He who injures him, injures his own birth-place. He becomes worse, because he has injured one better than himself.

12. He¹ was not strong enough. He created the Vis (people), the classes of Devas which in their different orders are called Vasus, Rudras, Âdityas, Visve Devas, Maruts.

13. He was not strong enough. He created the Sûdra colour (caste), as Pûshan (as nourisher). This earth verily is Pûshan (the nourisher); for the earth nourishes all this whatsoever.

14. He was not strong enough. He created still further the most excellent Law (dharma). Law is the Kshatra (power) of the Kshatra², therefore there is nothing higher than the Law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with the help of the Law, as with the help of a king. Thus the Law is what is called the true. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares the Law; and if he declares the Law, they say he declares what is true. Thus both are the same.

¹ Observe the change from tad, it, to sa, he.

² More powerful than the Kshatra or warrior caste. Comm.

15. There are then this Brahman, Kshatra, Vis, and Sūdra. Among the Devas that Brahman existed as Agni (fire) only, among men as Brāhmaṇa, as Kshatriya through the (divine) Kshatriya, as Vaisya through the (divine) Vaisya, as Sūdra through the (divine) Sūdra. Therefore people wish for their future state among the Devas through Agni (the sacrificial fire) only; and among men through the Brāhmaṇa, for in these two forms did Brahman exist.

Now if a man departs this life without having seen his true future life (in the Self), then that Self, not being known, does not receive and bless him, as if the Veda had not been read, or as if a good work had not been done. Nay, even if one who does not know that (Self), should perform here on earth some great holy work, it will perish for him in the end. Let a man worship the Self only as his true state. If a man worships the Self only as his true state, his work does not perish, for whatever he desires that he gets from that Self.

16. Now verily this Self (of the ignorant man) is the world¹ of all creatures. In so far as man sacrifices and pours out libations, he is the world of the Devas; in so far as he repeats the hymns, &c., he is the world of the Rishis; in so far as he offers cakes to the Fathers and tries to obtain offspring, he is the world of the Fathers; in so far as he gives shelter and food to men, he is the world of men; in so far as he finds fodder and water for the animals, he is the world of the animals; in so far as quadrupeds, birds, and even ants live in his houses, he is their world. And as every one wishes his own world not to be injured,

¹ Is enjoyed by them all. Comm.

thus all beings wish that he who knows this should not be injured. Verily this is known and has been well reasoned.

17. In the beginning this was Self alone, one only. He desired, 'Let there be a wife for me that I may have offspring, and let there be wealth for me that I may offer sacrifices.' Verily this is the whole desire, and, even if wishing for more, he would not find it. Therefore now also a lonely person desires, 'Let there be a wife for me that I may have offspring, and let there be wealth for me that I may offer sacrifices.' And so long as he does not obtain either of these things, he thinks he is incomplete. Now his completeness (is made up as follows): mind is his self (husband); speech the wife; breath the child; the eye all worldly wealth, for he finds it with the eye; the ear his divine wealth, for he hears it with the ear. The body (âtman) is his work, for with the body he works. This is the fivefold¹ sacrifice, for fivefold is the animal, fivefold man, fivefold all this whatsoever. He who knows this, obtains all this.

FIFTH BRĀHMANA².

1. 'When the father (of creation) had produced by knowledge and penance (work) the seven kinds of food, one of his (foods) was common to all beings, two he assigned to the Devas, (1)

'Three he made for himself, one he gave to the animals. In it all rests, whatsoever breathes and breathes not. (2)

¹ Fivefold, as consisting of mind, speech, breath, eye, and ear. See Taitt. Up. I, 7, 1.

² Mādhyandina text, p. 1054.

‘Why then do these not perish, though they are always eaten? He who knows this imperishable one, he eats food with his face. (3)

‘He goes even to the Devas, he lives on strength.’ (4)

2. When it is said, that ‘the father produced by knowledge and penance the seven kinds of food,’ it is clear that (it was he who) did so. When it is said, that ‘one of his (foods) was common,’ then that is that common food of his which is eaten. He who worships (eats) that (common food), is not removed from evil, for verily that food is mixed (property)¹. When it is said, that ‘two he assigned to the Devas,’ that is the huta, which is sacrificed in fire, and the prahuta, which is given away at a sacrifice. But they also say, the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices are here intended, and therefore one should not offer them as an *ishî* or with a wish.

When it is said, that ‘one he gave to animals,’ that is milk. For in the beginning (in their infancy) both men and animals live on milk. And therefore they either make a new-born child lick *ghrita* (butter), or they make it take the breast. And they call a new-born creature ‘*atrinâda*,’ i. e. not eating herbs. When it is said, that ‘in it all rests, whatsoever breathes and breathes not,’ we see that all this, whatsoever breathes and breathes not, rests and depends on milk.

And when it is said (in another Brâhmana), that a man who sacrifices with milk a whole year², overcomes death again, let him not think so. No, on

¹ It belongs to all beings.

² This would imply 360 sacrificial days, each with two oblations, i. e. 720 oblations.

the very day on which he sacrifices, on that day he overcomes death again; for he who knows this, offers to the gods the entire food (viz. milk).

When it is said, 'Why do these not perish, though they are always eaten,' we answer, Verily, the Person is the imperishable, and he produces that food again and again¹.

When it is said, 'He who knows this imperishable one,' then, verily, the Person is the imperishable one, for he produces this food by repeated thought, and whatever he does not work by his works, that perishes.

When it is said, that 'he eats food with his face,' then face means the mouth, he eats it with his mouth.

When it is said, that 'he goes even to the Devas, he lives on strength,' that is meant as praise.

3. When it is said, that 'he made three for himself,' that means that he made mind, speech, and breath for himself. As people say, 'My mind was elsewhere, I did not see; my mind was elsewhere, I did not hear,' it is clear that a man sees with his mind and hears with his mind². Desire, representation, doubt, faith, want of faith, memory³, forgetfulness, shame, reflexion, fear, all this is mind. Therefore even if a man is touched on the back, he knows it through the mind.

Whatever sound there is, that is speech. Speech indeed is intended for an end or object, it is nothing by itself.

¹ Those who enjoy the food, become themselves creators. Comm.

² See Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 358.

³ Firmness, strength. Comm.

2 The up-breathing, the down-breathing, the back-breathing, the out-breathing, the on-breathing, all that is breathing is breath (*prâna*) only. Verily that Self consists of it; that Self consists of speech, mind, and breath.

4. These are the three worlds: earth is speech, sky mind, heaven breath.

5. These are the three Vedas: the Rig-veda is speech, the Yagur-veda mind, the Sâma-veda breath.

6. These are the Devas, Fathers, and men: the Devas are speech, the Fathers mind, men breath.

7. These are father, mother, and child: the father is mind, the mother speech, the child breath.

8. These are what is known, what is to be known, and what is unknown.

What is known, has the form of speech, for speech is known. Speech, having become this, protects man¹.

9. What is to be known, has the form of mind, for mind is what is to be known. Mind, having become this, protects man.

10. What is unknown, has the form of breath, for breath is unknown. Breath, having become this, protects man².

11. Of that speech (which is the food of *Pragâ-pati*) earth is the body, light the form, viz. this fire. And so far as speech extends, so far extends the earth, so far extends fire.

12. Next, of this mind heaven is the body, light the form, viz. this sun. And so far as this mind

¹ 'The food (speech), having become known, can be consumed.' Comm.

² This was *adhibhautika*, with reference to *bhûtas*, beings. Next follows the *adhidaivika*, with reference to the *devas*, gods. Comm.

extends, so far extends heaven, so far extends the sun. If they (fire and sun) embrace each other, then wind is born, and that is Indra, and he is without a rival. Verily a second is a rival, and he who knows this, has no rival.

13. Next, of this breath water is the body, light the form, viz. this moon. And so far as this breath extends, so far extends water, so far extends the moon.

These are all alike, all endless. And he who worships them as finite, obtains a finite world, but he who worships them as infinite, obtains an infinite world.

14. That Pragâpati is the year, and he consists of sixteen digits. The nights¹ indeed are his fifteen digits, the fixed point² his sixteenth digit. He is increased and decreased by the nights. Having on the new-moon night entered with the sixteenth part into everything that has life, he is thence born again in the morning. Therefore let no one cut off the life of any living thing on that night, not even of a lizard, in honour (pûgârtham) of that deity.

15. Now verily that Pragâpati, consisting of sixteen digits, who is the year, is the same as a man who knows this. His wealth constitutes the fifteen digits, his Self the sixteenth digit. He is increased and decreased by that wealth. His Self is the nave, his wealth the felly. Therefore even if he loses everything, if he lives but with his Self, people say, he lost the felly (which can be restored again).

16. Next there are verily three worlds, the world of men, the world of the Fathers, the world of the Devas. The world of men can be gained by a son

¹ Meant for nychthemera.

² When he is just invisible at the new moon.

only, not by any other work. By sacrifice the world of the Fathers, by knowledge the world of the Devas is gained. The world of the Devas is the best of worlds, therefore they praise knowledge.

17. Next follows the handing over. When a man thinks he is going to depart, he says to his son: 'Thou art Brahman (the Veda, so far as acquired by the father); thou art the sacrifice (so far as performed by the father); thou art the world.' The son answers: 'I am Brahman, I am the sacrifice, I am the world.' Whatever has been learnt (by the father) that, taken as one, is Brahman. Whatever sacrifices there are, they, taken as one, are the sacrifice. Whatever worlds there are, they, taken as one, are the world. Verily here ends this (what has to be done by a father, viz. study, sacrifice, &c.) 'He (the son), being all this, preserved me from this world¹,' thus he thinks. Therefore they call a son who is instructed (to do all this), a world-son (*lokya*), and therefore they instruct him.

When a father who knows this, departs this world, then he enters into his son together with his own spirits (with speech, mind, and breath). If there is anything done amiss by the father, of all that the son delivers him, and therefore he is called *Putra*, son². By help of his son the father stands firm in this world³. Then these divine immortal spirits (speech, mind, and breath) enter into him.

¹ Roer seems to have read *samnaya*, 'all this multitude.' I read, *etan mâ sarvaṃ sann ayam ito 'bhunagad iti*.

² The Comm. derives *putra* from *pu* (*pâr*), to fill, and *tra* (*trâ*), to deliver, a deliverer who fills the holes left by the father, a stop-gap. Others derive it from *put*, a hell, and *trâ*, to protect; cf. *Manu IX, 138*.

³ 'The *manushya-loka*, not the *pitri-loka* and *deva-loka*.' Comm.

18. From the earth and from fire, divine speech enters into him. And verily that is divine speech whereby, whatever he says, comes to be.

19. From heaven and the sun, divine mind enters into him. And verily that is divine mind whereby he becomes joyful, and grieves no more.

20. From water and the moon, divine breath (spirit) enters into him. And verily that is divine breath which, whether moving or not moving, does not tire, and therefore does not perish. He who knows this, becomes the Self of all beings. As that deity (Hiraṇyagarbha) is, so does he become. And as all beings honour that deity (with sacrifice, &c.), so do all beings honour him who knows this.

Whatever grief these creatures suffer, that is all one¹ (and therefore disappears). Only what is good approaches him; verily, evil does not approach the Devas.

21. Next follows the consideration of the observances² (acts). Pragâpati created the actions (active senses). When they had been created, they strove among themselves. Voice held, I shall speak; the eye held, I shall see; the ear held, I shall hear; and thus the other actions too, each according to its own act. Death, having become weariness, took them and seized them. Having seized them, death held them back (from their work). Therefore speech grows weary, the eye grows weary, the ear grows weary. But death did not seize the central breath. Then the others tried to know him, and

¹ 'Individuals suffer, because one causes grief to another. But in the universal soul, where all individuals are one, their sufferings are neutralised.' Comm.

² The upâsana or meditative worship.

said: 'Verily, he is the best of us, he who, whether moving or not, does not tire and does not perish. Well, let all of us assume his form.' Thereupon they all assumed his form, and therefore they are called after him 'breaths' (spirits).

In whatever family there is a man who knows this, they call that family after his name. And he who strives with one who knows this, withers away and finally dies. So far with regard to the body.

22. Now with regard to the deities.

Agni (fire) held, I shall burn; Âditya (the sun) held, I shall warm; Kândramas (the moon) held, I shall shine; and thus also the other deities, each according to the deity. And as it was with the central breath among the breaths, so it was with Vâyû, the wind among those deities. The other deities fade, not Vâyû. Vâyû is the deity that never sets.

23. And here there is this Sloka :

'He from whom the sun rises, and into whom it sets' (he verily rises from the breath, and sets in the breath)

'Him the Devas made the law, he only is to-day, and he to-morrow also' (whatever these Devas determined then, that they perform to-day also¹).

Therefore let a man perform one observance only, let him breathe up and let him breathe down, that the evil death may not reach him. And when he performs it, let him try to finish it. Then he obtains through it union and oneness with that deity (with prâna).

¹ The prâna-vrata and vâyu-vrata. Comm.

SIXTH BRÂHMANA¹.

1. Verily this is a triad, name, form, and work. Of these names, that which is called Speech is the Uktha (hymn, supposed to mean also origin), for from it all names arise. It is their Sâman (song, supposed to mean also sameness), for it is the same as all names. It is their Brahman (prayer, supposed to mean also support), for it supports all names.

2. Next, of the forms, that which is called Eye is the Uktha (hymn), for from it all forms arise. It is their Sâman (song), for it is the same as all forms. It is their Brahman (prayer), for it supports all forms.

3. Next, of the works, that which is called Body is the Uktha (hymn), for from it all works arise. It is their Sâman (song), for it is the same as all works. It is their Brahman (prayer), for it supports all works.

That being a triad is one, viz. this Self; and the Self, being one, is that triad. This is the immortal, covered by the true. Verily breath is the immortal, name and form are the true, and by them the immortal is covered.

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1058.

SECOND ADHYĀYA¹.' FIRST BRĀHMAṆA².

1. There³ was formerly the proud Gārgya Bālāki⁴, a man of great reading. He said to Agātasatru of Kāśi, 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' Agātasatru said: 'We give a thousand (cows) for that speech (of yours), for verily all people run away, saying, Ganaka (the king of Mithilā) is our father (patron)⁵.'

2. Gārgya said: 'The person that is in the sun⁶, that I adore as Brahman.' Agātasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him

¹ Mādhyandina text, p. 1058.

² Whatever has been taught to the end of the third (according to the counting of the Upanishad, the first) Adhyāya, refers to avidyā, ignorance. Now, however, vidyā, the highest knowledge, is to be taught, and this is done, first of all, by a dialogue between Gārgya Dṛiṭabālāki and king Agātasatru, the former, though a Brāhmaṇa, representing the imperfect, the latter, though a Kshatriya, the perfect knowledge of Brahman. While Gārgya worships the Brahman as the sun, the moon, &c., as limited, as active and passive, Agātasatru knows the Brahman as the Self.

³ Compare with this the fourth Adhyāya of the Kaushītaki-upanishad, Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 300; Gough, Philosophy of the Upanishads, p. 144.

⁴ Son of Bālākā, of the race of the Gārgyas.

⁵ Ganaka, known as a wise and liberal king. There is a play on his name, which means father, and is understood in the sense of patron, or of teacher of wisdom. The meaning is obscure; and in the Kaush. Up. IV. 1, the construction is still more difficult. What is intended seems to be that Agātasatru is willing to offer any reward to a really wise man, because all the wise men are running after Ganaka and settling at his court.

⁶ The commentator expatiates on all these answers and brings them more into harmony with Vedānta doctrines. Thus he adds that the person in the sun is at the same time the person in the eye, who is both active and passive in the heart, &c.

verily as the supreme, the head of all beings, the king. Whoso adores him thus, becomes supreme, the head of all beings, a king.'

3. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the moon (and in the mind), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the great, clad in white raiment, as Soma, the king.' Whoso adores him thus, Soma is poured out and poured forth for him day by day, and his food does not fail¹.

4. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the lightning (and in the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the luminous.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes luminous, and his offspring becomes luminous.

5. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the ether (and in the ether of the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as what is full, and quiescent.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes filled with offspring and cattle, and his offspring does not cease from this world.

6. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the wind (and in the breath), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as Indra Vaikuntha, as the unconquerable army (of the Maruts).' Whoso adores him thus, becomes victorious, unconquerable, conquering his enemies.

¹ We miss the annasyâtmâ, the Self of food, mentioned in the Kaush. Up., and evidently referred to in the last sentence of our paragraph. Suta and prasuta, poured out and poured forth, are explained as referring to the principal and the secondary sacrifices.

7. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in the fire (and in the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as powerful.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes powerful, and his offspring becomes powerful.

8. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in the water (in seed, and in the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as likeness.' Whoso adores him thus, to him comes what is likely (or proper), not what is improper ; what is born from him, is like unto him¹.

9. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in the mirror, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the brilliant.' Whoso adores him thus, he becomes brilliant, his offspring becomes brilliant, and with whomsoever he comes together, he outshines them.

10. Gārgya said : 'The sound that follows a man while he moves, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as life.' Whoso adores him thus, he reaches his full age in this world, breath does not leave him before the time.

11. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in space, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the second who never leaves us.'

¹ Here the Kaush. Up. has the Self of the name, instead of pratirûpa, likeness. The commentator thinks that they both mean the same thing, because a name is the likeness of a thing. Another text of the Kaush. Up. gives here the Self of light. Pratirûpa in the sense of likeness comes in later in the Kaush. Up., § 11.

Whoso adores him thus, becomes possessed of a second, his party is not cut off from him.

12. Gârgya said: 'The person that consists of the shadow, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as death.' Whoso adores him thus, he reaches his whole age in this world, death does not approach him before the time.

13. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the body¹, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as embodied.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes embodied, and his offspring becomes embodied ².

Then Gârgya became silent.

14. Agâtasatru said: 'Thus far only?' 'Thus far only,' he replied. Agâtasatru said: 'This does not suffice to know it (the true Brahman).' Gârgya replied: 'Then let me come to you, as a pupil.'

15. Agâtasatru said: 'Verily, it is unnatural that a Brâhmaṇa should come to a Kshatriya, hoping that he should tell him the Brahman. However, I shall make you know him clearly,' thus saying he took him by the hand and rose.

And the two together came to a person who was asleep. He called him by these names, 'Thou, great one, clad in white raiment, Soma, King³.' He

¹ 'In the Âtman, in Pragâpati, in the Buddhi, and in the heart.' Comm.

² It is difficult to know what is meant here by âtman and âtmanvin. In the Kaush. Up. Agâtasatru refers to Pragâpati, and the commentator here does the same, adding, however, buddhi and hrîd. Gough translates âtmanvin by 'having peace of mind.' Deussen, p. 195, passes it over.

³ These names are given here as they occur in the Kaushîtaki-upanishad, not as in the Brîhadâraṇyaka-upanishad, where the

did not rise. Then rubbing him with his hand, he woke him, and he arose.

16. Agâtasatru said : 'When this man was thus asleep, where was then the person (purusha), the intelligent ? and from whence did he thus come back ?' Gârgya did not know this ?

17. Agâtasatru said : 'When this man was thus asleep, then the intelligent person (purusha), having through the intelligence of the senses (prâṇas) absorbed within himself all intelligence, lies in the ether, which is in the heart¹. When he takes in these different kinds of intelligence, then it is said that the man sleeps (svapiti)². Then the breath is kept in, speech is kept in, the ear is kept in, the eye is kept in, the mind is kept in.

18. But when he moves about in sleep (and dream), then these are his worlds. He is, as it were, a great king; he is, as it were, a great Brâhmaṇa ; he rises, as it were, and he falls. And as a great king might keep in his own subjects, and move about, according to his pleasure, within his own domain, thus does that person (who is endowed with intelligence) keep in the various senses (prâṇas) and move about, according to his pleasure, within his own body (while dreaming).

19. Next, when he is in profound sleep, and knows

first name was atish/hâh sarveshâm bhûtânâm mûrdhâ râgâ. This throws an important light on the composition of the Upanishads.

¹ The ether in the heart is meant for the real Self. He has come to himself, to his Self, i.e. to the true Brahman.

² Svapiti, he sleeps, is explained as sva, his own Self, and apiti for apyeti, he goes towards, so that 'he sleeps' must be interpreted as meaning 'he comes to his Self.' In another passage it is explained by svam apito bhavati. See Sâṅkara's Commentary on the BrĪh. Âr. Up. vol. i, p. 372.

nothing, there are the seventy-two thousand arteries called Hita, which from the heart spread through the body¹. Through them he moves forth and rests in the surrounding body. And as a young man, or a great king, or a great Brāhmaṇa, having reached the summit of happiness, might rest, so does he then rest.

20. As the spider comes out with its thread, or as small sparks come forth from fire, thus do all senses, all worlds, all Devas, all beings come forth from that Self. The Upanishad (the true name and doctrine) of that Self is 'the True of the True.' Verily the senses are the true, and he is the true of the true.

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA².

1. Verily he who knows the babe³ with his place⁴, his chamber⁵, his post⁶, and his rope⁷, he keeps off the seven relatives⁸ who hate him. Verily by the young is meant the inner life, by his place this (body)⁹, by his chamber this (head), by his post the vital breath, by his rope the food.

2. Then the seven imperishable ones¹⁰ approach him. There are the red lines in the eye, and by them Rudra clings to him. There is the water

¹ 'Not the pericardium only, but the whole body.' Comm.

² Mādhyandina text, p. 1061.

³ The līṅgātman, or subtle body which has entered this body in five ways. Comm.

⁴ The body.

⁵ The head.

⁶ The vital breath.

⁷ Food, which binds the subtle to the coarse body.

⁸ The seven organs of the head through which man perceives and becomes attached to the world.

⁹ The commentator remarks that while saying this, the body and the head are pointed out by touching them with the hand (pāṇipeshapratibodhanena).

¹⁰ See before, I, 5, 1, 2. They are called imperishable, because they produce imperishableness by supplying food for the prāṇa, here called the babe.

in the eye, and by it Parganya clings to him. There is the pupil, and by it Âditya (sun) clings to him. There is the dark iris, and by it Agni clings to him. There is the white eye-ball, and by it Indra clings to him. With the lower eye-lash the earth, with the upper eye-lash the heaven clings to him. He who knows this, his food does never perish.

3. On this there is this Sloka :

‘There ¹ is a cup having its mouth below and its bottom above. Manifold glory has been placed into it. On its lip sit the seven *Rishis*, the tongue as the eighth communicates with Brahman.’ What is called the cup having its mouth below and its bottom above is this head, for its mouth (the mouth) is below, its bottom (the skull) is above. When it is said that manifold glory has been placed into it, the senses verily are manifold glory, and he therefore means the senses. When he says that the seven *Rishis* sit on its lip, the *Rishis* are verily the (active) senses, and he means the senses. And when he says that the tongue as the eighth communicates with Brahman, it is because the tongue, as the eighth, does communicate with Brahman.

4. These two (the two ears) are the *Rishis* Gautama and Bharadvâga; the right Gautama, the left Bharadvâga. These two (the eyes) are the *Rishis* Visvâmitra and Gamadagni; the right Visvâmitra, the left Gamadagni. These two (the nostrils) are the *Rishis* Vasishtha and Kasyapa; the right Vasishtha, the left Kasyapa. The tongue is Atri, for with the tongue food is eaten, and Atri is meant for Atti, eating. He who knows this, becomes an eater of everything, and everything becomes his food.

¹ Cf. Atharva-veda-samh. X, 8, 9.

THIRD BRÂHMANA¹.

1. There are two forms of Brahman, the material and the immaterial, the mortal and the immortal, the solid and the fluid, sat (being) and tya (that), (i.e. sat-tya, true)².

2. Everything except air and sky is material, is mortal, is solid, is definite. The essence of that which is material, which is mortal, which is solid, which is definite is the sun that shines, for he is the essence of sat (the definite).

3. But air and sky are immaterial, are immortal, are fluid, are indefinite. The essence of that which is immaterial, which is immortal, which is fluid, which is indefinite is the person in the disk of the sun, for he is the essence of tyad (the indefinite). So far with regard to the Devas.

4. Now with regard to the body. Everything except the breath and the ether within the body is material, is mortal, is solid, is definite. The essence of that which is material, which is mortal, which is solid, which is definite is the Eye, for it is the essence of sat (the definite).

5. But breath and the ether within the body are immaterial, are immortal, are fluid, are indefinite. The essence of that which is immaterial, which is immortal, which is fluid, which is indefinite is the person in the right eye, for he is the essence of tyad (the indefinite).

6. And what is the appearance of that person? Like a saffron-coloured raiment, like white wool,

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1062.

² Sat is explained by definite, tya or tyad by indefinite.

like cochineal, like the flame of fire, like the white lotus, like sudden lightning. He who knows this, his glory is like unto sudden lightning.

Next follows the teaching (of Brahman) by No, no¹! for there is nothing else higher than this (if one says): 'It is not so.' Then comes the name 'the True of the True,' the senses being the True, and he (the Brahman) the True of them.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA².

1. Now when Yâgñavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said: 'Maitreyi³, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest⁴). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kâtyâyani (my other wife).'

2. Maitreyi said: 'My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it⁵?'

¹ See III, 9, 26; IV, 2, 4; IV, 4, 22; IV, 5, 15.

² Mādhyandina text, p. 1062. To the end of the third Brāhmaṇa of the second Adhyāya, all that has been taught does not yet impart the highest knowledge, the identity of the personal and the true Self, the Brahman. In the fourth Brāhmaṇa, in which the knowledge of the true Brahman is to be set forth, the *Samnyāsa*, the retiring from the world, is enjoined, when all desires cease, and no duties are to be performed (*Samnyāsa, pāivrāgya*). The story is told again with slight variations in the *Brīhadāraṇyaka-upanishad* IV, 5. The more important variations, occurring in IV, 5, are added here, marked with B. There are besides the various readings of the Mādhyandina-sâkhâ of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. See also Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 185.

³ In *Brīh. Up.* IV, 5, the story begins: Yâgñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyi and Kâtyâyani. Of these Maitreyi was conversant with Brahman, but Kâtyâyani possessed such knowledge only as women possess.

⁴ Instead of *udyâsyan*, B. gives *pravragishyan*, the more technical term.

⁵ Should I be immortal by it, or no? B.

‘No,’ replied Yâgñavalkya; ‘like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.’

3. And Maitreyi said: ‘What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth (of immortality), tell that to me¹.’

4. Yâgñavalkya replied: ‘Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words². Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.’

5. And he said: ‘Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

‘Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

‘Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.

‘Verily, wealth is not dear, that you may love wealth; but that you may love the Self, therefore wealth is dear³.

‘Verily, the Brahman-class is not dear, that you may love the Brahman-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Brahman-class is dear.

‘Verily, the Kshatra-class is not dear, that you may love the Kshatra-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Kshatra-class is dear.

‘Verily, the worlds are not dear, that you may love the worlds; but that you may love the Self, therefore the worlds are dear.

¹ Tell that clearly to me. B.

² Thou who art dear to me, thou hast increased what is dear (to me in this). B.

³ B. adds, Verily, cattle are not dear, &c.

‘Verily, the Devas are not dear, that you may love the Devas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Devas are dear¹.

‘Verily, creatures are not dear, that you may love the creatures; but that you may love the Self, therefore are creatures dear.

‘Verily, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.

‘Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyī! When we see, hear, perceive, and know the Self², then all this is known.

6. ‘Whosoever looks for the Brahman-class elsewhere than in the Self, was³ abandoned by the Brahman-class. Whosoever looks for the Kshatra-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Kshatra-class. Whosoever looks for the worlds elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the worlds. Whosoever looks for the Devas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Devas⁴. Whosoever looks for creatures elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the creatures. Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by everything. This Brahman-class, this Kshatra-class, these worlds, these Devas⁵, these⁶ creatures, this everything, all is that Self.

7. ‘Now as⁷ the sounds of a drum, when beaten,

¹ B. inserts, Verily, the Vedas are not dear, &c.

² When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known. B.

³ The commentator translates, ‘should be abandoned.’

⁴ B. inserts, Whosoever looks for the Vedas, &c.

⁵ B. adds, these Vedas.

⁶ B. has, all these creatures.

⁷ I construe sa yathâ with evam vai in § 12, looking upon

cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the drum is seized or the beater of the drum ;

8. 'And as the sounds of a conch-shell, when blown, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the shell is seized or the blower of the shell ;

9. 'And as the sounds of a lute, when played, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the lute is seized or the player of the lute ;

¶ 10. 'As clouds of smoke proceed by themselves out of a lighted fire kindled with damp fuel, thus, verily, O Maitreyî, has been breathed forth from this great Being what we have as *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, *Atharvângirasas*, *Itihâsa* (legends), *Purâna* (cosmogonies), *Vidyâ* (knowledge), the *Upanishads*, *Slokas* (verses), *Sûtras* (prose rules), *Anu-vyâkhyânas* (glosses), *Vyâkhyânas* (commentaries)¹. From him alone all these were breathed forth.

¶ 11. 'As all waters find their centre in the sea, all touches in the skin, all tastes in the tongue, all smells in the nose, all colours in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all percepts in the mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the hands, all movements in the feet, and all the Vedas in speech,—

§ 12. 'As a lump of salt², when thrown into water, becomes dissolved into water, and could not be taken

§ 11 as probably a later insertion. The *sa* is not the pronoun, but a particle, as in *sa yadi*, *sa ket*, &c.

¹ B. adds, what is sacrificed, what is poured out, food, drink, this world and the other world, and all creatures.

² See *Khând. Up.* VI, 13.

out again, but wherever we taste (the water) it is salt,—thus verily, O Maitreyī, does this great Being, endless, unlimited, consisting of nothing but knowledge¹, rise from out these elements, and vanish again in them. When he has departed, there is no more knowledge (name), I say, O Maitreyī.’ Thus spoke Yāgñavalkya.

13. Then Maitreyī said: ‘Here thou hast bewildered me, Sir, when thou sayest that having departed, there is no more knowledge².’

But Yāgñavalkya replied: ‘O Maitreyī, I say nothing that is bewildering. This is enough, O beloved, for wisdom³.

¶ ‘For when there is as it were duality, then one sees the other, one smells the other, one hears the other⁴, one salutes the other⁵, one perceives the other⁶, one knows the other; but when the Self only is all this, how should he smell another⁷, how should he see⁸ another⁹, how should he hear¹⁰ another, how should he salute¹¹ another, how should he perceive another¹², how should he know another? How should he know Him by whom he knows all this?

¹ As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus indeed has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge. B.

² ‘Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed, I do not understand him.’ B.

¶ ³ Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature. B.

⁴ B. inserts, one tastes the other.

⁵ B. inserts, one hears the other.

⁶ B. inserts, one touches the other.

⁷ See, B.

⁸ Smell, B.

⁹ B. inserts taste.

¹⁰ Salute, B.

¹¹ Hear, B.

¹² B. inserts, how should he touch another?

How, O beloved, should he know (himself), the Knower¹?

FIFTH BRĀHMANA².

1. This earth is the honey³ (madhu, the effect) of all beings, and all beings are the honey (madhu, the effect) of this earth. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this earth, and that bright immortal person incorporated in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

2. This water is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this water. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this water, and that bright, immortal person, existing as seed in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

¹ Instead of the last line, B. adds (IV, 5, 15): 'That Self is to be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O beloved, should he know the Knower? Thus, O Maitreyî, thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality.' Having said so, Yâgñavalkya went away (into the forest). 15. See also *Khând. Up.* VII, 24, 1.

² Mādhyandina text, p. 1064.

³ Madhu, honey, seems to be taken here as an instance of something which is both cause and effect, or rather of things which are mutually dependent on each other, or cannot exist without one other. As the bees make the honey, and the honey makes or supports the bees, bees and honey are both cause and effect, or at all events are mutually dependent on one other. In the same way the earth and all living beings are looked upon as mutually dependent, living beings presupposing the earth, and the earth presupposing living beings. This at all events seems to be the general idea of what is called the Madhuvidyâ, the science of honey, which Dadhyaṅk communicated to the Asvins.

3. This fire is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this fire. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this fire, and that bright, immortal person, existing as speech in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

4. This air is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this air. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this air, and that bright, immortal person existing as breath in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

5. This sun is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this sun. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this sun, and that bright, immortal person existing as the eye in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

6. This space (disa½, the quarters) is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this space. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this space, and that bright, immortal person existing as the ear in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

7. This moon is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this moon. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this moon, and that bright, immortal person existing as mind in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

8. This lightning is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this lightning. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this lightning, and

that bright, immortal person existing as light in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

9. This thunder¹ is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this thunder. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this thunder, and that bright, immortal person existing as sound and voice in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

10. This ether is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this ether. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this ether, and that bright, immortal person existing as heart-ether in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

11. This law (dharma) is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this law. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this law, and that bright, immortal person existing as law in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

12. This true² (satyam) is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this true. Likewise this bright, immortal person in what is true, and that bright, immortal person existing as the true in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

13. This mankind is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this mankind. Likewise

¹ Stanayitnu, thunder, is explained by the commentator as Parganya.

² Satyam, the true, the real, not, as it is generally translated, the truth.

this bright, immortal person in mankind, and that bright, immortal person existing as man in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

14. This Self is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this Self. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this Self, and that bright, immortal person, the Self (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

15. And verily this Self is the lord of all beings, the king of all beings. And as all spokes are contained in the axle and in the felly of a wheel, all beings, and all those selfs (of the earth, water, &c.) are contained in that Self.

16. Verily Dadhyaċ Âtharvana proclaimed this honey (the madhu-vidyâ) to the two Asvins, and a *Rishi*, seeing this, said (Rv. I, 116, 12):

‘O ye two heroes (Asvins), I make manifest that fearful deed of yours (which you performed) for the sake of gain¹, like as thunder² makes manifest the rain. The honey (madhu-vidyâ) which Dadhyaċ Âtharvana proclaimed to you through the head of a horse,’ . . .

17. Verily Dadhyaċ Âtharvana³ proclaimed this honey to the two Asvins, and a *Rishi*, seeing this, said (Rv. I, 117, 22);

‘O Asvins, you fixed a horse’s head on Âtharvana Dadhyaċ, and he, wishing to be true (to his promise),

¹ The translation here follows the commentary.

² Tanyatu, here explained as Parganya.

³ Saṅkara distinguishes here between Atharvana and Âtharvana, if the text is correct.

proclaimed to you the honey, both that of *Tvashtri*¹ and that which is to be your secret, O ye strong ones.'

18. Verily *Dadhyaċ* *Ātharvana* proclaimed this honey to the two *Asvins*, and a *Rīshi*, seeing this, said :

'He (the Lord) made bodies with two feet, he made bodies with four feet. Having first become a bird, he entered the bodies as *purusha* (as the person).' This very *purusha* is in all bodies the *purīsayā*, i.e. he who lies in the body (and is therefore called *purusha*). There is nothing that is not covered by him, nothing that is not filled by him.

19. Verily *Dadhyaċ* *Ātharvana* proclaimed this honey to the two *Asvins*, and a *Rīshi*, seeing this, said (*Rv.* VI, 47, 18) :

'He (the Lord) became like unto every form², and this is meant to reveal the (true) form of him (the *Ātman*). *Indra* (the Lord) appears multiform through the *Māyās* (appearances), for his horses (senses) are yoked, hundreds and ten.'

This (*Ātman*) is the horses, this (*Ātman*) is the ten, and the thousands, many and endless. This is the *Brahman*, without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside ; this Self is *Brahman*, omnipresent and omniscient. This is the teaching (of the *Upanishads*).

¹ *Saṅkara* explains *Tvashtri* as the sun, and the sun as the head of the sacrifice which, having been cut off, was to be replaced by the *pravargya* rite. The knowledge of this rite forms the honey of *Tvashtri*. The other honey which is to be kept secret is the knowledge of the Self, as taught before in the *Madhu-brāhmaṇa*.

² He assumed all forms, and such forms, as two-footed or four-footed animals, remained permanent. Comm.

SIXTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Now follows the stem ¹:

1. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
2. Gaupavana from Pautimāshya,
3. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
4. Gaupavana from Kausika,
5. Kausika from Kaundīnya,
6. Kaundīnya from Sāndīlya,
7. Sāndīlya from Kausika and Gautama,
8. Gautama

2. from Āgnivesya,

9. Āgnivesya from Sāndīlya and Ānabhimlāta,
10. Sāndīlya and Ānabhimlāta from Ānabhimlāta,
11. Ānabhimlāta from Ānabhimlāta,
12. Ānabhimlāta from Gautama,
13. Gautama from Saitava and Prākīnayogya,
14. Saitava and Prākīnayogya from Pârasarya,
15. Pârasarya from Bhâradvâga,
16. Bhâradvâga from Bhâradvâga and Gautama,
17. Gautama from Bhâradvâga,

¹ The line of teachers and pupils by whom the Madhukānda (the fourth Brāhmaṇa) was handed down. The Mādhyandina-sâkhâ begins with ourselves, then 1. Saurpanâya, 2. Gautama, 3. Vâtsya, 4. Vâtsya and Pârasarya, 5. Sâṅkrīya and Bhâradvâga, 6. Audavâhi and Sāndīlya, 7. Vaigavâpa and Gautama, 8. Vaigavâpâya and Vaishṭapureya, 9. Sāndīlya and Rauhinyâna, 10. Saunaka, Âtreya, and Raibhya, 11. Pautimāshyâya and Kaundīnyâna, 12. Kaundīnya, 13. Kaundīnya, 14. Kaundīnya and Āgnivesya, 15. Saitava, 16. Pârasarya, 17. Gâtukarṇya, 18. Bhâradvâga, 19. Bhâradvâga, Âsurâya, and Gautama, 20. Bhâradvâga, 21. Vaigavâpâya. Then the same as the Kânvas to Gâtukarṇya, who learns from Bhâradvâga, who learns from Bhâradvâga, Âsurâya, and Yâska. Then Traivani &c. as in the Kânva-vamśa.

18. Bhâradvâga from Pârâsarya,
19. Pârâsarya from Vaigavâpâyana,
20. Vaigavâpâyana from Kausikâyani,
- 21¹. Kausikâyani
3. from Ghr̥itakausika,
22. Ghr̥itakausika from Pârâsaryâyana,
23. Pârâsaryâyana from Pârâsarya,
24. Pârâsarya from Gâtûkarnya²,
25. Gâtûkarnya from Âsurâyana and Yâska³,
26. Âsurâyana and Yâska from Traivani,
27. Traivani from Aupagandhani,
28. Aupagandhani from Âsuri,
29. Âsuri from Bhâradvâga,
30. Bhâradvâga from Âtreya,
31. Âtreya from Mânti,
32. Mânti from Gautama,
33. Gautama from Gautama,
34. Gautama from Vâtsya,
35. Vâtsya from Sândilya,
36. Sândilya from Kaisorya Kâpya,
37. Kaisorya Kâpya from Kumârahârta,
38. Kumârahârta from Gâlava,
39. Gâlava from Vidarbhi-kaundinya,
40. Vidarbhi - kaundinya from Vatsanapât Bâbhrava,
41. Vatsanapât Bâbhrava from Pathi Saubhara,
42. Pathi Saubhara from Ayâsya Ângirasa,
43. Ayâsya Ângirasa from Âbhûti Tvâshtra,
44. Âbhûti Tvâshtra from Visvarûpa Tvâshtra,
45. Visvarûpa Tvâshtra from Asvinau,

¹ From here the Vamsa agrees with the Vamsa at the end of IV, 6.

² Bhâradvâga, in Mâdhyandina text.

³ Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Yâska, in Mâdhyandina text.

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46. Asvinau from Dadhyaċ Ātharvana,
 47. Dadhyaċ Ātharvana from Atharvan Daiva,
 48. Atharvan Daiva from Mrityu Prādhvamsana,
 49. Mrityu Prādhvamsana from Pradhvamsana,
 50. Pradhvamsana from Ekarshi,
 51. Ekarshi from Vipraċitti ¹,
 52. Vipraċitti from Vyashċi,
 53. Vyashċi from Sanāru,
 54. Sanāru from Sanātana,
 55. Sanātana from Sanaga,
 56. Sanaga from Parameshċin,
 57. Parameshċin from Brahman,
 58. Brahman is Svayambhu, self-existent.
- Adoration to Brahman ².
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¹ Vipragitti, in Mādhyandina text.

² Similar genealogies are found *Brh.* Ār. Up. IV, 6, and VI, 5.

THIRD ADHYĀYA.

FIRST BRĀHMAṆA ¹.

Adoration to the Highest Self (Paramâtman)!

1. *Ganaka Vaideha* (the king of the *Videhas*) sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests of (the *Asvamedha*). *Brāhmanas* of the *Kurus* and the *Pāṇḍalas* had come thither, and *Ganaka Vaideha* wished to know, which of those *Brāhmanas* was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows, and ten *pâdas* (of gold)² were fastened to each pair of horns.

2. And *Ganaka* spoke to them: 'Ye venerable *Brāhmanas*, he who among you is the wisest, let him drive away these cows.'

Then those *Brāhmanas* durst not, but *Yâgñavalkya* said to his pupil: 'Drive them away, my dear.'

He replied: 'O glory of the *Sâman*³,' and drove them away.

The *Brāhmanas* became angry and said: 'How could he call himself the wisest among us?'

Now there was *Asvala*, the *Hotri* priest of *Ganaka Vaideha*. He asked him: 'Are you indeed the

¹ *Mâdhyandina* text, p. 1067.

² *Palakaturbhâgaḥ pâdaḥ suvarṇasya*. Comm.

³ One expects *iti* after *udaga*, but *Sâmasravas* is applied to *Yâgñavalkya*, and not to the pupil. *Yâgñavalkya*, as the commentator observes, was properly a teacher of the *Yagur-veda*, but as the pupil calls him *Sâmasravas*, he shows that *Yâgñavalkya* knew all the four Vedas, because the *Sâmans* are taken from the *Rig-veda*, and the *Atharva-veda* is contained in the other three Vedas. *Regnaud*, however, refers it to the pupil, and translates, 'Ô toi qui apprends le *Sâma-veda*.'

wisest among us, O Yâgñavalkya ?' He replied : ' I bow before the wisest (the best knower of Brahman), but I wish indeed to have these cows.'

Then Asvala, the Hotri priest, undertook to question him.

3. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything here (connected with the sacrifice) is reached by death, everything is overcome by death. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of death ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'By the Hotri priest, who is Agni (fire), who is speech. For speech is the Hotri of the sacrifice (or the sacrificer), and speech is Agni, and he is the Hotri. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom (from death).'

4. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything here is reached by day and night, everything is overcome by day and night. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of day and night ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'By the Adhvaryu priest, who is the eye, who is Âditya (the sun)¹. For the eye is the Adhvaryu of the sacrifice, and the eye is the sun, and he is the Adhvaryu. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom.'

5. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything here is reached by the waxing and waning of the moon, everything is overcome by the waxing and waning of the moon. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of the waxing and waning of the moon ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'By the Udgâtri priest, who is Vâyu (the wind), who is the breath. For the

¹ One expects âdityena ģakshushâ, instead of ģakshushâdityena, but see § 6.

breath is the Udgâtri of the sacrifice, and the breath is the wind, and he is the Udgâtri. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom.'

6. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'this sky is, as it were, without an ascent (staircase.) By what approach does the sacrificer approach the Svarga world?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'By the Brahman priest, who is the mind (manas), who is the moon. For the mind is the Brahman of the sacrifice, and the mind is the moon, and he is the Brahman. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom. These are the complete deliverances (from death).'

Next follow the achievements.

7. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'how many *Rik* verses will the Hotri priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yâgñavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which are called Puronuvâkyâ, Yâgyâ, and, thirdly, Sasyâ¹.'

'What does he gain by them?'

'All whatsoever has breath.'

8. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'how many oblations (âhuti) will the Adhvaryu priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yâgñavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which, when offered, flame up; those which, when offered, make an excessive noise; and those which, when offered, sink down².'

¹ The Puronuvâkyâs are hymns employed before the actual sacrifice, the Yâgyâs accompany the sacrifice, the Sasyâs are used for the Sastra. All three are called Stotriyâs.

² These oblations are explained as consisting of wood and oil, of flesh, and of milk and Soma. The first, when thrown on the

‘What does he gain by them?’

‘By those which, when offered, flame up, he gains the Deva (god) world, for the Deva world flames up, as it were. By those which, when offered, make an excessive noise, he gains the Pitṛi (father) world, for the Pitṛi world is excessively (noisy)¹. By those which, when offered, sink down, he gains the Manushya (man) world, for the Manushya world is, as it were, down below.’

9. ‘Yâgñavalkya,’ he said, ‘with how many deities does the Brahman priest on the right protect to-day this sacrifice?’

‘By one,’ replied Yâgñavalkya.

‘And which is it?’

‘The mind alone; for the mind is endless, and the Visvedevas are endless, and he thereby gains the endless world.’

10. ‘Yâgñavalkya,’ he said, ‘how many Stotriyâ hymns will the Udgâtri priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?’

‘Three,’ replied Yâgñavalkya.

‘And what are these three?’

‘Those which are called Purunuvâkyâ, Yâgyâ, and, thirdly, Sasyâ.’

‘And what are these with regard to the body (adhyâtmam)?’

‘The Purunuvâkyâ is Prâna (up-breathing), the Yâgyâ the Apâna (down-breathing), the Sasyâ the Vyâna (back-breathing).’

fire, flame up. The second, when thrown on the fire, make a loud hissing noise. The third, consisting of milk, Soma, &c., sink down into the earth.

¹ On account of the cries of those who wish to be delivered out of it. Comm.

‘What does he gain by them?’

‘He gains the earth by the Puronuvâkyâ, the sky by the Yâgyâ, heaven by the Sasyâ.’

After that Asvala held his peace.

SECOND BRÂHMANA¹.

1. Then Gâratkârava Ârtabhâga² asked. ‘Yâgñavalkya,’ he said, ‘how many Grahas are there, and how many Atigrahas³?’

‘Eight Grahas,’ he replied, ‘and eight Atigrahas.’

‘And what are these eight Grahas and eight Atigrahas?’

2. ‘Prâna (breath) is one Graha, and that is seized by Apâna (down-breathing) as the Atigrâha⁴, for one smells with the Apâna.’

3. ‘Speech (vâk) is one Graha, and that is seized by name (nâman) as the Atigrâha, for with speech one pronounces names.’

4. ‘The tongue is one Graha, and that is seized by taste as the Atigrâha, for with the tongue one perceives tastes.’

5. ‘The eye is one Graha, and that is seized by form as the Atigrâha, for with the eye one sees forms.’

6. ‘The ear is one Graha, and that is seized by sound as the Atigrâha, for with the ear one hears sounds.’

7. ‘The mind is one Graha, and that is seized by

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1069.

² A descendant of Ârtabhâga of the family of Garatkâru.

³ Graha is probably meant originally in its usual sacrificial sense, as a vessel for offering oblations. But its secondary meaning, in which it is here taken, is a taker, a grasper, i. e. an organ of sense, while atigraha is intended for that which is grasped, i. e. an object of sense.

⁴ Here the â is long, kâândasatvât.

desire as the Atigrâha, for with the mind one desires desires.'

7 8. 'The arms are one Graha, and these are seized by work as the Atigrâha, for with the arms one works work.'

8 9. 'The skin is one Graha, and that is seized by touch as the Atigrâha, for with the skin one perceives touch. These are the eight Grahas and the eight Atigrahas.'

10. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything is the food of death. What then is the deity to whom death is food?'

'Fire (agni) is death, and that is the food of water. Death is conquered again.'

11. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'when such a person (a sage) dies, do the vital breaths (prâṇas) move out of him or no?'

'No,' replied Yâgñavalkya; 'they are gathered up in him, he swells, he is inflated, and thus inflated the dead lies at rest.'

12. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'when such a man dies, what does not leave him?'

9 'The name,' he replied; 'for the name is endless, the Visvedevas are endless, and by it he gains the endless world.'

13. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'when the speech of this dead person enters into the fire¹, breath into the air, the eye into the sun, the mind into the moon, the hearing into space, into the earth the body, into the ether the self, into the shrubs the hairs of the body, into the trees the hairs of the head, when the

¹ The commentator explains purusha here by asamyagdarsin, one who does not know the whole truth. See also Deussen, Vedânta, p. 405, and p. 399, note.

blood and the seed are deposited in the water, where is then that person ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Take my hand, my friend. We two alone shall know of this; let this question of ours not be (discussed) in public.' Then these two went out and argued, and what they said was *karman* (work), what they praised was *karman*¹, viz. that a man becomes good by good work, and bad by bad work. After that *Gâratkârava* *Ârtabhâga* held his peace.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA².

1. Then Bhugyu Lâhyâyani asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'we wandered about as students³, and came to the house of *Patañkala Kâpya*. He had a daughter who was possessed by a *Gandharva*. We asked him, 'Who art thou?' and he (the *Gandharva*) replied: 'I am *Sudhanvan*, the *Âṅgîrasa*.' And when we asked him about the ends of the world, we said to him, 'Where were the *Pârikshitas*⁴? Where then were the *Pârikshitas*, I ask thee, Yâgñavalkya, where were the *Pârikshitas* ?'

2. Yâgñavalkya said : 'He said to thee, I suppose, that they went where those go who have performed a horse-sacrifice.'

He said : 'And where do they go who have performed a horse-sacrifice ?'

¹ What is intended is that the *samsâra* continues by means of *karman*, while *karman* by itself never leads to *moksha*.

² *Mâdhyandina* text, p. 1070.

³ The commentator explains *karakâh* as *adhyayanârtham vrata-karanâk karakâh*, *adhvaryavo vâ*. See Professor R. G. Bhandarkar, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 145.

⁴ An old royal race, supposed to have vanished from the earth.

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'Thirty-two journeys of the car of the sun is this world. The earth surrounds it on every side, twice as large, and the ocean surrounds this earth on every side, twice as large. Now there is between¹ them a space as large as the edge of a razor or the wing of a mosquito. Indra, having become a bird, handed them (through the space) to Vâyu (the air), and Vâyu (the air), holding them within himself, conveyed them to where they dwell who have performed a horse-sacrifice. Somewhat in this way did he praise Vâyu indeed. Therefore Vâyu (air) is everything by itself, and Vâyu is all things together. He who knows this, conquers death.' After that Bhugyu Lâhyâyani held his peace.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA².

'1. Then Ushasta Kâkrâyana asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible³, the Self (âtman), who is within all.'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yâgñavalkya, is within all?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'He who breathes in the up-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the down-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the on-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in

¹ The commentator explains that this small space or hole is between the two halves of the mundane egg.

² Mâdhyandina text, p. 1071. It follows after what is here the fifth Brâhmana, treating of Kahodâ Kaushitakeya.

³ Deussen, Vedânta, p. 163, translates, 'das immanente, nicht transcendente Brahman,' which is right, but too modern.

the out-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. This is thy Self, who is within all.'

2. Ushasta *Kâkrâyana* said: 'As one might say, this is a cow, this is a horse, thus has this been explained by thee. Tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self, who is within all.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yâgñavalkya, is within all?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Thou couldst not see the (true) seer of sight, thou couldst not hear the (true) hearer of hearing, nor perceive the perceiver of perception, nor know the knower of knowledge. This is thy Self, who is within all. Everything also is of evil.' After that Ushasta *Kâkrâyana* held his peace.

FIFTH BRÂHMANA¹.

1. Then Kahola Kaushîtakeya asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self (*âtman*), who is within all.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yâgñavalkya, is within all?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'He who overcomes hunger and thirst, sorrow, passion, old age, and death. When Brâhmanas know that Self, and have risen above the desire for sons², wealth, and (new) worlds³, they wander about as mendicants. For a desire for sons is desire for wealth, a desire for wealth is desire for worlds. Both these are indeed desires. Therefore let a Brâhmana, after he has done with learning,

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1071, standing before the fourth Brâhmana.

² See *Brh. Âr. Up.* IV, 4, 22.

³ Life in the world of the Fathers, or in the world of the Gods.

wish to stand by real strength¹; after he has done with that strength and learning, he becomes a Muni (a Yogin); and after he has done with what is not the knowledge of a Muni, and with what is the knowledge of a Muni, he is a Brāhmaṇa. By whatever means he has become a Brāhmaṇa, he is such indeed². Everything else is of evil.' After that Kahola Kaushītakeya held his peace.

SIXTH BRĀHMAṆA³.

1. Then Gārgī Vāṅaknavī asked. 'Yāgñavalkya,' she said, 'everything here is woven, like warp and woof, in water. What then is that in which water is woven, like warp and woof?'

'In air, O Gārgī,' he replied.

'In what then is air woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the sky, O Gārgī,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the sky woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Gandharvas, O Gārgī,' he replied.

¹ Knowledge of the Self, which enables us to dispense with all other knowledge.

² Mr. Gough proposes as an alternative rendering: 'Let a Brāhmaṇa renounce learning and become as a child; and after renouncing learning and a childlike mind, let him become a quietist; and when he has made an end of quietism and non-quietism, he shall become a Brāhmaṇa, a Brāhmaṇa indeed.' Deussen takes a similar view, but I doubt whether 'the knowledge of babes' is not a Christian rather than an Indian idea, in spite of Saṅkara's remarks on Ved. Sūtra, III, 4, 50, which are strangely at variance with his commentary here. Possibly the text may be corrupt, for tish/hāset too is a very peculiar form. We might conjecture balyena, as we have abalyam, in IV, 4, 1. In Kaush. Up. III, 3, ābālyam stands for ābālyam, possibly for ābālyam. The construction of kena syād yena syāt tenedṛīṣa eva, however, is well known.

³ Mādhyandina text, p. 1072.

'In what then are the worlds of the Gandharvas woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Âditya (sun), O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Âditya (sun) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of ~~Â~~^{ch}andra (moon), O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of ~~Â~~^{ch}andra (moon) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Nakshatras (stars), O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the Nakshatras (stars) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Devas (gods), O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the Devas (gods) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Indra, O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Indra woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Pragâpati, O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Pragâpati woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Brahman, O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Brahman woven, like warp and woof?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'O Gârgî, Do not ask too much, lest thy head should fall off. Thou askest too much about a deity about which we are not to ask too much¹. Do not ask too much, O Gârgî.' After that Gârgî Vâknavî held her peace.

¹ According to the commentator questions about Brahman are to be answered from the Scriptures only, and not to be settled by argument.

SEVENTH BRĀHMANA¹.

1. Then Uddālaka Āruni² asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'we dwelt among the Madras in the houses of Patañkala Kâpya, studying the sacrifice. His wife was possessed of a Gandharva, and we asked him: "Who art thou?" He answered: "I am Kabandha Âtharvana." And he said to Patañkala Kâpya and to (us) students: "Dost thou know, Kâpya, that thread by which this world and the other world, and all beings are strung together?" And Patañkala Kâpya replied: "I do not know it, Sir." He said again to Patañkala Kâpya and to (us) students: "Dost thou know, Kâpya, that puller (ruler) within (antaryâmin), who within pulls (rules) this world and the other world and all beings?" And Patañkala Kâpya replied: "I do not know it, Sir." He said again to Patañkala Kâpya and to (us) students: "He, O Kâpya, who knows that thread and him who pulls (it) within, he knows Brahman, he knows the worlds, he knows the Devas, he knows the Vedas, he knows the Bhûtas (creatures), he knows the Self, he knows everything." Thus did he (the Gandharva) say to them, and I know it. If thou, O Yâgñavalkya, without knowing that string and the puller within, drivest away those Brahma-cows (the cows offered as a prize to him who best knows Brahman), thy head will fall off.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'O Gautama, I believe I know that thread and the puller within.'

¹ Mâdhyaṇdina text, p. 1072.

² Afterwards addressed as Gautama; see before, p. 1, note.

The other said: 'Anybody may say, I know, I know. Tell what thou knowest.'

2. Yâgñavalkya said: 'Vâyu (air) is that thread, O Gautama. By air, as by a thread, O Gautama, this world and the other world, and all creatures are strung together. Therefore, O Gautama, people say of a dead person that his limbs have become unstrung; for by air, as by a thread, O Gautama, they were strung together.'

The other said: 'So it is, O Yâgñavalkya. Tell now (who is) the puller within.'

3. Yâgñavalkya said: 'He who dwells in the earth, and within the earth¹, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, and who pulls (rules) the earth within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

4. 'He who dwells in the water, and within the water, whom the water does not know, whose body the water is, and who pulls (rules) the water within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

5. 'He who dwells in the fire, and within the fire, whom the fire does not know, whose body the fire is, and who pulls (rules) the fire within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

6. 'He who dwells in the sky, and within the sky, whom the sky does not know, whose body the sky is, and who pulls (rules) the sky within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

7. 'He who dwells in the air (vâyu), and within the air, whom the air does not know, whose body the

¹ I translate antara by 'within,' according to the commentator, who explains it by abhyantara, but I must confess that I should prefer to translate it by 'different from,' as Deussen does, l. c. p. 160, particularly as it governs an ablative.

air is, and who pulls (rules) the air within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

8. 'He who dwells in the heaven (dyu), and within the heaven, whom the heaven does not know, whose body the heaven is, and who pulls (rules) the heaven within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

9. 'He who dwells in the sun (âditya), and within the sun, whom the sun does not know, whose body the sun is, and who pulls (rules) the sun within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

10. 'He who dwells in the space (disa^h), and within the space, whom the space does not know, whose body the space is, and who pulls (rules) the space within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

11. 'He who dwells in the moon and stars (*kān*-dra-tâarakam), and within the moon and stars, whom the moon and stars do not know, whose body the moon and stars are, and who pulls (rules) the moon and stars within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

12. 'He who dwells in the ether (âkâsa), and within the ether, whom the ether does not know, whose body the ether is, and who pulls (rules) the ether within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

13. 'He who dwells in the darkness (tamas), and within the darkness, whom the darkness does not know, whose body the darkness is, and who pulls (rules) the darkness within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

14. 'He who dwells in the light (tegas), and within the light, whom the light does not know, whose

body the light is, and who pulls (rules) the light within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

So far with respect to the gods (*adhidaivatam*); now with respect to beings (*adhibhûtam*).

15. Yâgñavalkya said: 'He who dwells in all beings, and within all beings, whom all beings do not know, whose body all beings are, and who pulls (rules) all beings within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

16. 'He who dwells in the breath (*prâna*), and within the breath, whom the breath does not know, whose body the breath is, and who pulls (rules) the breath within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

17. 'He who dwells in the tongue (*vâk*), and within the tongue, whom the tongue does not know, whose body the tongue is, and who pulls (rules) the tongue within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

18. 'He who dwells in the eye, and within the eye, whom the eye does not know, whose body the eye is, and who pulls (rules) the eye within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

19. 'He who dwells in the ear, and within the ear, whom the ear does not know, whose body the ear is, and who pulls (rules) the ear within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

20. 'He who dwells in the mind, and within the mind, whom the mind does not know, whose body the mind is, and who pulls (rules) the mind within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

21. 'He who dwells in the skin, and within the skin, whom the skin does not know, whose body the

skin is, and who pulls (rules) the skin within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

22. 'He who dwells in knowledge¹, and within knowledge, whom knowledge does not know, whose body knowledge is, and who pulls (rules) knowledge within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

23. 'He who dwells in the seed, and within the seed, whom the seed does not know, whose body the seed is, and who pulls (rules) the seed within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal; unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, there is no other perceiver but he, there is no other knower but he. This is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal. Everything else is of evil.' After that Uddālaka Āruṇi held his peace.

EIGHTH BRĀHMANA².

1. Then Vâḷaknavi³ said: 'Venerable Brâhmanas, I shall ask him two questions. If he will answer them, none of you, I think, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Ask, O Gârgi.'

2. She said: 'O Yâgñavalkya, as the son of a warrior from the Kâśts or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand and rise to do battle, I have risen to

¹ Self, i.e. the individual Self, according to the Mâdhyandina school; see Deussen, p. 161.

² Mâdhyandina text, p. 1075.

³ Gârgî, not the wife of Yâgñavalkya.

fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Ask, O Gârgî.'

3. She said : 'O Yâgñavalkya, that of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth¹, past, present, and future, tell me in what is it woven, like warp and woof?'

4. Yâgñavalkya said : 'That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, that is woven, like warp and woof, in the ether (âkâśa).'

5. She said : 'I bow to thee, O Yâgñavalkya, who hast solved me that question. Get thee ready for the second.'

Yâgñavalkya said² : 'Ask, O Gârgî.'

6. She said : 'O Yâgñavalkya, that of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, tell me in what is it woven, like warp and woof?'

7. Yâgñavalkya said : 'That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, that is woven, like warp and woof, in the ether.'

Gârgî said : 'In what then is the ether woven, like warp and woof?'

8. He said : 'O Gârgî, the Brâhmanas call this the Akshara (the imperishable). It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, neither red (like fire) nor fluid (like water); it is without shadow, without darkness, without air, without ether, without

¹ Deussen, p. 143, translates, 'between heaven and earth,' but that would be the antariksha.

² This repetition does not occur in the Mâdhyandina text.

attachment¹, without taste, without smell, without eyes, without ears, without speech, without mind, without light (vigour), without breath, without a mouth (or door), without measure, having no within and no without, it devours nothing, and no one devours it.'

9. 'By the command of that Akshara (the imperishable), O Gârgî, sun and moon stand apart². By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgî, heaven and earth stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgî, what are called moments (nimesha), hours (muhûrta), days and nights, half-months, months, seasons, years, all stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgî, some rivers flow to the East from the white mountains, others to the West, or to any other quarter. By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgî, men praise those who give, the gods follow the sacrificer, the fathers the Darvî-offering.'

10. 'Whosoever, O Gârgî, without knowing that Akshara (the imperishable), offers oblations in this world, sacrifices, and performs penance for a thousand years, his work will have an end. Whosoever, O Gârgî, without knowing this Akshara, departs this world, he is miserable (like a slave)³. But he, O Gârgî, who departs this world, knowing this Akshara, he is a Brâhmaṇa.'

11. 'That Brahman,' O Gârgî, 'is unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is nothing

¹ Not adhering to anything, like lac or gum.

² Each follows its own course.

³ 'He stores up the effects from work, like a miser his riches,' Roer. 'He is helpless,' Gough.

that sees but it, nothing that hears but it, nothing that perceives but it, nothing that knows but it. In that Akshara then, O Gârgî, the ether is woven, like warp and woof.'

12. Then said Gârgî: 'Venerable Brâhmans, you may consider it a great thing, if you get off by bowing before him. No one, I believe, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.' After that Vâknavî held her peace.

NINTH BRĀHMANA¹.

1. Then Vidagdha Sâkalya asked him²: 'How many gods are there, O Yâgñavalkya?' He replied with this very Nivid³: 'As many as are mentioned in the Nivid of the hymn of praise addressed to the Visvedevas, viz. three and three hundred, three and three thousand⁴.'

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?'

'Thirty-three,' he said.

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1076.

² This disputation between Yâgñavalkya and Vidagdha Sâkalya occurs in a simpler form in the Satapatha-brâhmana, XI, p. 873. He is here represented as the first who defies Yâgñavalkya, and whom Yâgñavalkya asks at once, whether the other Brâhmans had made him the *ulmukâvakshayana*, the cat's paw, literally one who has to take a burning piece of wood out of the fire (*ardha-dagdhakâshtham ulmukam*; *tasya vahnirasanam avakshayanam vinârah*). The end, however, is different, for on asking the nature of the one god, the *Prâna*, he is told by Yâgñavalkya that he has asked for what he ought not to ask, and that therefore he will die and thieves will carry away his bones.

³ Nivid, old and short invocations of the gods; *devatâsaṅkhyâ-vâkâkâni mantrapadâni kânikid vaisvadeve sastre sasyante*. *Saṅkara* and *Dvivedagaṅga*.

⁴ This would make 3306 *devatâs*.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘Six,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘Three,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘Two,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘One and a half (adhyardha),’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘One,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked : ‘Who are these three and three hundred, three and three thousand?’

2. Yâgñavalkya replied : ‘They are only the various powers of them, in reality there are only thirty-three gods¹.’

He asked : ‘Who are those thirty-three?’

Yâgñavalkya replied : ‘The eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Âdityas. They make thirty-one, and Indra and Pragâpati make the thirty-three².’

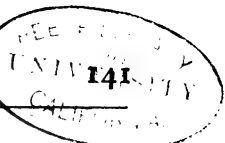
3. He asked : ‘Who are the Vasus.’

Yâgñavalkya replied : ‘Agni (fire), Prithivî (earth), Vâyu (air), Antariksha (sky), Âditya (sun), Dyû (heaven), Kândramas (moon), the Nakshatras (stars), these are the Vasus, for in them all that dwells (this world)³ rests; and therefore they are called Vasus.’

¹ ‘The glories of these are three and thirty.’ Gough, p. 172.

² Trayastrimsau, i. e. trayastrimsatah pûranau.

³ The etymological explanation of Vasu is not quite clear, and



4. He asked : 'Who are the Rudras ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'These ten vital breaths (prānas, the senses, i. e. the five *gñānendriyas*, and the five *karmendriyas*), and Ātman¹, as the eleventh. When they depart from this mortal body, they make us cry (rodayanti), and because they make us cry, they are called Rudras.'

5. He asked : 'Who are the Ādityas ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'The twelve months of the year, and they are Ādityas, because they move along (yanti), taking up everything² (*ādadānāḥ*). Because they move along, taking up everything, therefore they are called Ādityas.'

6. He asked : 'And who is Indra, and who is Pragâpati ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'Indra is thunder, Pragâpati is the sacrifice.'

He asked : 'And what is the thunder ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'The thunderbolt.'

He asked : 'And what is the sacrifice ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'The (sacrificial) animals.'

7. He asked : 'Who are the six ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'Agni (fire), Prithivī (earth), Vāyu (air), Antariksha (sky), Āditya (sun), Dyū (heaven), they are the six, for they are all³ this, the six.'

8. He asked : 'Who are the three gods ?'

the commentator hardly explains our text. Perhaps *vasu* is meant for the world or the dwellers therein. The more usual explanation occurs in the *Satap. Brâh.* p. 1077, etc *hīdam sarvam vâsayante tadyad idam sarvam vâsayante tasmâd vasava iti*; or on p. 874, where we read *te yad idam sarvam &c.*

¹ Ātman is here explained as *manas*, the common sensory.

² The life of men, and the fruits of their work.

³ They are the thirty-three gods..

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'These three worlds, for in them all these gods exist.'

He asked : 'Who are the two gods?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'Food and breath.'

He asked : 'Who is the one god and a half?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'He that blows.'

9. Here they say : 'How is it that he who blows like one only, should be called one and a half (adhyardha)?' And the answer is : 'Because, when the wind was blowing, everything grew (adhyardhnot).'

He asked : 'Who is the one god?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : 'Breath (prāna), and he is Brahman (the Sūtrātman), and they call him That (tyad).'

10. Sākalya said¹ : 'Whosoever knows that person (or god) whose dwelling (body) is the earth, whose sight (world) is fire², whose mind is light,—the prin-

¹ I prefer to attribute this to Sākalya, who is still the questioner, and not Yāgñavalkya; but I am not quite satisfied that I am right in this, or in the subsequent distribution of the parts, assigned to each speaker. If Sākalya is the questioner, then the sentence, *veda vā aham tam puruṣam sarvasyātmanaḥ parāyanam yam āttha*, must belong to Yāgñavalkya, because he refers to the words of another speaker. Lastly, the sentence *vadaiva* has to be taken as addressed to Sākalya. The commentator remarks that, he being the questioner, one expects *prikkha* instead of *vada*. But Yāgñavalkya may also be supposed to turn round on Sākalya and ask him a question in turn, more difficult than the question addressed by Sākalya to Yāgñavalkya, and in that case the last sentence must be taken as an answer, though an imperfect one, of Sākalya's. The commentator seems to think that after Yāgñavalkya told Sākalya to ask this question, Sākalya was frightened and asked it, and that then Yāgñavalkya answered in turn.

² The Mādhyandina text varies considerably. It has the first time, *kashur lokaḥ* for *agnir lokaḥ*. I keep to the same construction throughout, taking *mano gyoṭiḥ*, not as a compound, but like *agnir loko yasya*, as a sentence, i. e. *mano gyoṭir yasya*.

ciple of every (living) self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. This corporeal (material, earthy) person, "he is he." But tell me¹, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ² (deity)?'

Sâkalya replied : ' The Immortal³.'

11. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is love (a body capable of sensual love), whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. This love-made (loving) person, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied : ' The women⁴.'

12. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling are the colours, whose sight is the eye, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. That person in the sun, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied : ' The True⁵.'

13. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person

¹ Ask me. Comm.

² That from which he is produced, that is his devatâ. Comm.

³ According to the commentator, the essence of food, which produces blood, from which the germ receives life and becomes an embryo and a living being.

⁴ Because they excite the fire of love. Comm.

⁵ The commentator explains satya, the true, by the eye, because the sun owes its origin to the eye.

whose dwelling is ether, whose sight is the ear, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person who hears¹ and answers, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied: 'Space.'

14. Sâkalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is darkness, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The shadowy² person, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied: 'Death.'

15. Sâkalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling are (bright) colours, whose sight is the eye, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person in the looking-glass, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied: 'Vital breath' (asu).

16. Sâkalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is water, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

¹ Read srautra instead of srotra; see Bṛh. Âr. Up. II, 5, 6.

² Shadow, *kṛhâyâ*, is explained here by *agnâna*, ignorance, not by *gñâna*, knowledge.

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person in the water, " he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ? '

Sâkalya replied : ' Varuna. '

17. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is seed, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya. '

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The filial person, " he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ? '

Sâkalya replied : ' Pragâpati. '

18. Yâgñavalkya said : ' Sâkalya, did those Brâhmanas (who themselves shrank from the contest) make thee the victim¹? '

Sâkalya said : ' Yâgñavalkya, because thou hast decried the Brâhmanas of the Kuru-Pañkâlas, what² Brahman dost thou know? '

19. Yâgñavalkya said : ' I know the quarters with their deities and their abodes. '

¹ *Âṅgārāvakshayana* is explained as a vessel in which coals are extinguished, and Ānandagiri adds that Yâgñavalkya, in saying that Sâkalya was made an *âṅgārāvakshayana* by his fellow Brâhmanas, meant that he was given up by them as a victim, in fact that he was being burnt or consumed by Yâgñavalkya. I should prefer to take *âṅgārāvakshayana* in the sense of *ulmukāvakshayana*, an instrument with which one takes burning coals from the fire to extinguish them, a pair of tongs. Read *sandamsa* instead of *sandesa*. *Kshi* with *ava* means to remove, to take away. We should call an *âṅgārāvakshayana* a cat's paw. The Brâhmanas used Sâkalya as a cat's paw.

² It seems better to take *kim* as the interrogative pronoun than as an interrogative particle.

Sākalya said : ' If thou knowest the quarters with their deities and their abodes,

20. ' Which is thy deity in the Eastern quarter?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Âditya (the sun).'

Sākalya said : ' In what does that Âditya abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the eye.'

Sākalya said : ' In what does the eye abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the colours, for with the eye he sees the colours.'

Sākalya said : ' And in what then do the colours abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the heart¹, for we know colours by the heart, for colours abide in the heart².'

Sākalya said : ' So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

21. Sākalya said : ' Which is thy deity in the Southern quarter?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Yama.'

Sākalya said : ' In what does that Yama abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the sacrifice.'

Sākalya said : ' In what does the sacrifice abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the Dakshinâ (the gifts to be given to the priests).'

Sākalya said : ' In what does the Dakshinâ abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In Sradhâ (faith), for if a man believes, then he gives Dakshinâ, and Dakshinâ truly abides in faith.'

Sākalya said : ' And in what then does faith abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the heart, for by the heart faith knows, and therefore faith abides in the heart.'

Sākalya said : ' So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

¹ Heart stands here for buddhi and manas together. Comm.

² In the text, published by Dr. Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica, a sentence is left out, viz. *hrīdaya ity uvāka, hrīdayena hi rūpāni gānāti, hrīdaye hy eva rūpāni pratish/hitāni bhavantīty*.

22. Sākalya said : 'Which is thy deity in the Western quarter?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Varuna.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does that Varuna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the water.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does the water abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the seed.'

Sākalya said : 'And in what does the seed abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the heart. And therefore also they say of a son who is like his father, that he seems as if slipt from his heart, or made from his heart; for the seed abides in the heart.'

Sākalya said : 'So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

23. Sākalya said : 'Which is thy deity in the Northern quarter?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Soma.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does that Soma abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the Dīkshâ¹.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does the Dīkshâ abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the True; and therefore they say to one who has performed the Dīkshâ, Speak what is true, for in the True indeed the Dīkshâ abides.'

Sākalya said : 'And in what does the True abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the heart, for with the heart do we know what is true, and in the heart indeed the True abides.'

Sākalya said : 'So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

24. Sākalya said : 'Which is thy deity in the zenith?'

¹ Dīkshâ is the initiatory rite for the Soma sacrifice. Having sacrificed with Soma which has to be bought, the sacrificer becomes endowed with wisdom, and wanders to the North, which is the quarter of Soma.

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Agni.'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does that Agni abide.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In speech.'

Sâkalya said: 'And in what does speech abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the heart.'

Sâkalya said: 'And in what does the heart abide?'

25. Yâgñavalkya said: 'O Ahallika¹, when you think the heart could be anywhere else away from us, if it were away from us, the dogs might eat it, or the birds tear it.'

26. Sâkalya said: 'And in what dost thou (thy body) and the Self (thy heart) abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Prâna (breath).'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Prâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Apâna (down-breathing)².'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Apâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Vyâna (back-breathing)³.'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Vyâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Udâna (the out-breathing)⁴.'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Udâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Samâna⁵. That Self

¹ A term of reproach, it may be a ghost or preta, because ahani liyate, it disappears by day.

² Because the prâna would run away, if it were not held back by the apâna.

³ Because the apâna would run down, and the prâna up, if they were not held back by the vyâna.

⁴ Because all three, the prâna, apâna, and vyâna, would run away in all directions, if they were not fastened to the udâna.

⁵ The Samâna can hardly be meant here for one of the five prânas, generally mentioned before the udâna, but, as explained by Dvivedaganga, stands for the Sûtrâtman. This Sûtrâtman abides in the Antaryâmin, and this in the Brahman (Kûâstha), which is

(âtman) is to be described by No, no¹! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be (is not) comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail.'

* 'These are the eight abodes (the earth, &c.), the eight worlds (fire, &c.), the eight gods (the immortal food, &c.), the eight persons (the corporeal, &c.) He who after dividing and uniting these persons², went beyond (the Samâna), that person, taught in the Upanishads, I now ask thee (to teach me). If thou shalt not explain him to me, thy head will fall.'

Sākalya did not know him, and his head fell, nay, thieves took away his bones, mistaking them for something else.

27. Then Yâgñavalkya said: 'Reverend Brâhmanas, whosoever among you desires to do so, may now question me. Or question me, all of you. Or whosoever among you desires it, I shall question him, or I shall question all of you.

But those Brâhmanas durst not (say anything).

28. Then Yâgñavalkya questioned them with these Slokas:

1. 'As a mighty tree in the forest, so in truth is man, his hairs are the leaves, his outer skin is the bark.

2. 'From his skin flows forth blood, sap from the skin (of the tree); and thus from the wounded

therefore described next. Could Samâna be here the same as in IV, 3, 7?

¹ See before, II, 3, 6; also IV, 2, 4; IV, 4, 22; IV, 5, 15.

² Dividing them according to the different abodes, worlds, and persons, and uniting them at last in the heart.

man¹ comes forth blood, as from a tree that is struck.

3. 'The lumps of his flesh are (in the tree) the layers of wood, the fibre is strong like the tendons². The bones are the (hard) wood within, the marrow is made like the marrow of the tree.

4. 'But, while the tree, when felled, grows up again more young from the root, from what root, tell me, does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?

5. 'Do not say, "from seed," for seed is produced from the living³; but a tree, springing from a grain, clearly⁴ rises again after death⁵.

6. 'If a tree is pulled up with the root, it will not grow again; from what root then, tell me, does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?

7. 'Once born, he is not born (again); for who should create him again⁶?'

¹ In the Mādhyandina-sâkhâ, p. 1080, *tasmât tadâtunnât*, instead of *tasmât tadâtrimât*.

² Saṅkara seems to have read *snâvavat*, instead of *snâva tat sthiram*, as we read in both Sâkhâs.

³ Here the Mādhyandinas (p. 1080) add, *gâta eva na gâyate, ko nv enam ganayet punaḥ*, which the Kânvas place later.

⁴ Instead of *aṅgasâ*, the Mādhyandinas have *anyataḥ*.

⁵ The Mādhyandinas have *dhânâruha u vai*, which is better than *iva vai*, the *iva* being, according to Saṅkara's own confession, useless. The thread of the argument does not seem to have been clearly perceived by the commentators. What the poet wants to say is, that a man, struck down by death, does not come to life again from seed, because human seed comes from the living only, while trees, springing from grain, are seen to come to life after the tree (which yielded the grain or the seed) is dead. *Pretya-sambhava*, like *pretya-bhâva*, means life after death, and *pretyasambhava*, as an adjective, means coming to life after death.

⁶ This line too is taken in a different sense by the commentator. According to him, it would mean: 'If you say, He has been born

‘Brahman, who is knowledge and bliss, he is the principle, both to him who gives gifts¹, and also to him who stands firm, and knows.’

(and there is an end of all questioning), I say, No; he is born again, and the question is, How?’ This is much too artificial. The order of the verses in the *Mādhyandina-jâkhâ* is better on the whole, leading up more naturally to the question, ‘From what root then does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?’ When the Brâhmans cannot answer, *Yâgñavalkya* answers, or the *Sruti* declares, that the root from whence a mortal springs again, after death, is Brahman.

¹ *Saṅkara* explains *râtir dâtuḥ* as *râter dâtuḥ*, a reading adopted by the *Mādhyandinas*. He then arrives at the statement that Brahman is the principle or the last source, also the root of a new life, both for those who practise works and for those who, having relinquished works, stand firm in knowledge. *Regnaud* (II, p. 138) translates: ‘C’est Brahma (qui est) l’intelligence, le bonheur, la richesse, le but suprême de celui qui offre (des sacrifices), et de celui qui réside (en lui), de celui qui connaît.’

FOURTH ADHYĀYA.

FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. When Ganaka Vaideha was sitting (to give audience), Yâgñavalkya approached, and Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Yâgñavalkya, for what object did you come, wishing for cattle, or for subtle questions¹?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'For both, Your Majesty;

2. 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Gitvan Sailini told me that speech (vâk) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Sailini² tell you, that speech is Brahman; for what is the use of a dumb person? But did he tell you the body (âyatana) and the resting-place (pratisṭhâ) of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only³.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

¹ Anv-anta, formed like Sûtrânta, Siddhânta, and probably Vedânta, means subtle questions.

² Roer and Poley give here Sailina; Weber also (pp. 1080 and 1081) has twice Sailina (Silinasyâpatyam).

³ This seems to mean that Gitvan's explanation of Brahman is lame or imperfect, because there are four pâdas of that Brahman, and he taught one only. The other three are its body, its place, and its form of worship (pragñetīyam upanishad brahmanas katur-thaḥ pâdaḥ). See also Maitr. Up. VII, p. 221.

Yâgñavalkya said: 'The tongue is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as knowledge.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of that knowledge?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, speech itself (is knowledge). For through speech, Your Majesty, a friend is known (to be a friend), and likewise the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, the *Atharvângi-rasas*, the *Itihâsa* (tradition), *Purâna-vidyâ* (knowledge of the past), the *Upanishads*, *Slokas* (verses), *Sûtras* (rules), *Anuvyâkhyânas* and *Vyâkhyânas* (commentaries¹, &c.); what is sacrificed, what is poured out, what is (to be) eaten and drunk, this world and the other world, and all creatures. By speech alone, Your Majesty, Brahman is known, speech indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Speech does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

3. Yâgñavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Udañka Saulbâyana told me that life (*prâna*)² is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did

¹ See before, II, 4, 10; and afterwards, IV, 5, 11.

² See *Taitt. Up.* III, 3.

Udañka Saulbâyana tell you that life is Brahman ; for what is the use of a person without life ? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman ?'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said ; ' Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Breath is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as what is dear.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' What is the nature of that which is dear ?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' Your Majesty, life itself (is that which is dear) ;' because for the sake of life, Your Majesty, a man sacrifices even for him who is unworthy of sacrifice, he accepts presents from him who is not worthy to bestow presents, nay, he goes to a country, even when there is fear of being hurt¹, for the sake of life. Life, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Life does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

4. Yâgñavalkya said : ' Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

¹ Or it may mean, he is afraid of being hurt, to whatever country he goes, for the sake of a livelihood.

Ganaka Vaideha replied : 'Barku Vārshna told me that sight (lakshus) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Barku Vārshna tell you that sight is Brahman ; for what is the use of a person who cannot see ? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman ?'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'The eye is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as what is true.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'What is the nature of that which is true ?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'Your Majesty, sight itself (is that which is true) ; for if they say to a man who sees with his eye, "Didst thou see ?" and he says, "I saw," then it is true. Sight, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Sight does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

5. Yâgñavalkya said : 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied : 'Gardabhīvibhīta Bhāradvāja told me that hearing (śrotra) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Gardabhîvibhîta Bhâradvâga tell you that hearing is Brahman; for what is the use of a person who cannot hear? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' The ear is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as what is endless.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' What is the nature of that which is endless?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' Your Majesty, space (disa^h) itself (is that which is endless), and therefore to whatever space (quarter) he goes, he never comes to the end of it. For space is endless. Space indeed, O King, is hearing¹, and hearing indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Hearing does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

6. Yâgñavalkya said : ' Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

¹ Dvivedagaṅga states, digbhâgo hi pārthivâdhish/hânâvakkhin-
naḥ srotram ity ukyate, atas tayoṛ ekatvam.

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Satyakâma Gâbâla told me that mind ¹ (manas) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Satyakâma Gâbâla tell you that mind is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without mind? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Mind itself is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as bliss.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of bliss?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, mind itself; for with the mind does a man desire a woman, and a like son is born of her, and he is bliss. Mind indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Mind does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

7. Yâgñavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Vidagdha Sâkalya told me that the heart (hrîdaya) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit

¹ See also Taitt. Up. III, 4.

of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Vidagdha Sākalya tell you that the heart is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without a heart? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘He did not tell me.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Then tell me, Yāgñavalkya.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘The heart itself is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as certainty (sthiti).’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘What is the nature of certainty?’

Yāgñavalkya replied: ‘Your Majesty, the heart itself; for the heart indeed, O King, is the body of all things, the heart is the resting-place of all things, for in the heart, O King, all things rest. The heart indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. The heart does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.’

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Ganaka Vaideha, descending from his throne, said: ‘I bow to you, O Yāgñavalkya, teach me.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘Your Majesty, as a man who wishes to make a long journey, would furnish himself with a chariot or a ship, thus is your mind well

furnished by these Upanishads¹. You are honourable, and wealthy, you have learnt the Vedas and been told the Upanishads. Whither then will you go when departing hence?’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Sir, I do not know whither I shall go.’

Yâgñavalkya said: ‘Then I shall tell you this, whither you will go.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Tell it, Sir.’

2. Yâgñavalkya said: ‘That person who is in the right eye², he is called Indha, and him who is Indha they call indeed³ Indra mysteriously, for the gods love what is mysterious, and dislike what is evident.

3. ‘Now that which in the shape of a person is in the right eye, is his wife, Virâg⁴. Their meeting-place⁵ is the ether within the heart, and their food the red lump within the heart. Again, their covering⁶ is that which is like net-work within the heart, and the road on which they move (from sleep to waking) is the artery that rises upwards from the heart. Like a hair divided into a thousand parts, so are the veins of it, which are called Hita⁷, placed

¹ This refers to the preceding doctrines which had been communicated to Ganaka by other teachers, and particularly to the upâsanâs of Brahman as knowledge, dear, true, endless, bliss, and certainty.

² See also Maitr. Up. VII, p. 216.

³ The Mâdhyandinas read *paroksheneva*, but the commentator explains *iva* by *eva*. See also Ait. Up. I, 3, 14.

⁴ Indra is called by the commentator Vaisvânara, and his wife Virâg. This couple, in a waking state, is Visva; in sleep, Taigasa.

⁵ *Samstâva*, lit. the place where they sing praises together, that is, where they meet.

⁶ *Prâvarana* may also mean hiding-place, retreat.

⁷ Hita, a name frequently given to these *nâdis*; see IV, 3, 20; *Khând. Up.* VI, 5, 3, comm.; *Kaush. Up.* IV, 20. See also *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 16.

firmly within the heart. Through these indeed that (food) flows on flowing, and he (the Taigasa) receives as it were purer food¹ than the corporeal Self (the Vaisvânara).

4. 'His (the Taigasa's) Eastern quarter are the prâṇas (breath) which go to the East;

'His Southern quarter are the prâṇas which go to the South;

'His Western quarter are the prâṇas which go to the West;

'His Northern quarter are the prâṇas which go to the North;

'His Upper (Zenith) quarter are the prâṇas which go upward;

'His Lower (Nadir) quarter are the prâṇas which go downward;

'All the quarters are all the prâṇas. And he (the Âtman in that state) can only be described by No², no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is undecaying, for he cannot decay; he is not attached, for he does not attach himself; he is unbound, he does not suffer, he does not perish. O Ganaka, you have indeed reached fearlessness,'—thus said Yâgñavalkya.

Then Ganaka said: 'May that fearlessness come to you also who teachest us fearlessness. I bow to you. Here are the Videhas, and here am I (thy slave).'

¹ Dvivedagaṅga explains that food, when it is eaten, is first of all changed into the coarse food, which goes away downward, and into the subtler food. This subtler food is again divided into the middle juice that feeds the body, and the finest, which is called the red lump.

² See Brĕh. Up. II, 3, 6; IV, 9, 26.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Yâgñavalkya came to Ganaka Vaideha, and he did not mean to speak with him¹. But when formerly

¹ The introduction to this Brâhmana has a very peculiar interest, as showing the close coherence of the different portions which together form the historical groundwork of the Upanishads. Ganaka Vaideha and Yâgñavalkya are leading characters in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, and whenever they meet they seem to converse quite freely, though each retains his own character, and Yâgñavalkya honours Ganaka as king quite as much as Ganaka honours Yâgñavalkya as a Brâhmana. Now in our chapter we read that Yâgñavalkya did not wish to enter on a discussion, but that Ganaka was the first to address him (*pûrvam paprakṣha*). This was evidently considered not quite correct, and an explanation is given, that Ganaka took this liberty because on a former occasion Yâgñavalkya had granted him permission to address questions to him, whenever he liked. It might be objected that such an explanation looks very much like an after-thought, and we find indeed that in India itself some of the later commentators tried to avoid the difficulty by dividing the words *sa mene na vadishya iti*, into *sam enena vadishya iti*, so that we should have to translate, 'Yâgñavalkya came to Ganaka intending to speak with him.' (See *Dvivedagaṅga's Comm.* p. 1141.) This is, no doubt, a very ingenious conjecture, which might well rouse the envy of European scholars. But it is no more. The accents decide nothing, because they are changed by different writers, according to their different views of what the Pada text ought to be. What made me prefer the reading which is supported by Saṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga, though the latter alludes to the other *padakṣheda*, is that the tmesis, *sam enena vadishye*, does not occur again, while *sa mene* is a common phrase. But the most interesting point, as I remarked before, is that this former disputation between Ganaka and Yâgñavalkya and the permission granted to the King to ask any question he liked, is not a mere invention to account for the apparent rudeness by which Yâgñavalkya is forced to enter on a discussion against his will, but actually occurs in a former chapter. In *Satap. Br. XI, 6, 2, 10*, we read: *tasmai ha Yâgñavalkyo varam dadau; sa hovâta, kâma-*

Ganaka Vaideha and Yâgñavalkya had a disputation on the Agnihotra, Yâgñavalkya had granted him a boon, and he chose (for a boon) that he might be free to ask him any question he liked. Yâgñavalkya granted it, and thus the King was the first to ask him a question.

2. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'what is the light of man¹?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'The sun, O King; for, having the sun alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yâgñavalkya.'

3. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, what is then the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'The moon indeed is his light; for, having the moon alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yâgñavalkya.'

4. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, and the moon has set, what is the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Fire indeed is his light;

prasna eva me tvayi Yâgñavalkyâsad iti, tato brahmâ Ganaka âsa. This would show that Ganaka was considered almost like a Brâhmana, or at all events enjoyed certain privileges which were supposed to belong to the first caste only. See, for a different view, Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 203; Regnaud (*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde*), *Errata*; and *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. lxxiii.

¹ Read *kimgyotir* as a Bahuvrîhi. Purusha is difficult to translate. It means man, but also the true essence of man, the soul, as we should say, or something more abstract still, the person, as I generally translate it, though a person beyond the Ego.

for, having fire alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

5. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, what is then the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Sound indeed is his light; for, having sound alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns. Therefore, O King, when one cannot see even one's own hand, yet when a sound is raised, one goes towards it.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yâgñavalkya.'

6. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, and the sound hushed, what is then the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'The Self indeed is his light; for, having the Self alone as his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

7. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Who is that Self?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'He who is within the heart, surrounded by the Prâṇas¹ (senses), the person of light, consisting of knowledge. He, remaining the same, wanders along the two worlds², as if³ thinking, as if moving. During sleep (in dream) he transcends this world and all the forms of death (all that falls under the sway of death, all that is perishable).

8. 'On being born that person, assuming his body,

¹ Sâṃpiyalakṣanâ saptamî, Dvivedagaṅga. See Brîh. Up. IV, 4, 22.

² In this world, while awake or dreaming; in the other world, while in deep sleep.

³ The world thinks that he thinks, but in reality he does not, he only witnesses the acts of buddhi, or thought.

becomes united with all evils ; when he departs and dies, he leaves all evils behind.

9. 'And there are two states for that person, the one here in this world, the other in the other world, and as a third¹ an intermediate state, the state of sleep. When in that intermediate state, he sees both those states together, the one here in this world, and the other in the other world. Now whatever his admission to the other world may be, having gained that admission, he sees both the evils and the blessings².

'And when he falls asleep, then after having taken away with him the material from the whole world, destroying³ and building it up again, he sleeps (dreams) by his own light. In that state the person is self-illuminated.

10. 'There are no (real) chariots in that state, no horses, no roads, but he himself sends forth (creates) chariots, horses, and roads. There are no blessings there, no happiness, no joys, but he himself sends forth (creates) blessings, happiness, and joys. There

¹ There are really two sthânas or states only ; the place where they meet, like the place where two villages meet, belongs to both, but it may be distinguished as a third. Dvivedagaṅga (p. 1141) uses a curious argument in support of the existence of another world. In early childhood, he says, our dreams consist of the impressions of a former world, later on they are filled with the impressions of our senses, and in old age they contain visions of a world to come.

² By works, by knowledge, and by remembrance of former things ; see Br̥h. Up. IV, 4, 2.

³ Dividing and separating the material, i. e. the impressions received from this world. The commentator explains mâtṛā as a portion of the impressions which are taken away into sleep. 'Destroying' he refers to the body, which in sleep becomes senseless, and 'building up' to the imaginations of dreams.

are no tanks there, no lakes, no rivers, but he himself sends forth (creates) tanks, lakes, and rivers. He indeed is the maker.

11. 'On this there are these verses :

'After having subdued by sleep all that belongs to the body, he, not asleep himself, looks down upon the sleeping (senses). Having assumed light, he goes again to his place, the golden person¹, the lonely bird. (1)

12. 'Guarding with the breath (*prāṇa*, life) the lower nest, the immortal moves away from the nest ; that immortal one goes wherever he likes, the golden person, the lonely bird. (2)

13. 'Going up and down in his dream, the god makes manifold shapes for himself, either rejoicing together with women, or laughing (with his friends), or seeing terrible sights. (3)

14. 'People may see his playground², but himself no one ever sees. Therefore they say, "Let no one wake a man suddenly, for it is not easy to remedy, if he does not get back (rightly to his body)."

'Here some people (object and) say : "No, this (sleep) is the same as the place of waking, for what he sees while awake, that only he sees when asleep³."

¹ The Mādhyandinas read *paurusha*, as an adjective to *ekahamsa*, but Dvivedagaṅga explains *paurusha* as a synonym of *purusha*, which is the reading of the Kāṇvas.

² Cf. *Susruta* III, 7, 1.

³ I have translated this according to the commentator, who says : 'Therefore the Self is self-illuminated during sleep. But others say the state of waking is indeed the same for him as sleep ; there is no other intermediate place, different from this and from the other world. . . . And if sleep is the same as the state of waking, then is this Self not separate, not cause and effect, but mixed with them, and the Self therefore not self-illuminated. What he means

No, here (in sleep) the person is self-illuminated (as we explained before).'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of (my) emancipation.'

15. Yâgñavalkya said: 'That (person) having enjoyed himself in that state of bliss (*samprasâda*, deep sleep), having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started (the place of sleep), to dream¹. And whatever he may have seen there, he is not followed (affected) by it, for that person is not attached to anything.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So it is indeed, Yâgña-

is that others, in order to disprove the self-illumination, say that this sleep is the same as the state of waking, giving as their reason that we see in sleep or in dreams exactly what we see in waking. But this is wrong, because the senses have stopped, and only when the senses have stopped does one see dreams. Therefore there is no necessity for admitting another light in sleep, but only the light inherent in the Self. This has been proved by all that went before.' Dr. Roer takes the same view in his translation, but Deussen (*Vedânta*, p. 205) takes an independent view, and translates: 'Therefore it is said: It (sleep) is to him a place of waking only, for what he sees waking, the same he sees in sleep. Thus this spirit serves there for his own light.' Though the interpretations of Saṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga sound artificial, still Dr. Deussen's version does not remove all difficulties. If the *purusha* saw in sleep no more than what he had seen before in waking, then the whole argument in favour of the independent action, or the independent light of the *purusha*, would go; anyhow it would be no argument on Yâgñavalkya's side. See also note to paragraph 9, before.

¹ The Mâdhyandinas speak only of his return from *svapnânta* to *buddhânta*, from sleep to waking, instead of his going from *samprasâda* (deep sleep) to *svapnâ* (dream), from *svapnâ* to *buddhânta*, and from *buddhânta* again to *svapnânta*, as the Kâṇvas have it. In § 18 the Kâṇvas also mention *svapnânta* and *buddhânta* only, but the next paragraph refers to *sushupti*.

valkya. I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of emancipation.'

16. Yâgñavalkya said : ' That (person) having enjoyed himself in that sleep (dream), having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to be awake. And whatever he may have seen there, he is not followed (affected) by it, for that person is not attached to anything.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' So it is indeed, Yâgñavalkya. I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of emancipation.'

17. Yâgñavalkya said : ' That (person) having enjoyed himself in that state of waking, having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to the state of sleeping (dream).

18. ' In fact, as a large fish moves along the two banks of a river, the right and the left, so does that person move along these two states, the state of sleeping and the state of waking.

19. ' And as a falcon, or any other (swift) bird, after he has roamed about here in the air, becomes tired, and folding his wings is carried to his nest, so does that person hasten to that state where, when asleep, he desires no more desires, and dreams no more dreams.

20. ' There are in his body the veins called Hitâ, which are as small as a hair divided a thousandfold, full of white, blue, yellow, green, and red¹. Now

¹ Dvivedagaṅga explains that if phlegm predominates, qualified by wind and bile, the juice in the veins is white ; if wind predominates, qualified by phlegm and bile, it is blue ; if bile predominates, qualified by wind and phlegm, it is yellow ; if wind and phlegm

when, as it were, they kill him, when, as it were, they overcome him, when, as it were, an elephant chases him, when, as it were, he falls into a well, he fancies, through ignorance, that danger which he (commonly) sees in waking. But when he fancies that he is, as it were, a god, or that he is, as it were, a king¹, or "I am this altogether," that is his highest world².

21. 'This indeed is his (true) form, free from desires, free from evil, free from fear³. Now as a man, when embraced by a beloved wife, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within, thus this person, when embraced by the intelligent (prâgña) Self, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within. This indeed is his (true) form, in which his wishes are fulfilled, in which the Self (only) is

predominate, with little bile only, it is green; and if the three elements are equal, it is red. See also Ânandagiri's gloss, where Susruta is quoted. Why this should be inserted here, is not quite clear, except that in sleep the purusha is supposed to move about in the veins.

¹ Here, again, the commentator seems to be right, but his interpretation does violence to the context. The dangers which a man sees in his sleep are represented as mere imaginations, so is his idea of being of god or a king, while the idea that he is all this (aham evedam sarvaḥ, i. e. idam sarvam, see Saṅkara, p. 873, l. 11) is represented as the highest and real state. But it is impossible to begin a new sentence with aham evedam sarvam, and though it is true that all the preceding fancies are qualified by iva, I prefer to take deva and rāgaṇ as steps leading to the sarvâtmatva.

² The Mâdhyandinas repeat here the sentence from yatra supto to pasyati, from the end of § 19.

³ The Kânva text reads atikkhandâ apahatapâpmâ. Saṅkara explains atikkhandâ by atikkhandam, and excuses it as svâdhyâya-dharmaḥ pâṭhaḥ. The Mâdhyandinas read atikkhandô, but place the whole sentence where the Kânvas put âptakâmam &c., at the end of § 21.

his wish, in which no wish is left,—free from any sorrow ¹.

22. 'Then a father is not a father, a mother not a mother, the worlds not worlds, the gods not gods, the Vedas not Vedas. Then a thief is not a thief, a murderer not a murderer ², a ~~Kāṇḍāla~~³ not a ~~Kāṇḍāla~~⁴, a Paulkasa ⁵ not a Paulkasa, a Sramana ⁶ not a Sramana, a Tâpasa ⁷ not a Tâpasa. He is not followed by good, not followed by evil, for he has then overcome all the sorrows of the heart ⁸.

chandal

23. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not see, yet he is seeing, though he does not see ⁸. For sight is inseparable from the

¹ The Kânvas read sokântaram, the Mâdhyandinas asokântaram, but the commentators arrive at the same result, namely, that it means sokasūnyam, free from grief. Saṅkara says: sokântaram sokakḥhidram sokasūnyam ityetaḥ, kḥokamadhyaman iti vâ; sarvathâpy asokam. Dvivedagaṅga says: na vidyate soko 'ntare madhye yasya tad asokântaram (ra, Weber) sokasūnyam.

² Bhrûnahan, varish/habrahmahantâ.

³ The son of a Sûdra father and a Brâhmana mother.

⁴ The son of a Sûdra father and a Kshatriya mother.

⁵ A mendicant.

⁶ A Vânaprastha, who performs penances.

⁷ I have translated as if the text were ananvâgataḥ puṇyena ananvâgataḥ pâpena. We find anvâgata used in a similar way in §§ 15, 16, &c. But the Kânvas read ananvâgatam puṇyena ananvâgatam pâpena, and Saṅkara explains the neuter by referring it to rūpam (rûpaparatvân napumsakalingam). The Mâdhyandinas, if we may trust Weber's edition, read ananvâgataḥ puṇyenânvâgataḥ pâpena. The second anvâgataḥ may be a mere misprint, but Dvivedagaṅga seems to have read ananvâgatam, like the Kânvas, for he says: ananvâgatam iti rūpavishayo napumsakanirdesaḥ.

⁸ This is the old Upanishad argument that the true sense is the Self, and not the eye. Although therefore in the state of profound sleep, where the eye and the other senses rest, it might be said that the purusha does not see, yet he is a seer all the time, though he does not see with the eye. The seer cannot lose his character

seer, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could see.

24. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not smell, yet he is smelling, though he does not smell. For smelling is inseparable from the smeller, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could smell.

25. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not taste, yet he is tasting, though he does not taste. For tasting is inseparable from the taster, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could taste.

26. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not speak, yet he is speaking, though he does not speak. For speaking is inseparable from the speaker, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could speak.

27. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not hear, yet he is hearing, though he does not hear. For hearing is inseparable from the hearer, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could hear.

28. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not think, yet he is thinking, though he does not think. For thinking is inseparable from the thinker, because it cannot perish.

of seeing, as little as the fire can lose its character of burning, so long as it is fire. The Self sees by its own light, like the sun, even where there is no second, no object but the Self, that could be seen.

But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could think.

29. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not touch, yet he is touching, though he does not touch. For touching is inseparable from the toucher, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could think.

30. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not know, yet he is knowing, though he does not know. For knowing is inseparable from the knower, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could know.

31. 'When (in waking and dreaming) there is, as it were, another, then can one see the other, then can one smell the other, then can one speak to the other, then can one hear the other, then can one think the other, then can one touch the other, then can one know the other.

32. 'An ocean¹ is that one seer, without any duality; this is the Brahma-world², O King.' Thus did Yâgñavalkya teach him. This is his highest goal, this is his highest success, this is his highest world, this is his highest bliss. All other creatures live on a small portion of that bliss.

33. 'If a man is healthy, wealthy, and lord of others, surrounded by all human enjoyments, that

¹ Salila is explained as salilavat, like the ocean, the seer being one like the ocean, which is one only. Dr. Deussen takes salila as a locative, and translates it 'In dem Gewoge,' referring to Svetâsvatara-upanishad VI, 15.

² Or this seer is the Brahma-world, dwells in Brahman, or is Brahman.

is the highest blessing of men. Now a hundred of these human blessings make one blessing of the fathers who have conquered the world (of the fathers). A hundred blessings of the fathers who have conquered this world make one blessing in the Gandharva world. A hundred blessings in the Gandharva world make one blessing of the Devas by merit (work, sacrifice), who obtain their godhead by merit. A hundred blessings of the Devas by merit make one blessing of the Devas by birth, also (of) a Srotriya¹ who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. A hundred blessings of the Devas by birth make one blessing in the world of Pragâpati, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. A hundred blessings in the world of Pragâpati make one blessing in the world of Brahman, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. And this is the highest blessing².

‘This is the Brahma-world, O king,’ thus spake Yâgñavalkya.

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of (my) emancipation.’

Then Yâgñavalkya was afraid lest the King, having become full of understanding, should drive him from all his positions³.

34. And Yâgñavalkya said: ‘That (person), having enjoyed himself in that state of sleeping (dream),

¹ An accomplished student of the Veda.

² See Taitt. Up. II, 8, p. 59; *Khând. Up.* VIII, 2, 1-10; Kaush. Up. I, 3-5; Regnaud, II, p. 33 seq.

³ Saṅkara explains that Yâgñavalkya was not afraid that his own knowledge might prove imperfect, but that the king, having the right to ask him any question he liked, might get all his knowledge from him.

having moved about and seen both good and bad, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to the state of waking¹.

35. 'Now as a heavy-laden carriage moves along groaning, thus does this corporeal Self, mounted by the intelligent Self, move along groaning, when a man is thus going to expire².

36. 'And when (the body) grows weak through old age, or becomes weak through illness, at that time that person, after separating himself from his members, as an Amra (mango), or Udumbara (fig), or Pippala-fruit is separated from the stalk, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to (new) life.

37. 'And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors wait for a king who is coming back, with food and drink, saying, "He comes back, he approaches," thus do all the elements wait on him who knows this, saying, "That Brahman comes, that Brahman approaches."

38. 'And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors gather round a king who is departing, thus do all the senses (prâṇas) gather round the Self at the time of death, when a man is thus going to expire.'

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Yâgñavalkya continued: 'Now when that Self, having sunk into weakness³, sinks, as it were, into

¹ See § 17, before.

² Sâṅkara seems to take *uḁḁhvâsî* as a noun. He writes: *yatraitad bhavati; etad iti kriyâviseshanam ūrdhvôḁḁhvâsî yator-dhvoḁḁhvâsītvam asya bhavatītyarthaḥ.*

³ In the Kaush. Up. III, 3, we read *yatraitat purusha ârto*

unconsciousness, then gather those senses (prāṇas) around him, and he, taking with him those elements of light, descends into the heart. When that person in the eye¹ turns away, then he ceases to know any forms.

2. “He has become one,” they say, “he does not see².” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not smell.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not taste.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not speak.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not hear.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not think.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not touch.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not know.” The point of his heart³ becomes lighted up, and by that light the Self departs, either through the eye⁴, or through the skull⁵, or through other places of the body. And when he thus departs, life (the chief prāṇa) departs after him, and when life thus departs, all the other

marishyan ābālyam etya sammohati. Here ābālyam should certainly be ābālyam, as in the commentary; but should it not be ābālyam, as here. See also Brīh. Up. III, 5, 1, note.

¹ Kākshusha purusha is explained as that portion of the sun which is in the eye, while it is active, but which, at the time of death, returns to the sun.

² Ekībhavati is probably a familiar expression for dying, but it is here explained by Śaṅkara, and probably was so intended, as meaning that the organs of the body have become one with the Self (līṅgātman). The same thoughts are found in the Kaush. Up. III, 3, prāṇa ekadhā bhavati.

³ The point where the nāḍīs or veins go out from the heart.

⁴ When his knowledge and deeds qualify him to proceed to the sun. Śaṅkara.

⁵ When his knowledge and deeds qualify him to proceed to the Brahma-world.

vital spirits (prâṇas) depart after it. He is conscious, and being conscious he follows¹ and departs.

‘Then both his knowledge and his work take hold of him, and his acquaintance with former things².’

3. ‘And as a caterpillar, after having reached the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach (to another blade)³, draws itself together towards it, thus does this Self, after having thrown off this body⁴ and dispelled all ignorance, and after making another approach (to another body), draw, himself together towards it.

4. ‘And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape, so does this Self, after having thrown off this body

¹ This is an obscure passage, and the different text of the Mādhyandinas shows that the obscurity was felt at an early time. The Mādhyandinas read: *Samgñānam anvavakrāmati sa esha gñāṇaḥ savigñāno bhavati*. This would mean, ‘Consciousness departs after. He the knowing (Self) is self-conscious.’ The Kāṇvas read: *Savigñāno bhavati, savigñānam evānvavakrāmati*. Roer translates: ‘It is endowed with knowledge, endowed with knowledge it departs;’ and he explains, with Saṅkara, that the knowledge here intended is such knowledge as one has in a dream, a knowledge of impressions referring to their respective objects, a knowledge which is the effect of actions, and not inherent in the self. Deussen translates: ‘Sie (die Seele) ist von Erkenntnissart, und was von Erkenntnissart ist, ziehet ihr nach.’ The Persian translator evidently thought that self-consciousness was implied, for he writes: ‘Cum quovis corpore additionem sumat . . . in illo corpore aham est, id est, ego sum.’

² This acquaintance with former things is necessary to explain the peculiar talents or deficiencies which we observe in children. The three words vidyā, karman, and pūrvapragñā often go together (see Saṅkara on *Bṛh. Up. IV, 3, 9*). Deussen’s conjecture, apūrvapragñā, is not called for.

³ See *Bṛh. Up. IV, 3, 9*, a passage which shows how difficult it would be always to translate the same Sanskrit words by the same words in English; see also *Brahmopanishad*, p. 245.

⁴ See *Bṛh. Up. IV, 3, 9*, and *IV, 3, 13*.

and dispelled all ignorance, make unto himself another, newer and more beautiful shape, whether it be like the Fathers, or like the Gandharvas, or like the Devas, or like Pragâpati, or like Brahman, or like other beings.

5. 'That Self is indeed Brahman, consisting of knowledge, mind, life, sight, hearing, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, desire and no desire, anger and no anger, right or wrong, and all things. Now as a man is like this or like that¹, according as he acts and according as he behaves, so will he be :— a man of good acts will become good, a man of bad acts, bad. He becomes pure by pure deeds, bad by bad deeds.

'And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will ; and as is his will, so is his deed ; and whatever deed he does, that he will reap.

6. 'And here there is this verse: "To whatever object a man's own mind is attached, to that he goes strenuously together with his deed ; and having obtained the end (the last results) of whatever deed he does here on earth, he returns again from that world (which is the temporary reward of his deed) to this world of action."

'So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire, who, not desiring, freed from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desires the Self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere,—being Brahman, he goes to Brahman.

7. 'On this there is this verse : "When all desires

¹ The *iti* after *adomaya* is not clear to me, but it is quite clear that a new sentence begins with *tadyadetat*, which Regnaud, II, p. 101 and p. 139, has not observed.

which once entered his heart are undone, then does the mortal become immortal, then he obtains Brahman."

'And as the slough of a snake lies on an ant-hill, dead and cast away, thus lies this body; but that disembodied immortal spirit (*prāṇa*, life) is Brahman only, is only light.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Sir, I give you a thousand.'

8¹. 'On this there are these verses:

'The small, old path stretching far away² has been found by me. On it sages who know Brahman move on to the Svarga-loka (heaven), and thence higher on, as entirely free³.

9. 'On that path they say that there is white, or blue, or yellow, or green, or red⁴; that path was found by Brahman, and on it goes whoever knows Brahman, and who has done good, and obtained splendour.

10. 'All who worship what is not knowledge (*avidyā*) enter into blind darkness: those who delight in knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness⁵.

11. 'There are⁶ indeed those unblessed worlds,

¹ This may be independent matter, or may be placed again into the mouth of Yâgñavalkya.

² Instead of *vitataḥ*, which perhaps seemed to be in contradiction with *anu*, there is a Mādhyandina reading *vitara*, probably intended originally to mean leading across. The other adjective *mâṃsprīṣṭa* I cannot explain. Saṅkara explains it by *mâṃsprīṣṭaḥ*, *mayâ labdhaḥ*.

³ That this is the true meaning, is indicated by the various readings of the Mādhyandinas, *tena dhîrâ apiyanti brahmavida utkrāmya svargam lokam ito vimuktāḥ*. The road is not to lead to Svarga only, but beyond.

⁴ See the colours of the veins as given before, IV, 3, 20.

⁵ See Vâg. Up. 9. Saṅkara in our place explains *avidyâ* by works, and *vidyâ* by the Veda, excepting the Upanishads.

⁶ See Vâg. Up. 3; Kāṭha Up. I, 3.

covered with blind darkness. Men who are ignorant and not enlightened go after death to those worlds.

12. 'If a man understands the Self, saying, "I am He," what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body¹.

13. 'Whoever has found and understood the Self that has entered into this patched-together hiding-place², he indeed is the creator, for he is the maker of everything, his is the world, and he is the world itself³.

14. 'While we are here, we may know this; if not, I am ignorant⁴, and there is great destruction. Those who know it, become immortal, but others suffer pain indeed.

15. 'If a man clearly beholds this Self as God, and as the lord of all that is and will be, then he is no more afraid.

16. 'He behind whom the year revolves with the days, him the gods worship as the light of lights, as immortal time.

17. 'He in whom the five beings⁵ and the ether rest, him alone I believe to be the Self,—I who

¹ That he should be willing to suffer once more the pains inherent in the body. The Mādhyandinas read *saṛīram* and *saṃkaret*, instead of *sañgaret*.

² The body is meant, and is called *deha* from the root *dih*, to knead together. Roer gives *saṃdehye gahane*, which Śaṅkara explains by *saṃdehe*. Poley has *saṃdeghe*, which is the right Kāṇva reading. The Mādhyandinas read *saṃdehe*. *Gahane* might be taken as an adjective also, referring to *saṃdehe*.

³ Śaṅkara takes *loka*, world, for *âtma*, self.

⁴ I have followed Śaṅkara in translating *avediḥ* by ignorant, but the text seems corrupt.

⁵ The five *ganas*, i. e. the Gandharvas, *Pitṛis*, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshas; or the four castes with the *Nishâdas*; or breath, eye, ear, food, and mind.

know, believe him to be Brahman; I who am immortal, believe him to be immortal.

18. 'They who know the life of life, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, they have comprehended the ancient, primeval Brahman¹.

19. 'By the mind alone it is to be perceived², there is in it no diversity. He who perceives therein any diversity, goes from death to death.

20. 'This eternal being that can never be proved, is to be perceived in one way only; it is spotless, beyond the ether, the unborn Self, great and eternal.

21. 'Let a wise Brāhmaṇa, after he has discovered him, practise wisdom³. Let him not seek after many words, for that is mere weariness of the tongue.

22. 'And he is that great unborn Self, who consists of knowledge, is surrounded by the Prāṇas, the ether within the heart⁴. In it there reposes the ruler of all, the lord of all, the king of all. He does not become greater by good works, nor smaller by evil works. He is the lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things. He is a bank⁵ and a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Brāhmaṇas seek to know him by the study of the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by penance, by fasting, and he who knows him, becomes a Muni. Wishing for that world (for Brahman) only, mendicants leave their homes.

'Knowing this, the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said,

¹ See Talavak. Up. I, 2.

² See Katha Up. IV, 10-11.

³ Let him practise abstinence, patience, &c., which are the means of knowledge.

⁴ See Brh. Up. IV, 3, 7.

⁵ See Khând. Up. VIII, 4.

we who have this Self and this world (of Brahman)¹? And they, having risen above the desire for sons, wealth, and new worlds, wander about as mendicants. For desire for sons is desire for wealth, and desire for wealth is desire for worlds. Both these are indeed desires only. He, the Self, is to be described by No, no²! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. Him (who knows), these two do not overcome, whether he says that for some reason he has done evil, or for some reason he has done good—he overcomes both, and neither what he has done, nor what he has omitted to do, burns (affects) him.

23. 'This has been told by a verse (*Rik*): "This eternal greatness of the Brāhmaṇa does not grow larger by work, nor does it grow smaller. Let man try to find (know) its trace, for having found (known) it, he is not sullied by any evil deed."

'He therefore that knows it, after having become quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected³, sees self in Self, sees all as Self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him, he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from spots, free from doubt, he becomes a (true) Brāhmaṇa; this is the Brahma-world, O King,'—thus spoke Yāgñavalkya.

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Sir, I give you the Videhas, and also myself, to be together your slaves.'

24. This⁴ indeed is the great, the unborn Self, the

¹ Cf. *Brīh. Up.* III, 5, 1. ² See *Brīh. Up.* III, 9, 26; IV, 2, 4.

³ See Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 85.

⁴ As described in the dialogue between Ganaka and Yāgñavalkya.

strong¹, the giver of wealth. He who knows this obtains wealth.

25. This great, unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman. Fearless is Brahman, and he who knows this becomes verily the fearless Brahman.

FIFTH BRÂHMANA².

✓ 1. Yâgñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyî and Kâtâyāni. Of these Maitreyî was conversant with Brahman, but Kâtâyāni possessed such knowledge only as women possess. And Yâgñavalkya, when he wished to get ready for another state of life (when he wished to give up the state of a householder, and retire into the forest),

2. Said, 'Maitreyî, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kâtâyāni.'

3. Maitreyî said: 'My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it, or no?'

'No,' replied Yâgñavalkya, 'like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.'

4. And Maitreyî said: 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth³ (of immortality), tell that clearly to me.'

5. Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Thou who art truly dear to me, thou hast increased what is dear (to me in

¹ Annâda is here explained as 'dwelling in all beings, and eating all food which they eat.'

² See before, II, 4.

³ The Kânva text has vettha instead of veda.

thee)¹. Therefore, if you like, Lady, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.'

6. And he said: 'Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

'Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

'Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.

'Verily, wealth is not dear, that you may love wealth; but that you may love the Self, therefore wealth is dear.

'Verily, cattle² are not dear, that you may love cattle; but that you may love the Self, therefore cattle are dear.

'Verily, the Brahman-class is not dear, that you may love the Brahman-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Brahman-class is dear.

'Verily, the Kshatra-class is not dear, that you may love the Kshatra-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Kshatra-class is dear.

'Verily, the worlds are not dear, that you may love the worlds; but that you may love the Self, therefore the worlds are dear.

'Verily, the Devas are not dear, that you may love the Devas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Devas are dear.

¹ The Kâṇva text has *avṛidhat*, which Saṅkara explains by *vardhitavatiṁ nirdhâritavaty asi*. The Mâdhyandinas read *avṛitat*, which the commentator explains by *avartayat, vartitavaty asi*.

² Though this is added here, it is not included in the summing up in § 6.

‘Verily, the Vedas are not dear, that you may love the Vedas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Vedas are dear.

‘Verily, creatures are not dear, that you may love the creatures; but that you may love the Self, therefore are creatures dear. Self.

‘Verily, everything is not dear, that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.

‘Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyi! When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known, then all this is known.’ X

7. ‘Whosoever looks for the Brahman-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Brahman-class. Whosoever looks for the Kshatra-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Kshatra-class. Whosoever looks for the worlds elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the worlds. Whosoever looks for the Devas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Devas. Whosoever looks for the Vedas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Vedas. Whosoever looks for the creatures elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the creatures. Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by anything.

‘This Brahman-class, this Kshatra-class, these worlds, these Devas, these Vedas, all these beings, this everything, all is that Self.

8. ‘Now as the sounds of a drum, when beaten, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the drum is seized, or the beater of the drum;

9. 'And as the sounds of a conch-shell, when blown, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the shell is seized, or the blower of the shell ;

10. 'And as the sounds of a lute, when played, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the lute is seized, or the player of the lute ;

11. 'As clouds of smoke proceed by themselves out of lighted fire kindled with damp fuel, thus verily, O Maitreyī, has been breathed forth from this great Being what we have as *Rīg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sāma-veda*, *Atharvāṅgirasas*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Vidyā*, the *Upanishads*, *Slokas*, *Sūtras*, *Anuvyākhyānas*, *Vyākhyānas*, what is sacrificed, what is poured out, food, drink¹, this world and the other world, and all creatures. From him alone all these were breathed forth.

12. 'As all waters find their centre in the sea, all touches in the skin, all tastes in the tongue, all smells in the nose, all colours in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all percepts in the mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the hands, all movements in the feet, and all the Vedas in speech,—

13. 'As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus indeed has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge ; and having risen from out these elements, vanishes again in them. When he has departed, there is no more knowledge (name), I say, O Maitreyī,'—thus spoke Yāgñavalkya.

¹ Explained by *annadānanimittam* and *peyadānanimittam* *dharma-gātam*. See before, IV, 1, 2.

14. Then Maitreyī said: 'Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed, I do not understand him.'

But he replied: 'O Maitreyī, I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature.'

15. 'For when there is as it were duality, then one sees the other, one smells the other, one tastes the other, one salutes the other, one hears the other, one perceives the other, one touches the other, one knows the other; but when the Self only is all this, how should he see another, how should he smell another, how should he taste another, how should he salute another, how should he hear another, how should he touch another, how should he know another? How should he know Him by whom he knows all this? That Self is to be described by No, no¹! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O beloved, should he know the Knower? Thus, O Maitreyī, thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality.' Having said so, Yâgñavalkya went away (into the forest).

SIXTH BRĀHMAṆA.

I. Now follows the stem²:

1. (We) from Pautimâshya,
2. Pautimâshya from Gaupavana,
3. Gaupavana from Pautimâshya,

¹ See *Bṛh. Up.* III, 9, 26; IV, 2, 4; IV, 4, 22.

² The line of teachers and pupils by whom the Yâgñavalkya-

4. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
5. Gaupavana from Kausika,
6. Kausika from Kaundīnya,
7. Kaundīnya from Sândīlya,
8. Sândīlya from Kausika and Gautama,
9. Gautama
2. from Âgnivesya,
 10. Âgnivesya from Gârgya,
 11. Gârgya from Gârgya,
 12. Gârgya from Gautama,
 13. Gautama from Saitava,
 14. Saitava from Pârâsaryâyana,
 15. Pârâsaryâyana from Gârgyâyana,
 16. Gârgyâyana from Uddâlakâyana,
 17. Uddâlakâyana from Gâbâlâyana,
 18. Gâbâlâyana from Mâdhyandinâyana,
 19. Mâdhyandinâyana from Saukarâyana,
 20. Saukarâyana from Kâshâyana,
 21. Kâshâyana from Sâyakâyana,
 22. Sâyakâyana from Kausikâyani ¹,
 23. Kausikâyani
3. from Ghrîtakausika,
 24. Ghrîtakausika from Pârâsaryâyana,

kânda was handed down. From 1-10 the Vamsa agrees with the Vamsa at the end of II, 6.

The Mâdhyandina text begins with vayam, we, and proceeds to 1. Saurpanâya, 2. Gautama, 3. Vâtsya, 4. Pârâsarya, &c., as in the Madhukânda, p. 118, except in 10, where it gives Gaivantâyana for Âtreya. Then after 12. Kaundīnyâyana, it gives 13. 14. the two Kaundīnyas, 15. the Aurnavâbhas, 16. Kaundīnya, 17. Kaundīnya, 18. Kaundīnya and Âgnivesya, 19. Saitava, 20. Pârâsarya, 21. Gâtukarnya, 22. Bhâradvâga, 23. Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Gautama, 24. Bhâradvâga, 25. Valâkâkausika, 26. Kâshâyana, 27. Saukarâyana, 28. Traivani, 29. Aupagandhani, 30. Sâyakâyana, 31. Kausikâyani, &c., as in the Kânva text, from No. 22 to Brahman.

¹ From here the Vamsa agrees again with that given at the end of II, 6.

25. Pârâsaryâyana from Pârâsarya,
26. Pârâsarya from Gâtukarṇya,
27. Gâtukarṇya from Âsurâyana and Yâska¹,
28. Âsurâyana from Travani,
29. Travani from Aupagandhani,
30. Aupagandhani from Âsuri,
31. Âsuri from Bhâradvâga,
32. Bhâradvâga from Âtreya,
33. Âtreya from Mânti,
34. Mânti from Gautama,
35. Gautama from Gautama,
36. Gautama from Vâtsya,
37. Vâtsya from Sândilya,
38. Sândilya from Kaisorya Kâpya,
39. Kaisorya Kâpya from Kumârahârta,
40. Kumârahârta from Gâlava,
41. Gâlava from Vidarbhi-kaundînya,
42. Vidarbhi-kaundînya from Vatsanapât Bâbhrava,
43. Vatsanapât Bâbhrava from Pathi Saubhara,
44. Pathi Saubhara from Ayâsya Âṅgîrasa,
45. Ayâsya Âṅgîrasa from Âbhûti Tvâshtra,
46. Âbhûti Tvâshtra from Visvarûpa Tvâshtra,
47. Visvarûpa Tvâshtra from Asvinau,
48. Asvinau from Dadhyaċ Âtharvana,
49. Dadhyaċ Âtharvana from Atharvan Daiva,
50. Atharvan Daiva from Mrityu Prâdhvamsana,
51. Mrityu Prâdhvamsana from Pradhvamsana,
52. Pradhvamsana from Ekarshi,
53. Ekarshi from Vipraċitti²,
54. Vipraċitti from Vyashî,

¹ The Mâdhyandina text has, 1. Bhâradvâga, 2. Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Yâska.

² Vipragitti, Mâdhyandina text.

55. Vyashī from Sanāru,
 56. Sanāru from Sanātana,
 57. Sanātana from Sanaga,
 58. Sanaga from Parameshīin,
 59. Parameshīin from Brahman,
 60. Brahman is Svayambhu, self-existent.
- Adoration to Brahman.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST BRÂHMANA¹.

1. That (the invisible Brahman) is full, this (the visible Brahman) is full². This full (visible Brahman) proceeds from that full (invisible Brahman). On grasping the fulness of this full (visible Brahman) there is left that full (invisible Brahman)³.

Om (is) ether, (is) Brahman⁴. 'There is the old ether (the invisible), and the (visible) ether of the atmosphere,' thus said Kauravyâyanîputra. This (the Om) is the Veda (the means of knowledge), thus the Brâhmanas know. One knows through it all that has to be known.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. The threefold descendants of Pragâpati, gods, men, and Asuras (evil spirits), dwelt as Brahmacârin (students) with their father Pragâpati. Having finished their studentship the gods said: 'Tell us (something), Sir.' He told them the syllable Da. Then he said: 'Did you understand?' They said: 'We did understand. You told us "Dâmyata," Be subdued.' 'Yes,' he said, 'you have understood.'

2. Then the men said to him: 'Tell us something,

¹ This is called a Khila, or supplementary chapter, treating of various auxiliary means of arriving at a knowledge of Brahman.

² Full and filling, infinite.

³ On perceiving the true nature of the visible world, there remains, i.e. there is perceived at once, as underlying it, or as being it, the invisible world or Brahman. This and the following paragraph are called Mantras.

⁴ This is explained by Sâṅkara as meaning, Brahman is Kha, the ether, and called Om, i.e. Om and Kha are predicates of Brahman.

Sir.' He told them the same syllable Da. Then he said: 'Did you understand?' They said: 'We did understand. You told us, "Datta," Give.' 'Yes,' he said, 'you have understood.'

3. Then the Asuras said to him: 'Tell us something, Sir.' He told them the same syllable Da. Then he said: 'Did you understand?' They said: 'We did understand. You told us, "Dayadham," Be merciful.' 'Yes,' he said, 'you have understood.'

The divine voice of thunder repeats the same, Da Da Da, that is, Be subdued, Give, Be merciful. Therefore let that triad be taught, Subduing, Giving, and Mercy.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. Pragâpati is the heart, is this Brahman, is all this. The heart, *hrīdaya*, consists of three syllables. One syllable is *hri*, and to him who knows this, his own people and others bring offerings¹. One syllable is *da*, and to him who knows this, his own people and others bring gifts. One syllable is *yam*, and he who knows this, goes to heaven (*svarga*) as his world.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. This (heart) indeed is even that, it was indeed the true² (Brahman). And whosoever knows this great glorious first-born as the true Brahman, he conquers these worlds, and conquered likewise may that (enemy) be³! yes, whosoever knows this great

¹ Sāṅkara explains that with regard to the heart, i.e. *buddhi*, the senses are 'its own people,' and the objects of the senses 'the others.'

² The true, not the truth; the truly existing. The commentator explains it as it was explained in II, 3, 1, as *sat* and *tya*, containing both sides of the Brahman.

³ An elliptical expression, as explained by the commentator: 'May that one (his enemy) be conquered, just as that one was

glorious first-born as the true Brahman; for Brahman is the true.

FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. In the beginning this (world) was water. Water produced the true¹, and the true is Brahman. Brahman produced Pragâpati², Pragâpati the Devas (gods). The Devas adore the true (satyam) alone. This satyam consists of three syllables. One syllable is sa, another t(i), the third³ yam. The first and last syllables are true, in the middle there is the untrue⁴. This untrue is on both sides enclosed by the true, and thus the true preponderates. The untrue does not hurt him who knows this.

2. Now what is the true, that is the Âditya (the sun), the person that dwells in yonder orb, and the person in the right eye. These two rest on each other, the former resting with his rays in the latter, the latter with his prâṇas (senses) in the former. When the latter is on the point of departing this life, he sees that orb as white only, and those rays (of the sun) do not return to him.

conquered by Brahman. If he conquers the world, how much more his enemy!' It would be better, however, if we could take *gita* in the sense of *vasîkrîta* or *dânta*, because we could then go on with *ya evam veda*.

¹ Here explained by the commentator as Pûtrâtmaka Hiranyagarbha.

² Here explained as Virâg.

³ Satyam is often pronounced satiam, as trisyllabic. Saṅkara, however, takes the second syllable as t only, and explains the i after it as an anubandha. The Kânva text gives the three syllables as sa, ti, am, which seems preferable; cf. *Khând. Up.* VIII, 3, 5; *Taitt. Up.* II, 6.

⁴ This is explained by a mere play on the letters, sa and ya having nothing in common with *mṛityu*, death, whereas t occurs in *mṛityu* and *anṛita*. Dvivedagaṅga takes sa and am as true, because they occur in *satya* and *amṛita*, and not in *mṛityu*, while ti is untrue, because the t occurs in *mṛityu* and *anṛita*.

3. Now of the person in that (solar) orb Bhûh is the head, for the head is one, and that syllable is one; Bhuva the two arms, for the arms are two, and these syllables are two; Svar the foot, for the feet are two, and these syllables are two¹. Its secret name is Ahar (day), and he who knows this, destroys (hanti) evil and leaves (gahâti) it.

4. Of the person in the right eye Bhûh is the head, for the head is one, and that syllable is one; Bhuva the two arms, for the arms are two, and these syllables are two; Svar the foot, for the feet are two, and these syllables are two. Its secret name is Aham (ego), and he who knows this, destroys (hanti) evil and leaves (gahâti) it.

SIXTH BRÂHMANA.

1. That person, under the form of mind (manas), being light indeed², is within the heart, small like a grain of rice or barley. He is the ruler of all, the lord of all—he rules all this, whatsoever exists.

SEVENTH BRÂHMANA.

1. They say that lightning is Brahman, because lightning (vidyut) is called so from cutting off (vidânât)³. Whosoever knows this, that lightning is Brahman, him (that Brahman) cuts off from evil, for lightning indeed is Brahman.

¹ Svar has to be pronounced suvar.

² Bhâh/satya must be taken as one word, as the commentator says, bhâ eva satyam sadbhâva svarûpam yasya so 'yam bhâh/satyo bhâh/svara.

³ From do, avakhandane, to cut; the lightning cutting through the darkness of the clouds, as Brahman, when known, cuts through the darkness of ignorance.

EIGHTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Let him meditate on speech as a cow. Her four udders are the words Svâhâ, Vashaṭ, Hanta, and Svadhâ¹. The gods live on two of her udders, the Svâhâ and the Vashaṭ, men on the Hanta, the fathers on the Svadhâ. The bull of that cow is breath (*prâṇa*), the calf the mind.

NINTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Agni Vaisvânara is the fire within man by which the food that is eaten is cooked, i.e. digested. Its noise is that which one hears, if one covers one's ears. When he is on the point of departing this life, he does not hear that noise.

TENTH BRÂHMANA.

1. When the person goes away from this world, he comes to the wind. Then the wind makes room for him, like the hole of a carriage wheel, and through it he mounts higher. He comes to the sun. Then the sun makes room for him, like the hole of a Lambara², and through it he mounts higher. He comes to the moon. Then the moon makes room for him, like the hole of a drum, and through it he mounts higher, and arrives at the world where there is no sorrow, no snow³. There he dwells eternal years.

¹ There are two udders, the Svâhâ and Vashaṭ, on which the gods feed, i. e. words with which oblations are given to the gods. With Hanta they are given to men, with Svadhâ to the fathers.

² A musical instrument.

³ The commentator explains hima by bodily pain, but snow is much more characteristic.

ELEVENTH BRĀHMANA.

1. This is indeed the highest penance, if a man, laid up with sickness, suffers pain¹. He who knows this, conquers the highest world.

This is indeed the highest penance, if they carry a dead person into the forest². He who knows this, conquers the highest world.

This is indeed the highest penance, if they place a dead person on the fire³. He who knows this, conquers the highest world.

TWELFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Some say that food is Brahman, but this is not so, for food decays without life (*prāna*). Others say that life (*prāna*) is Brahman, but this is not so, for life dries up without food. Then these two deities (food and life), when they have become one, reach that highest state (i.e. are Brahman). Thereupon *Prātrida* said to his father: 'Shall I be able to do any good to one who knows this, or shall I be able to do him any harm⁴?' The father said to him, beckoning with his hand: 'Not so, O *Prātrida*; for who could reach the highest state, if he has only got to the oneness of these two?' He then said to him: 'Vi;

¹ The meaning is that, while he is suffering pain from illness, he should think that he was performing penance. If he does that, he obtains the same reward for his sickness which he would have obtained for similar pain inflicted on himself for the sake of performing penance.

² This is like the penance of leaving the village and living in the forest.

³ This is like the penance of entering into the fire.

⁴ That is, is he not so perfect in knowledge that nothing can harm him?

verily, food is Vi, for all these beings rest (vish/âni) on food.' He then said: 'Ram; verily, life is Ram, for all these beings delight (ramante) in life. All beings rest on him, all beings delight in him who knows this.'

THIRTEENTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Next follows the Uktha¹. Verily, breath (prâna) is Uktha, for breath raises up (utthâpayati) all this. From him who knows this, there is raised a wise son, knowing the Uktha; he obtains union and oneness with the Uktha.

2. Next follows the Yagus. Verily, breath is Yagus, for all these beings are joined in breath². For him who knows this, all beings are joined to procure his excellence; he obtains union and oneness with the Yagus.

3. Next follows the Sâman. Verily, breath is the Sâman, for all these beings meet in breath. For him who knows this, all beings meet to procure his excellence; he obtains union and oneness with the Sâman.

4. Next follows the Kshatra. Verily, breath is the Kshatra, for breath is Kshatra, i.e. breath protects (trâyate) him from being hurt (kshanito^h). He who knows this, obtains Kshatra (power), which requires no protection; he obtains union and oneness with Kshatra³.

¹ Meditation on the hymn called uktha. On the uktha, as the principal part in the Mahâvrata, see Kaush. Up. III, 3; Ait. Âr. II, 1, 2. The uktha, yagus, sâman, &c. are here represented as forms under which prâna or life, and indirectly Brahman, is to be meditated on.

² Without life or breath nothing can join anything else; therefore life is called yagus, as it were yugus.

³ Instead of Kshatram atram, another Sâkhâ, i. e. the Mâdhyandina, reads Kshatramâtram, which Dvivedagaṅga explains as, he

FOURTEENTH BRĀHMANA.

1. The words Bhûmi (earth), Antariksha (sky), and Dyū¹ (heaven) form eight syllables. One foot of the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables. This (one foot) of it is that (i.e. the three worlds). And he who thus knows that foot of it, conquers as far as the three worlds extend.

2. The *Rîkas*, the *Yagûmshi*, and the *Sâmâni* form eight syllables. One foot (the second) of the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables. This (one foot) of it is that (i.e. the three Vedas, the *Rîg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*). And he who thus knows that foot of it, conquers as far as that threefold knowledge extends.

3. The *Prâna* (the up-breathing), the *Apâna* (the down-breathing), and the *Vyâna* (the back-breathing) form eight syllables. One foot (the third) of the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables. This (one foot) of it is that (i.e. the three vital breaths). And he who thus knows that foot of it, conquers as far as there is anything that breathes. And of that (Gâyatrî, or speech) this indeed is the fourth (*turîya*), the bright (*darsata*) foot, shining high above the skies². What is here called *turîya* (the fourth) is meant for *ĥaturtha* (the fourth); what is called *darsatam padam* (the bright foot) is meant for him who is as it were seen (the person in the sun); and what is called *paroragas* (he who shines high above the

obtains the nature of the Kshatra, or he obtains the Kshatra which protects (*Kshatram âtram*).

¹ Dyū, nom. Dyaus, must be pronounced Diyaus.

² *Paroragas*, masc., should be taken as one word, like *paroksha*, viz. he who is beyond all ragas, all visible skies.

skies) is meant for him who shines higher and higher above every sky. And he who thus knows that foot of the Gâyatrî, shines thus himself also with happiness and glory.

4. That Gâyatrî (as described before with its three feet) rests on that fourth foot, the bright one, high above the sky. And that again rests on the True (satyam), and the True is the eye, for the eye is (known to be) true. And therefore even now, if two persons come disputing, the one saying, I saw, the other, I heard, then we should trust the one who says, I saw. And the True again rests on force (bala), and force is life (prâna), and that (the True) rests on life¹. Therefore they say, force is stronger than the True. Thus does that Gâyatrî rest with respect to the self (as life). That Gâyatrî protects (tatre) the vital breaths (gayas); the gayas are the prânas (vital breaths), and it protects them. And because it protects (tatre) the vital breaths (gayas), therefore it is called Gâyatrî. And that Sâvitri verse which the teacher teaches², that is it (the life, the prâna, and indirectly the Gâyatrî); and whomsoever he teaches, he protects his vital breaths.

5. Some teach that Sâvitri as an Anushûbh³ verse, saying that speech is Anushûbh, and that we teach

¹ Saṅkara understood the True (satyam) by tad, not the bala, the force.

² The teacher teaches his pupil, who is brought to him when eight years old, the Sâvitri verse, making him repeat each word, and each half verse, till he knows the whole, and by teaching him that Sâvitri, he is supposed to teach him really the prâna, the life, as the self of the world.

³ The verse would be, Rig-veda V, 82, 1 :

Tat savitur vṛinīmahe vayam devasya bhoganam
Sreshṭham sarvadhātamam turam bhagasya dhīmahi.

that speech. Let no one do this, but let him teach the Gâyatrî as Sâvitri¹. And even if one who knows this receives what seems to be much as his reward (as a teacher), yet this is not equal to one foot of the Gâyatrî.

6. If a man (a teacher) were to receive as his fee these three worlds full of all things, he would obtain that first foot of the Gâyatrî. And if a man were to receive as his fee everything as far as this threefold knowledge extends, he would obtain that second foot of the Gâyatrî. And if a man were to receive as his fee everything whatsoever breathes, he would obtain that third foot of the Gâyatrî. But 'that fourth bright foot, shining high above the skies²', cannot be obtained by anybody—whence then could one receive such a fee?

7. The adoration³ of that (Gâyatrî):

'O Gâyatrî, thou hast one foot, two feet, three feet, four feet⁴. Thou art footless, for thou art not known. Worship to thy fourth bright foot above the skies.' If⁵ one (who knows this) hates some

¹ Because Gâyatrî represents life, and the pupil receives life when he learns the Gâyatrî.

² See before, § 2.

³ Upasthâna is the act of approaching the gods, προσκύνησις, Angehen, with a view of obtaining a request. Here the application is of two kinds, abhiġârîka, imprecatory against another, and abhyudayika, auspicious for oneself. The former has two formulas, the latter one. An upasthâna is here represented as effective, if connected with the Gâyatrî.

⁴ Consisting of the three worlds, the threefold knowledge, the threefold vital breaths, and the fourth foot, as described before.

⁵ I have translated this paragraph very freely, and differently from Saṅkara. The question is, whether dvishyât with iti can be used in the sense of abhiġâra, or imprecation. If not, I do not see how the words should be construed. The expression yasmâ upa-

one and says, 'May he not obtain this,' or 'May this wish not be accomplished to him,' then that wish is not accomplished to him against whom he thus prays, or if he says, 'May I obtain this.'

8. And thus *Ganaka Vaideha* spoke on this point to *Buḍiḷa Āsvatarāsvi*¹: 'How is it that thou who spokest thus as knowing the *Gâyatrī*, hast become an elephant and carriest me?' He answered: 'Your Majesty, I did not know its mouth. *Agni*, fire, is indeed its mouth; and if people pile even what seems much (wood) on the fire, it consumes it all. And thus a man who knows this, even if he commits what seems much evil, consumes it all and becomes pure, clean, and free from decay and death.'

FIFTEENTH BRĀHMANA.

1. ²The face of the True (the Brahman) is covered with a golden disk³. Open that, O *Pūshan*⁴, that we may see the nature of the True⁵.

2. O *Pūshan*, only seer, *Yama* (judge), *Sūrya* (sun), son of *Pragâpati*⁶, spread thy rays and gather them!

tish/hate is rightly explained by *Dvivedagaṅga*, *yadartham evam upatish/hate*.

¹ *Asvatarasyâsvasyâpatyam*, *Saṅkara*.

² These verses, which are omitted here in the *Mâdhyandina* text, are found at the end of the *Vâgasaneyi-upanishad* 15-18. They are supposed to be a prayer addressed to *Āditya* by a dying person.

³ *Mahîdhara* on verse 17: 'The face of the true (*purusha* in the sun) is covered by a golden disk.' *Saṅkara* explains here *mukha*, face, by *mukhyam svarûpam*, the principal form or nature.

⁴ *Pūshan* is here explained as a name of *Savitrī*, the sun; likewise all the names in the next verse.

⁵ Cf. *Maitr. Up.* VI, 35.

⁶ Of *Īsvara* or *Hiranyagarbha*.

The light which is thy fairest form, I see it. I am what he is (viz. the person in the sun).

3. Breath to air and to the immortal! Then this my body ends in ashes. Om! Mind, remember! Remember thy deeds! Mind, remember! Remember thy deeds¹!

4. Agni, lead us on to wealth (beatitude) by a good path², thou, O God, who knowest all things! Keep far from us crooked evil, and we shall offer thee the fullest praise! (Rv. I, 189, 1.)

¹ The Vâgasaneyi-saṃhitâ reads: Om, krato smara, kṛbe smara, kṛitam smara. Uvaṭa holds that Agni, fire, who has been worshipped in youth and manhood, is here invoked in the form of mind, or that kratu is meant for sacrifice. 'Agni, remember me! Think of the world! Remember my deeds!' Kṛbe is explained by Mahîdhara as a dative of kṛp, kṛp meaning loka, world, what is made to be enjoyed (kalpyate bhogâya).

² Not by the Southern path, the dark, from which there is a fresh return to life.

SIXTH ADHYĀYA.

FIRST BRĀHMAṆA¹.

1. Hariḥ, Om. He who knows the first and the best, becomes himself the first and the best among his people. Breath is indeed the first and the best. He who knows this, becomes the first and the best among his people, and among whomsoever he wishes to be so.

2. He who knows the richest², becomes himself the richest among his people. Speech is the richest. He who knows this, becomes the richest among his people, and among whomsoever he wishes to be so.

3. He who knows the firm rest, becomes himself firm on even and uneven ground. The eye indeed is the firm rest, for by means of the eye a man stands firm on even and uneven ground. He who knows this, stands firm on even and uneven ground.

4. He who knows success, whatever desire he desires, it succeeds to him. The ear indeed is success. For in the ear are all these Vedas successful. He who knows this, whatever desire he desires, it succeeds to him.

5. He who knows the home, becomes a home of his own people, a home of all men. The mind

¹ This Brāhmaṇa, also called a Khila (p. 1010, l. 8 ; p. 1029, l. 8), occurs in the Mādhyandina-sâkhâ XIV, 9, 2. It should be compared with the *Khândogya-upanishad* V, 1 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 72); also with the *Ait. Âr.* II, 4 ; *Kaush. Up.* III, 3 ; and the *Prasṇa Up.* II, 3.

² Here used as a feminine, while in the *Khând. Up.* V, 1, it is *vasishṭha*.

indeed is the home. He who knows this, becomes a home of his own people and a home of all men.

6. He who knows generation¹, becomes rich in offspring and cattle. Seed indeed is generation. He who knows this, becomes rich in offspring and cattle.

7. These Prâṇas (senses), when quarrelling together as to who was the best, went to Brahman² and said: 'Who is the richest of us?' He replied: 'He by whose departure this body seems worst, he is the richest.'

8. The tongue (speech) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like unto people, not speaking with the tongue, but breathing with breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then speech entered in.

9. The eye (sight) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like blind people, not seeing with the eye, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then the eye entered in.

10. The ear (hearing) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like deaf people, not hearing with the ear,

¹ This is wanting in the *Khând. Up.* Roer and Poley read Pragâpati for pragâti. MS. I. O. 375 has pragâti, MS. I. O. 1973 pragâpati.

² Here we have Pragâpati, instead of Brahman, in the *Khând. Up.*; also sresh/ha instead of vasish/ha.

but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, seeing with the eye, knowing with the mind, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then the ear entered in.

11. The mind departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said : ' How have you been able to live without me ? ' They replied : ' Like fools, not knowing with their mind, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then the mind entered in.

12. The seed departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said : ' How have you been able to live without me ? ' They replied : ' Like impotent people, not generating with seed, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind. Thus we have lived.' Then the seed entered in.

13. The (vital) breath, when on the point of departing, tore up these senses, as a great, excellent horse of the Sindhu country might tare up the pegs to which he is tethered. They said to him : ' Sir, do not depart. We shall not be able to live without thee.' He said : ' Then make me an offering.' They said : ' Let it be so.'

14. Then the tongue said : ' If I am the richest, then thou art the richest by it.' The eye said : ' If I am the firm rest, then thou art possessed of firm rest by it.' The ear said : ' If I am success, then thou art possessed of success by it.' The mind said : ' If I am the home, thou art the home by it.' The seed said : ' If I am generation, thou art possessed of generation by it.' He said : ' What shall be food, what shall be dress for me ? '

They replied: 'Whatever there is, even unto dogs, worms, insects, and birds¹, that is thy food, and water thy dress. He who thus knows the food of Ana (the breath)², by him nothing is eaten that is not (proper) food, nothing is received that is not (proper) food. Srotriyas (Vedic theologians) who know this, rinse the mouth with water when they are going to eat, and rinse the mouth with water after they have eaten, thinking that thereby they make the breath dressed (with water).'

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA³.

1. Svetaketu Āruneya went to the settlement of the Pañkâlas. He came near to Pravâhana Gaivali⁴, who was walking about (surrounded by his men). As soon as he (the king) saw him, he said: 'My boy!' Svetaketu replied: 'Sir!'

Then the king said: 'Have you been taught by your father!' 'Yes,' he replied.

2. The king said: 'Do you know how men, when they depart from here, separate from each other?' 'No,' he replied.

'Do you know how they come back to this world?' 'No,' he replied⁵.

¹ It may mean, every kind of food, such as is eaten by dogs, worms, insects, and birds.

² We must read, with MS. I.O. 375, anasyânnam, not annasyânnam, as MS. I.O. 1973, Roer, and Poley read. Weber has the right reading, which is clearly suggested by *Khând. Up. V, 2, 1*.

³ See *Khând. Up. V, 3*; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, 433; Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 390. The commentator treats this chapter as a supplement, to explain the ways that lead to the *pitṛloka* and the *devaloka*.

⁴ The MSS. I. O. 375 and 1973 give *Gaivali*, others *Gaibali*. He is a Kshatriya sage, who appears also in *Khând. Up. I, 8, 1*, as silencing Brâhmanas.

⁵ The same question is repeated in Roer's edition, only substi-

‘Do you know how that world does never become full with the many who again and again depart thither?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

‘Do you know at the offering of which libation the waters become endowed with a human voice and rise and speak?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

‘Do you know the access to the path leading to the Devas and to the path leading to the Fathers, i. e. by what deeds men gain access to the path leading to the Devas or to that leading to the Fathers? For we have heard even the saying of a *Rîshi*: “I heard of two paths for men, one leading to the Fathers, the other leading to the Devas. On those paths all that lives moves on, whatever there is between father (sky) and mother (earth).”’

Svetaketu said: ‘I do not know even one of all these questions.’

3. Then the king invited him to stay and accept his hospitality. But the boy, not caring for hospitality, ran away, went back to his father, and said: ‘Thus then you called me formerly well-instructed!’ The father said: ‘What then, you sage?’ The son replied: ‘That fellow of a *Râganya* asked me five questions, and I did not know one of them.’

‘What were they?’ said the father.

‘These were they,’ the son replied, mentioning the different heads.

4. The father said: ‘You know me, child, that whatever I know, I told you. But come, we shall go thither, and dwell there as students.’

‘You may go, Sir,’ the son replied.

tuting sampadyante for âpadyante. The MSS. I. O. 375 and 1973 do not support this.

Then Gautama went where (the place of) Pravâhana Gaivali was, and the king offered him a seat, ordered water for him, and gave him the proper offerings. Then he said to him : 'Sir, we offer a boon to Gautama.'

5. Gautama said : 'That boon is promised to me; tell me the same speech which you made in the presence of my boy.'

6. He said : 'That belongs to divine boons, name one of the human boons.'

7. He said : 'You know well that I have plenty of gold, plenty of cows, horses, slaves, attendants, and apparel; do not heap on me¹ what I have already in plenty, in abundance, and superabundance.'

The king said : 'Gautama, do you wish (for instruction from me) in the proper way?'

Gautama replied : 'I come to you as a pupil.'

In word only have former sages (though Brahmins) come as pupils (to people of lower rank), but Gautama actually dwelt as a pupil (of Pravâhana, who was a Râganya) in order to obtain the fame of having respectfully served his master².

¹ Abhyavadânya is explained as niggardly, or unwilling to give, and derived from vadânya, liberal, a-vadânya, illiberal, and abhi, towards. This, however, is an impossible form in Sanskrit. Vadânya means liberal, and stands for avadânya, this being derived from avadâna, lit. what is cut off, then a morsel, a gift. In abhyavadânya the original a reappears, so that abhyavadânya means, not niggardly, but on the contrary, liberal, i. e. giving more than is required. Avadânya has never been met with in the sense of niggardly, and though a rule of Pânini sanctions the formation of a-vadânya, it does not say in what sense. Abhyavadâ in the sense of cutting off in addition occurs in Satap. Br. II, 5, 2, 40; avadânam karoti, in the sense of making a present, occurs Maitr. Up. VI, 33.

² The commentator takes the opposite view. In times of distress, he says, former sages, belonging to a higher caste, have

8. The king said : 'Do not be offended with us, neither you nor your forefathers, because this knowledge has before now never dwelt with any Brâhmana¹. But I shall tell it to you, for who could refuse you when you speak thus ?

9. 'The altar (fire), O Gautama, is that world (heaven)²; the fuel is the sun itself, the smoke his rays, the light the day, the coals the quarters, the sparks the intermediate quarters. On that altar the Devas offer the sraddhâ libation (consisting of water³). From that oblation rises Soma, the king (the moon).

10. 'The altar, O Gautama, is Parganya (the god of rain); the fuel is the year itself, the smoke the clouds, the light the lightning, the coals the thunderbolt, the sparks the thunderings. On that altar the Devas offer Soma, the king (the moon). From that oblation rises rain.

11. 'The altar, O Gautama, is this world⁴; the fuel is the earth itself, the smoke the fire, the light the night, the coals the moon, the sparks the stars. On that altar the Devas offer rain. From that oblation rises food.

submitted to become pupils to teachers of a lower caste, not, however, in order to learn, but simply in order to live. Therefore Gautama also becomes a pupil in name only, for it would be against all law to act otherwise. See Gautama, Dharma-sûtras VII, 1, ed. Stenzler; translated by Bühler, p. 209.

¹ Here, too, my translation is hypothetical, and differs widely from Saṅkara.

² Cf. *Khând. Up.* V, 4.

³ Deussen translates : 'In diesem Feuer opfern die Götter den Glauben.'

⁴ Here a distinction is made between *ayam loka*, this world, and *prithivî*, earth, while in the *Khând. Up.* *ayam loka* is the earth, *asau loka* the heaven.

12. 'The altar, O Gautama, is man; the fuel the opened mouth, the smoke the breath, the light the tongue, the coals the eye, the sparks the ear. On that altar the Devas offer food. From that oblation rises seed.

13. 'The altar, O Gautama, is woman¹. On that altar the Devas offer seed. From that oblation rises man. He lives so long as he lives, and then when he dies,

14. 'They take him to the fire (the funeral pile), and then the altar-fire is indeed fire, the fuel fuel, the smoke smoke, the light light, the coals coals, the sparks sparks. In that very altar-fire the Devas offer man, and from that oblation man rises, brilliant in colour.

15. 'Those who thus know this (even *Grihasthas*), and those who in the forest worship faith and the True² (*Brahman Hiranyagarbha*), go to light (*ar-kis*), from light to day, from day to the increasing half, from the increasing half to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from those six months to the world of the Devas (*Devaloka*), from the world of the Devas to the sun, from the sun to the place of lightning. When they have thus reached the place of lightning a spirit³ comes near them, and leads them to the worlds of the (conditioned) Brahman. In these worlds of Brahman they dwell exalted for ages. There is no returning for them.

¹ Tasyâ upastha eva samil, lomâni dhûmo, yonir arkir, yad antaḥkaroti te 'ngârâ, abhinandâ visphuliṅgâḥ.

² Saṅkara translates, 'those who with faith worship the True,' and this seems better.

³ 'A person living in the Brahma-world, sent forth, i. e. created, by Brahman, by the mind,' Saṅkara. 'Der ist nicht wie ein Mensch,' Deussen, p. 392.

16. 'But they who conquer the worlds (future states) by means of sacrifice, charity, and austerity, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the decreasing half of the moon, from the decreasing half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from these months to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the moon. Having reached the moon, they become food, and then the Devas feed on them there, as sacrificers feed on Soma, as it increases and decreases¹. But when this (the result of their good works on earth) ceases, they return again to that ether, from ether to the air, from the air to rain, from rain to the earth. And when they have reached the earth, they become food, they are offered again in the altar-fire, which is man (see § 11), and thence are born in the fire of woman. Thus they rise up towards the worlds, and go the same round as before.

'Those, however, who know neither of these two paths, become worms, birds, and creeping things.'

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA².

1. If a man wishes to reach greatness (wealth for performing sacrifices), he performs the upasad rule during twelve days³ (i. e. he lives on small quantities of milk), beginning on an auspicious day of the light half of the moon during the northern progress of the sun, collecting at the same time in a cup or a dish

¹ See note 4 on *Kṛāṇḍ. Up. V, 10*, and Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 393. Sankara guards against taking *āpyāyasvāpakshīyasva* as a Mantra. A similar construction is *gāyasva mṛīyasva*, see *Kṛāṇḍ. Up. V, 10, 8*.

² *Mādhyandina text*, p. 1103; cf. *Kṛāṇḍ. Up. V, 2, 4-8*; *Kaush. Up. II, 3*.

³ *Yasmin punye 'nukūle 'hni karma kīkīrshati tataḥ prāk punyāham evārabhya dvādaśāham upasadvratī*.

made of Udumbara wood all sorts of herbs, including fruits. He sweeps the floor (near the house-altar, āvasathya), sprinkles it, lays the fire, spreads grass round it according to rule¹, prepares the clarified butter (āgrya), and on a day, presided over by a male star (nakshatra), after having properly mixed the Mantha² (the herbs, fruits, milk, honey, &c.), he sacrifices (he pours āgrya into the fire), saying³: 'O Gâtavedas, whatever adverse gods there are in thee, who defeat the desires of men, to them I offer this portion; may they, being pleased, please me with all desires.' Svâhâ!

'That cross deity who lies down⁴, thinking that all things are kept asunder by her, I worship thee as propitious with this stream of ghee.' Svâhâ!

2. He then says, Svâhâ to the First, Svâhâ to the Best, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Breath, Svâhâ to her who is the richest, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Speech, Svâhâ to the Support, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Eye, Svâhâ to Success, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Ear, Svâhâ to the

¹ As the whole act is considered smârta, not srâuta, the order to be observed (âvriti) is that of the sthâlpâka.

² Dravadravye prakshiptâ mathitâh saktavaḥ is the explanation of Mantha, given in Gaimin. N. M. V. p. 406.

³ These verses are not explained by Saṅkara, and they are absent in the *Khând. Up.* V, 2, 6, 4.

⁴ The Mâdhyandinas read nipadyase.

- Home, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Mind, Svâhâ to Offspring, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Seed, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

3. He then says, Svâhâ to Agni (fire), pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Soma, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Bhûh (earth), Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Bhuvaḥ (sky), Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svaḥ (heaven), Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Bhûr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Brahman (the priesthood), pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Kshatra (the knighthood), pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Past, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Future, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Universe, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to all things, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Pragâpati, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

4. Then he touches it (the Mantha, which is dedicated to Prâna, breath), saying : ' Thou art fleet (as breath). Thou art burning (as fire). Thou art full (as Brahman). Thou art firm (as the sky). Thou art the abode of all (as the earth). Thou hast been saluted with Hiñ (at the beginning of the sacrifice by the prastotri). Thou art saluted with Hiñ (in the middle of the sacrifice by the prastotri). Thou hast been sung (by the udgâtri at the beginning of the sacrifice). Thou art sung (by the udgâtri in the middle of the sacrifice). Thou hast been celebrated (by the adhvaryu at the beginning of the sacrifice). Thou art celebrated again (by the âgnîdhra in the middle of the sacrifice). Thou art bright in the wet (cloud). Thou art great. Thou art powerful. Thou art food (as Soma). Thou art light (as Agni, fire, the eater). Thou art the end. Thou art the absorption (of all things).'

5. Then he holds it (the Mantha) forth, saying : ' Thou ¹ knowest all, we know thy greatness. He is

¹ These curious words â mamsi â mamhi te mahi are not explained by Saṅkara. Ânandagiri explains them as I have trans-

indeed a king, a ruler, the highest lord. May that king, that ruler make me the highest lord.'

6. Then he eats it, saying: 'Tat savitur vare-
nyam ¹ (We meditate on that adorable light)—The
winds drop honey for the righteous, the rivers drop
honey, may our plants be sweet as honey! Bhûr
(earth) Svâhâ!

'Bhargo devasya dhîmahi (of the divine
Savitri)—May the night be honey in the morning,
may the air above the earth, may heaven, our father,
be honey! Bhuvaḥ (sky) Svâhâ!

'Dhiyo yo naḥ prokodayât (who should rouse
our thoughts)—May the tree be full of honey, may
the sun be full of honey, may our cows be sweet like
honey! Svaḥ (heaven) Svâhâ!'

He repeats the whole Sâvitri verse, and all the
verses about the honey, thinking, May I be all this!
Bhûr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Svâhâ! Having thus swal-
lowed all, he washes his hands, and sits down behind
the altar, turning his head to the East. In the
morning he worships Âditya (the sun), with the
hymn, 'Thou art the best lotus of the four quarters,
may I become the best lotus among men.' Then
returning as he came, he sits down behind the altar
and recites the genealogical list ².

7. Uddâlaka Âruni told this (Mantha-doctrine) to
his pupil Vâgasaneyâ Yâgñavalkya, and said: 'If
a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would
grow, and leaves spring forth.'

lated them. They correspond to 'amo nâmâsy amâ hi te sarvam
idam' in the *Khând.* Up. V, 2, 6, 6. The Mâdhyandinas read:
âmo'sy âmam hi te mayi, sa hi râgâ, &c. Dvivedagaṅga translates:
'thou art the knower, thy knowledge extends to me.'

¹ Rv. III, 62, 10.

² This probably refers to the list immediately following.

8. Vâgasaneya Yâgñavalkya told the same to his pupil Madhuka Paingya, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

9. Madhuka Paingya told the same to his pupil Kûla Bhâgavitti, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

10. Kûla Bhâgavitti told the same to his pupil Gânaki Âyasthûna, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

11. Gânaki Âyasthûna told the same to his pupil Satyakâma Gâbâla, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

12. Satyakâma Gâbâla told the same to his pupils, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

Let no one tell this¹ to any one, except to a son or to a pupil².

13. Four things are made of the wood of the Udumbara tree, the sacrificial ladle (sruva), the cup (kâmasa), the fuel, and the two churning sticks.

There are ten kinds of village (cultivated) seeds, viz. rice and barley (brîhiyavâs), sesamum and kidney-beans (tilamâshâs), millet and panic seed (anupriyaṅgavas), wheat (godhûmâs), lentils (masûrâs), pulse (khalvâs), and vetches (khalakulâs³). After having

¹ The Mantha-doctrine with the prâṇadarsana. Comm.

² It probably means to no one except to one's own son and to one's own disciple. Cf. Svet. Up. VI, 22.

³ I have given the English names after Roer, who, living in India, had the best opportunity of identifying the various kinds of plants here mentioned. The commentators do not help us much. Saṅkara

ground these he sprinkles them with curds (dadhi), honey, and ghee, and then offers (the proper portions) of clarified butter¹ (āgrya).

FOURTH BRĀHMANA².

1. The earth is the essence of all these things, water is the essence of the earth, plants of water, flowers of plants, fruits of flowers, man of fruits, seed of man.

2. And Pragâpati thought, let me make an abode for him, and he created a woman (Satarûpâ).

Tâm³ *srishtvādha upâsta, tasmât striyam adha upâsita. Sa etam prâñkam grāvānam ātmana eva samudapārayat, tenainām abhyasrigat.*

says that in some places Priyaṅgu (panic seed or millet) is called Kaṅgu; that Khalva, pulse, is also called Nishpāva and Valla, and Khalakula, vetches, commonly Kulattha. Dvivedagaṅga adds that Anu is called in Guzerat Moriya, Priyaṅgu Kaṅgu, Khalva, as nishpāva, Valla, and Khalakula Kulattha.

¹ According to the rules laid down in the proper *Grihya-sūtras*.

² This Brāhmana is inserted here because there is supposed to be some similarity between the preparation of the *Srīmantha* and the *Putramantha*, or because a person who has performed the *Srīmantha* is fit to perform the *Putramantha*. Thus Saṅkara says: *Prānadarsinaḥ srīmantham karma kṛitavataḥ putramanthe 'dhikāraḥ. Yadā putramantham kīkīrshati tadā srīmantham kṛitvā ritukālam patnyāḥ (brahmakāryena) pratikshata iti.*

³ I have given those portions of the text which did not admit of translation into English, in Sanskrit. It was not easy, however, to determine always the text of the *Kāṇva-sākhā*. Poley's text is not always correct, and Roer seems simply to repeat it. Saṅkara's commentary, which is meant for the *Kāṇva* text, becomes very short towards the end of the Upanishad. It is quite sufficient for the purpose of a translation, but by no means always for restoring a correct text. MS. Wilson 369, which has been assigned to the *Kāṇva-sākhā*, and which our Catalogue attributes to the same school, gives the *Mādhyandina* text, and so does MS. Mill 108. I have therefore collated two MSS. of the India Office, which Dr. Rost had the kindness to select for me, MS. 375 and MS. 1973, which I call A. and B.

3. Tasyâ vedir upastho, lomâni barhis, *karmâ-dhishavane*, samiddho¹ madhyatas, tau mushkau. Sa yâvân ha vai vâgapeyena yagamânasya loko bhavati tâvân asya loko bhavati ya evam vidvân adhopahâsam *karaty* â sa² strînâm sukritam *vriṅkte* 'tha ya idam avidvân adhopahâsam *karaty* âsya striyah sukritam *vriṅgate*.

4. Etad dha sma vai tadvidvân Uddâlaka Ârunir âhaitad dha sma vai tadvidvân Nâko Maudgalya âhaitad dha sma vai tadvidvân Kumârahârta âha, bahavo maryâ brâhmanâyanâ³ nirindriyâ visukrîto 'smâl lokât prayanti⁴ ya idam avidvâmso 'dhopahâsam *karantîti*. Bahu vâ⁵ idam suptasya vâ gâgrato vâ retah skandati,

5. Tad abhimrised anu vâ mantrayeta yan me 'dya retah prâthivîm askântsîd yad oshadhîr apy asarad yad apah, idam aham tad reta âdade punar mâm aîtv indriyam punas tegaḥ punar bhagaḥ, punar agnayo⁶ dhishnyâ yathâsthânam kalpantâm, ity anâmikâṅgushthâbhyâm âdâyântarena stanau vâ bhruvau vâ nimrîṅgyât⁷.

6. If a man see himself in the water⁸, he should

¹ Roer reads samidho, but Saṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga clearly presuppose samiddho, which is in A. and B.

² Roer has âsâm sa strînâm, Poley, A. and B. have âsâm strînâm. Saṅkara (MS. Mill 64) read â sa strînâm, and later on âsya striyah, though both Roer and Poley leave out the â here too (â asyeti *khedah*).

³ Brâhmanâyanâḥ, the same as brahmabandhavaḥ, i. e. Brâhmins by descent only, not by knowledge.

⁴ Narakam *gakkhantîtyarthaḥ*. Dvivedagaṅga.

⁵ Bahu vâ svalpam vâ.

⁶ The Mâdhyandina text has agnayo, and Dvivedagaṅga explains it by dhishnyâ agnayah sarîrasthitâḥ. Poley and Roer have punar agnir dhishnyâ, and so have A. and B.

⁷ Nirmrîgyât, A.; nimrîṅgyât, B.

⁸ Dvivedagaṅga adds, retoyonâv udake retahsikas tatra svakkhâyâdarsane prâyaskittam âha.

recite the following verse: 'May there be in me splendour, strength, glory, wealth, virtue.'

She is the best of women whose garments are pure¹. Therefore let him approach a woman whose garments are pure, and whose fame is pure, and address her.

7. If she do not give in², let him, as he likes, bribe her (with presents). And if she then do not give in, let him, as he likes, beat her with a stick or with his hand, and overcome her³, saying: 'With manly strength and glory I take away thy glory,'—and thus she becomes unglorious⁴.

8. If she give in, he says: 'With manly strength and glory I give thee glory,'—and thus they both become glorious.

9. Sa yâm *ikkhet* kâmayeta meti tasyâm artham nishâtaya⁵ mukhena mukham sandhâyopastham asyâ abhimrîsyâ gaped aṅgâdaṅgât sambhavasi hridayâd adhi gâyase, sa tvam aṅgakashâyo⁶ 'si digdhavid-dhâm⁷ iva mâdayemâm amûm mayîti⁸.

10. Atha yâm *ikkhen* na garbham dadhîteti⁹ tasyâm artham nishâtaya mukhena mukham sandhâyâbhiprânyâpânyâd indriyena te retasâ reta âdada ity aretâ¹⁰ eva bhavati.

¹ Trirâtravratam krîtvâ katurtha 'hni snâtâm.

² Instead of connecting kâmam with dadyât, Dvivedagaṅga explains it by yathâsakti.

³ Atikram, scil. maithunâya.

⁴ Bandhyâ durbhagâ.

⁵ Nishâtaya, A. B.; nishâtaya, Roer, Poley; the same in § 10.

⁶ Sa tvam aṅgânâm kashâyo raso 'si.

⁷ Vishaliptasaraviddhâm mrigîm iva.

⁸ Mâdayeti is the reading of the Mâdhyandina text. Poley, Roer, A. and B. read mâdayemâm amûm mayîti. Ânandagiri has mrigîm ivâmûm madîyâm striyam me mâdaya madvasâm kurv ityarthah. Dvivedagaṅga explains mâdayeti.

⁹ Rûpabhramsayauvanahânibhayât.

¹⁰ Agarbhini.

11. Atha yâm *ikkhed* garbham dadhīti tasyâm artham nishāya mukhena mukham sandhâyāpānyābhiprānyād indriyena te retasā reta ādadhāmiti garbhiny eva bhavati.

12. Now again, if a man's wife has a lover and the husband hates him, let him (according to rule)¹ place fire by an unbaked jar, spread a layer of arrows in inverse order², anoint these three arrow-heads³ with butter in inverse order, and sacrifice, saying : 'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy up and down breathing, I here⁴.'

'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy sons and cattle, I here.'

'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy sacred and thy good works, I here.'

'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy hope and expectation, I here.'

He whom a Brāhmaṇa who knows this curses, departs from this world without strength and without good works. Therefore let no one wish even for sport with the wife of a Srottriya⁵ who knows this, for he who knows this, is a dangerous enemy.

13. When the monthly illness seizes his wife, she

¹ *Āvasathyāgnim eva pragvālya.*

² *Paśīmāgram dakṣināgram vā yathā syāt tathā.*

³ *Tisraḥ* is left out by Roer and Poley, by A. and B.

⁴ I have translated according to the Kāṇva text, as far as it could be made out. As there are four imprecations, it is but natural that *tisraḥ* should be left out in the Kāṇva text. It is found in the Mādhyandina text, because there the imprecations are only three in number, viz. the taking away of hope and expectation, of sons and cattle, and of up and down breathing. Instead of *asāv iti*, which is sufficient, the Mādhyandina text has *asāv iti nāma gr̥hṇāti*, and both Ānandagiri and Dvivedagaṅga allow the alternative, *ātmanaḥ sator vā nāma gr̥hṇāti*, though *asau* can really refer to the speaker only.

⁵ Roer reads *dvāreṇa*; Poley, A. and B. *dāreṇa*; the Mādhyan-

should for three days not drink from a metal vessel, and wear a fresh dress. Let no *Vrishala* or *Vrishali* (a *Sûdra* man or woman) touch her. At the end of the three days, when she has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice ¹.

14. And if a man wishes that a white son should be born to him, and that he should know one Veda, and live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with milk and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

15. And if a man wishes that a reddish ² son with tawny eyes should be born to him, and that he should know two Vedas, and live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with coagulated milk and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

16. And if a man wishes that a dark son should be born to him with red eyes, and that he should know three Vedas, and live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with water and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

17. And if a man wishes that a learned daughter should be born to him, and that she should live to her full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with sesamum and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

18. And if a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a public man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that

dinas gââyâyâ. *Saṅkara*, according to *Roer*, interprets *dvârena*, but it seems that *dârena* is used here in the singular, instead of the plural. See *Pâraskara Grihya-sûtras* I, 11.

¹ To be used for the ceremony described in § 14 seq.

² *Kapilo varnataḥ piṅgalaḥ piṅgākshaḥ*.

he should live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring. The meat should be of a young or of an old bull.

19. And then toward morning, after having, according to the rule of the Sthālpāka (pot-boiling), performed the preparation of the Āgya (clarified butter¹), he sacrifices from the Sthālpāka bit by bit, saying : ' This is for Agni, Svāhā ! This is for Anumati, Svāhā ! This is for the divine Savitṛi, the true creator, Svāhā ! ' Having sacrificed, he takes out the rest of the rice and eats it, and after having eaten, he gives it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water-jar, and sprinkles her thrice with it, saying : ' Rise hence, O Visvāvasu², seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband.'

20. Then he embraces her, and says : ' I am Ama (breath), thou art Sâ (speech)³. Thou art Sâ (speech), I am Ama (breath). I am the Sâman, thou art the Rik⁴. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together, that a male child may be begotten⁵.'

¹ *Karum* śrapayitvâ.

² Name of a Gandharva, as god of love. See Rig-veda X, 85, 22. Divedagaṅga explains the verse differently, so that the last words imply, I come together with my own wife.

³ Because speech is dependent on breath, as the wife is on the husband. See *Khând. Up.* I, 6, 1.

⁴ Because the Sâma-veda rests on the Rig-veda.

⁵ This is a verse which is often quoted and explained. It occurs in the Atharva-veda XIV, 71, as 'amo 'ham asmi sâ tvam, sâma-ham asmy rik tvam, dyaur aham prithivî tvam; tâv iha sam bhavâva pragâm â ganayâvahai.'

Here we have the opposition between amaḥ and sâ, while in the Ait. Brâhmaṇa VIII, 27, we have amo 'ham asmi sa tvam, giving amaḥ in opposition to sa. It seems not unlikely that this

21. Athāsya ūrū vihāpayati, vigihithām dyāvāpri-
thivī iti tasyām artham nishṭāya mukhena mukham
sandhāya trir enām anulomām¹ anumārshī, Vishnur
yonim kalpayatu, Tvashtā rūpāni pimsatu, āsiñkatu
Pragāpatir Dhātā garbham dadhatu te. Garbham
dhehi Sinvāli, garbham dhehi prīthushṭuke, garbham
te Asvinau devāv ādhattām pushkarasragau.

22. Hiranmayī arant yābhyām nirmanthatām² asvi-
nau³, tam te garbham havāmahe⁴ dasame māsi
sūtave. Yathāgnigarbhā prīthivī, yathā dyaus in-
drena garbhini, vāyur disām yathā garbha evam
garbham dadhāmi te 'sāv iti⁵.

23. Soshyantīm⁶ adbhir abhyukshati. Yathā vāyuh⁷
pushkarintīm samīṅgayati sarvataḥ, evā te garbha
egatu sahāvaitu garāyunā. Indrasyāyam vragah
krītaḥ sārgaḥ⁸ saparisrayaḥ⁹, tam indra nirgahi
garbhena sāvarām¹⁰ saheti.

was an old proverbial formula, and that it meant originally no more
than 'I am he, and thou art she.' But this meaning was soon for-
gotten. In the *Khând. Up.* I, 6, 1, we find sâ explained as earth,
ama as fire (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 13). In the *Ait.*
Brâhmana sâ is explained as *Rik*, ama as *Sâman*. I have therefore
in our passage also followed the interpretation of the commentary,
instead of rendering it, 'I am he, and thou art she; thou art she,
and I am he.'

¹ Anulomam, mûrdhānam ārabhya pādāntam.

² Nirmathitavantau. ³ Asvinau devau, Mādhyandina text.

⁴ Dadhāmahe, Mādhyandina text. Instead of sūtave, A. has
sūyate, B. sūtaye.

⁵ Iti nāma grīhñāti, Mādhyandina text. Saṅkara says, asāv iti
tasyāḥ. Ānandagiri says, asāv iti patyur vā nirdeśaḥ; tasyā nāma
grīhñāti pūrvena sambandhaḥ. Dvivedagaṅga says, ante bhartā-
sāv aham iti svātmano nāma grīhñāti, bhāryāyā vā.

⁶ See Pāraskara *Grīhya-sūtra* I, 16 seq.

⁷ Vātaḥ, M.

⁸ Argadāyā nirodhena saha vartamānaḥ sārgadaḥ, Dvivedagaṅga.

⁹ Saparisrayaḥ, parisrayena pariveshtanena garāyunā sahitaḥ,
Dvivedagaṅga.

¹⁰ Sāvarām is the reading given by Poley, Roer, A. and B.

24¹. When the child is born, he prepares the fire, places the child on his lap, and having poured *prishadāgya*, i. e. dadhi (thick milk) mixed with *ghṛita* (clarified butter) into a metal jug, he sacrifices bit by bit of that *prishadāgya*, saying: 'May I, as I increase in this my house, nourish a thousand! May fortune never fail in his race, with offspring and cattle, Svāhā!'

'I offer to thee in my mind the vital breaths which are in me, Svāhā!'

'Whatever² in my work I have done too much, or whatever I have here done too little, may the wise Agni *Svishtakṛit* make this right and proper for us, Svāhā!'

25. Then putting his mouth near the child's right ear, he says thrice, Speech, speech³! After

Ānandagiri explains: *garbhaniṣṣaranānantaram yā māmsapeṣī nirgakkhati sāvārā, tām ka nirgamayety arthah*. Dvivedagaṅga (ed. Weber) writes: *nirgamyamānamāmsapeṣī sâ-avarasabdavâtyâ, tam sâvaram ka nirgamaya*.

¹ These as well as the preceding rules refer to matters generally treated in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*; see *Āsvalāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 13 seq.; *Pāraskara, Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 11 seq.; *Sāṅkhāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 19 seq. It is curious, however, that *Āsvalāyana* I, 13, 1, refers distinctly to the Upanishad as the place where the *pumsavana* and similar matters were treated. This shows that the Upanishads were known before the composition of the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*, and explains perhaps, at least partially, why the Upanishads were considered as *rahasya*. *Āsvalāyana* says, 'Conception, begetting of a boy, and guarding the embryo are to be found in the Upanishad. But if a man does not read the Upanishad, let him know that he should feed his wife,' &c. *Nārāyaṇa* explains that *Āsvalāyana* here refers to an Upanishad which does not exist in his own *Sākhā*, but he objects to the conclusion that therefore the *garbhādhāna* and other ceremonies need not be performed, and adds that some hold it should be performed, as prescribed by *Saunaka* and others.

² *Āsvalāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtra* I, 10, 23.

³ *Trayīlakṣaṇā vāk tvayi pravratv iti gapato 'bhiprāyaḥ*.

that he pours together thick milk, honey, and clarified butter, and feeds the child with (a ladle of) pure gold¹, saying: 'I give thee Bhûh, I give thee Bhuva^h, I give thee Sva^h². Bhûr, Bhuva^h, Sva^h, I give thee all³.'

26⁴. Then he gives him his name, saying: 'Thou art Veda;'⁵ but this is his secret name⁶.

27. Then he hands the boy to his mother and gives him her breast, saying: 'O Sarasvatî, that breast of thine which is inexhaustible, delightful, abundant, wealthy, generous, by which thou cherishest all blessings, make that to flow here⁶.'

28⁷. Then he addresses the mother of the boy:

¹ Cf. Pâraskara *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 16, 4, anâmikayâ suvarnântarhitayâ; Sâṅkhâyana, *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 24, prâsayeg gâtarpurâṇa.

² Bhûr bhuva^h sva^h are explained by Dvivedagaṅga as the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*. They might also be earth, air, and heaven. See Sâṅkhâyana, *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 24; Bhur *rigvedam* tvayi dadhâmi, &c.

³ The Mâdhyandinas add here another verse, which the father recites while he strokes his boy: 'Be a stone, be an axe, be pure gold. Thou art my Self, called my son; live a hundred harvests.' The same verse occurs in the Âsvalâyana *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 15, 3.

⁴ The two ceremonies, here described, are the âyushya-karman and the medhâganana. They are here treated rather confusedly. Pâraskara (*Grîhya-sûtras* I, 16, 3) distinguishes the medhâganana and the âyushya. He treats the medhâganana first, which consists in feeding the boy with honey and clarified butter, and saying to him bhûs tvayi dadhâmi, &c. The âyushya consists in repeating certain verses in the boy's ear, wishing him a long life, &c. In Âsvalâyana's *Grîhya-sûtras*, I, 15, 1 contains the âyushya, I, 15, 2 the medhâganana. Sâṅkhâyana also (I, 24) treats the âyushya first, and the medhâganana afterwards, and the same order prevails in the Mâdhyandina text of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*.

⁵ In the Mâdhyandina text these acts are differently arranged.

⁶ *Rig-veda* I, 164, 49.

⁷ These verses are differently explained by various commentators. Ânandagiri explains iâ as stutyâ, bhogyâ. He derives Maitrâvaruṇî

‘Thou art I/â Maitrâvaruñî: thou strong woman hast born a strong boy. Be thou blessed with strong children thou who hast blessed me with a strong child.’

And they say of such a boy: ‘Ah, thou art better than thy father; ah, thou art better than thy grandfather. Truly he has reached the highest point in happiness, praise, and Vedic glory who is born as the son of a Brâhmana that knows this.’

FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now follows the stem¹:

1. Pautimâshîputra from Kâtyâyanîputra,

from Maitrâvaruna, i.e. Vasishtha, the son of Mitrâvarunau, and identifies her with Arundhatî. Dvivedagaṅga takes idâ as bhogyâ, or idâpâtrî, or prâthivîrûpâ, and admits that she may be called Maitrâvaruñî, because born of Mitrâvarunau. Vîre is rightly taken as a vocative by Dvivedagaṅga, while Ânandagiri explains it as a locative, mayi nimittabhûte. One expects agîganah instead of agîganat, which is the reading of A. and B. The reading of the Mâdhyandinas, âgîganathâh, is right grammatically, but it offends against the metre, and is a theoretical rather than a real form. If we read agîganah, we must also read akarah, unless we are prepared to follow the commentator, who supplies bhavati.

¹ The Mâdhyandinas begin with vayam, we, then 1. Bhâradvâgîputra, 2. Vâtsîmandavîputra, 3. Pârasarîputra, 4. Gârgîputra, 5. Pârâsarî-kaundîniputra, 6. Gârgîputra, 7. Gârgîputra, 8. Bâdeyîputra, 9. Maushikîputra, 10. Hârikarnîputra, 11. Bhâradvâgîputra, 12. Paingîputra, 13. Saunakîputra, 14. Kâsyapî-bâlâkyâ-mâharîputra, 15. Kautsîputra, 16. Baudhîputra, 17. Sâlaṅkâyanîputra, 18. Vârshaganîputra, 19. Gautamîputra, 20. Âtreyyîputra, 21. Gautamîputra, 22. Vâtsîputra, 23. Bhâradvâgîputra, 24. Pârâsarîputra, 25. Vârkârûnîputra; then from No. 20 as in the Kânva text.

This stem is called by Saṅkara, Samastapraṇavamsah, and Ânandagiri adds, pûrvau vamsau purushavisheshtau, trîtiyas tu strîvisheshtah, strîprâdhânyât. Dvivedagaṅga writes, putramantha-karmanah strîsamskârârthatvenoktatvât tatsannidhânâd ayam vamsah strîprâdhânyenoktyate.

2. Kātyāyanīputra from Gotamīputra,
3. Gotamīputra from Bhāradvāgīputra,
4. Bhāradvāgīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
5. Pārāsarīputra from Aupasvatīputra,
6. Aupasvatīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
7. Pārāsarīputra from Kātyāyanīputra,
8. Kātyāyanīputra from Kausikīputra,
9. Kausikīputra from Ālambīputra and Vaiyāghrapadīputra,
10. Ālambīputra and Vaiyāghrapadīputra from Kāṇvīputra,
11. Kāṇvīputra from Kāpīputra,
12. Kāpīputra
2. from Ātreyaīputra,
13. Ātreyaīputra from Gautamīputra,
14. Gautamīputra from Bhāradvāgīputra,
15. Bhāradvāgīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
16. Pārāsarīputra from Vātsīputra,
17. Vātsīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
- 18¹. Pārāsarīputra from Vārkārunīputra,
19. Vārkārunīputra from Vārkārunīputra,
20. Vārkārunīputra from Ārtabhāgīputra,
21. Ārtabhāgīputra from Sauṅgīputra,
22. Sauṅgīputra from Sāṅkrītiputra,
- 23². Sāṅkrītiputra from Ālambāyanīputra,
24. Ālambāyanīputra from Ālambīputra,
25. Ālambīputra from Gāyantīputra,
26. Gāyantīputra from Māṇḍūkāyanīputra,
27. Māṇḍūkāyanīputra from Māṇḍūkīputra,
28. Māṇḍūkīputra from Sāṇḍīlīputra,
29. Sāṇḍīlīputra from Rāthitarīputra,
- 30³. Rāthitarīputra from Bhālukīputra,

¹ M. has only one.² M. inverts 23 and 24.³ Deest in M.

31. Bhālukîputra from Krauñçikîputrau,
32. Krauñçikîputrau from Vaittabhatîputra ¹,
33. Vaittabhatîputra from Kârsakeyîputra ²,
34. Kârsakeyîputra from Prâkṇayogîputra,
35. Prâkṇayogîputra from Sâṅgîvîputra ³,
36. Sâṅgîvîputra from Prâsṇîputra Âsurivâsin,
37. Prâsṇîputra Âsurivâsin from Âsurâyana,
38. Âsurâyana from Âsuri,
39. Âsuri
3. from Yâgñavalkya,
40. Yâgñavalkya from Uddâlaka,
41. Uddâlaka from Aruna,
42. Aruna from Upavesi,
43. Upavesi from Kusri,
44. Kusri from Vâgasravas,
45. Vâgasravas from Gihvâvat Vâdhyoga,
46. Gihvâvat Vâdhyoga from Asita Vârshagana,
47. Asita Vârshagana from Harita Kasyapa,
48. Harita Kasyapa from Silpa Kasyapa,
49. Silpa Kasyapa from Kasyapa Naidhruvi,
50. Kasyapa Naidhruvi from Vâk,
51. Vâk from Ambhinî,
52. Ambhinî from Âditya, the Sun.

As coming from Âditya, the Sun, these pure ⁴ Yagus verses have been proclaimed by Yâgñavalkya Vâgasaneyya.

¹ Vaidabhrîîputra, M.

² Bhālukîputra, M.

³ Kârsakeyîputra after 35 in M.

⁴ They are called suklâni, white or pure, because they are not mixed with Brâhmanas, avyâmisrâni brâhmaṇena (doshair asaṅkîr-nâni, paurusheyatvadoshadvârâbhâvâd ityarthaḥ). Or they are ayâ-tayâmâni, unimpaired. Ânandagiri adds, Pragâpatim ârabhya Sâṅgîvîputraparyantam (No. 36) Vâgasaneyisâkhâsu sarvâsv eko vamsa ityâha samânam iti. Dvivedagaṅga says: Vâgisâkhâvakkhin-

- 4¹. The same as far as *Sâṅgīvīputra* (No. 36), then
36. *Sâṅgīvīputra* from *Mândūkâyani*,
 37. *Mândūkâyani* from *Mândavya*,
 38. *Mândavya* from *Kautsa*,
 39. *Kautsa* from *Mâhitthi*,
 40. *Mâhitthi* from *Vâmakakshâyana*,
 41. *Vâmakakshâyana* from *Sândilya*,
 42. *Sândilya* from *Vâtsya*,
 43. *Vâtsya* from *Kusri*,
 44. *Kusri* from *Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana*,
 45. *Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana* from *Tura Kâvasheya*,
 46. *Tura Kâvasheya* from *Pragâpati*,
 47. *Pragâpati* from *Brahman*,
 48. *Brahman* is *Svayambhu*, self-existent.
Adoration to *Brahman* !

nânâm yagushâm Sûryenopadish/atvam Yâgñavalkyena prâptatvam ka purâneshu prasiddham.

¹ This last paragraph is wanting in the *Mâdhyandina* text, but a very similar paragraph occurs in *Satapatha-brâhmana* X, 6, 5, 9, where, however, *Vâtsya* comes before *Sândilya*.

SVETÂSVATARA-
UPANISHAD.

SVETÂSVATARA- UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

✓ 1. The Brahma-students say: Is Brahman the cause¹? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live, and whither do we go? O ye who know Brahman, (tell us) at whose command we abide, whether in pain or in pleasure?

¹ This translation seems the one which Sāṅkara himself prefers, for on p. 277, when recapitulating, he says, *kim brahma kâranam âhosvit kâlâdi*. In comparing former translations, whether by Weber, Roer, Gough, and others, it will be seen that my own differs considerably from every one of them, and differs equally from Sāṅkara's interpretation. It would occupy too much space to criticise former translations, nor would it seem fair, considering how long ago they were made, and how imperfect were the materials which were then accessible. All I wish my readers to understand is that, if I differ from my predecessors, I do so after having carefully examined their renderings. Unfortunately, Roer's edition of both the text and the commentary is often far from correct. Thus in the very first verse of the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, I think we ought to read *sampratish/hâh*, instead of *sampratish/hitâh*. In the commentary the reading is right. *Vyavasyâm* is a misprint for *vyavasthâm*. In the second verse we must separate *kâlâh* and *svabhâvaḥ*. *Yadrikkhâ*, no very unusual word, meaning chance, was formerly taken for a name of the moon! Instead of *na tvâtma-bhâvât*, both sense and metre require that we should read *anâtmabhâvât*, though the commentators take a different view. They say, because there is a self, and then go on to say that even that would not suffice. Such matters, however, belong to a critical commentary on the Upanishads rather than to a translation, and I can refer to them in cases of absolute necessity only, and where the readings of the two MSS., A. and B, seem to offer some help.

2. Should time, or nature¹, or necessity, or chance, or the elements be considered as the cause, or he who is called the person (purusha, *vigñânâtmâ*)? It cannot be their union either, because that is not self-dependent², and the self also is powerless, because there is (independent of him) a cause of good and evil³.

3. The sages, devoted to meditation and concentration, have seen the power belonging to God himself⁴, hidden in its own qualities (*guṇa*). He, being one, superintends all those causes, time, self, and the rest⁵.

4⁶. We meditate on him who (like a wheel) has one felly with three tires, sixteen ends, fifty spokes, with twenty counter-spokes, and six sets of eight;

¹ Svabhâva, their own nature or independent character.

² Union presupposes a uniter.

³ Âtmâ is explained by Sâṅkara as the *gîvâh*, the living self, and as that living self is in his present state determined by karman, work belonging to a former existence, it cannot be thought of as an independent cause.

⁴ Devâtmasakti is a very important term, differently explained by the commentators, but meaning a power belonging to the Deva, the Îsvara, the Lord, not independent of him, as the Sâṅkhyas represent Prakṛiti or nature. Herein lies the important distinction between Vedânta and Sâṅkhya.

⁵ Kâlâtma^{bhyâm} yuktâni, kâlapurushasamyuktâni svabhâvâdîni. Âtman is here taken as synonymous with purusha in verse 2.

⁶ It is difficult to say whether this verse was written as a summing up of certain technicalities recognised in systems of philosophy existing at the time, or whether it is a mere play of fancy. I prefer the former view, and subjoin the explanation given by Sâṅkara, though it is quite possible that on certain points he may be mistaken. The Îsvara or deva is represented as a wheel with one felly, which would seem to be the phenomenal world. It is called *trivṛt*, three-fold, or rather having three tires, three bands or hoops to bind the felly, these tires being intended for the three *guṇas* of the prakṛiti, the Sattva, Ragas, and Tamas. In the Brahmopaniṣad (Bibl. Ind.

whose one rope is manifold, who proceeds on three different roads, and whose illusion arises from two causes.

p. 251) the *trivṛt* sūtram is mentioned. Next follows *śoḍaśāntam*, ending in the sixteen. These sixteen are differently explained. They may be meant for the five elements and the eleven indriyas or organs (the five receptive and the five active senses, together with *manas*, the common sensory); or for the sixteen *kalās*, mentioned in the *Prasṇopaniṣad*, VI, 1, p. 283. Then follows a new interpretation. The one felly may be meant for the chaos, the undeveloped state of things, and the sixteen would then be the two products in a general form, the *Virāḡ* and the *Sūtrātman*, while the remaining fourteen would be the individual products, the *bhuvanas* or worlds beginning with *Bhûḥ*.

Next follows *satārdhāram*, having fifty spokes. These fifty spokes are supposed to produce the motion of the mundane wheel, and are explained by *Śaṅkara* as follows :

1. The five *Viparyayas*, misconceptions, different kinds of ignorance or doubt, viz. *Tamas*, *Moha*, *Mahāmoha*, *Tāmisra*, *Andhatāmisra*, or, according to *Patañjali*, ignorance, self-love, love, hatred, and fear (*Yoga-sūtras* I, 8 ; II, 2 ; *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 37).

2. The twenty-eight *Asaktis*, disabilities, causes of misconception. (See *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 38.)

3. The nine inversions of the *Tuṣṭis*, satisfactions. (*Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 39.)

4. The eight inversions of the *Siddhis*, perfections. (*Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 40.)

These are afterwards explained singly. There are 8 kinds of *Tamas*, 8 kinds of *Moha*, 10 kinds of *Mahāmoha*, 18 kinds of *Tāmisra*, and 18 kinds of *Andhatāmisra*, making 62 in all. More information on the *Asaktis*, the *Tuṣṭis*, and *Siddhis* may be found in the *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 37-45 ; *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 47 seq. ; *Yoga-sūtras* II, 2 seq.

Then follow the 20 *pratyayas*, the counter-spokes, or wedges to strengthen the spokes, viz. the 10 senses and their 10 objects.

The six *ashṭakas* or ogdoads are explained as the ogdoads of *Prakṛiti*, of substances (*dhātu*), of powers (*aiśvarya*), of states (*bhāva*), of gods (*deva*), of virtues (*ātmaguna*).

The one, though manifold cord, is love or desire, *Kāma*, whether of food, children, heaven or anything else.

The three paths are explained as righteousness, unrighteousness,

5¹. We meditate on the river whose water consists of the five streams, which is wild and winding with its five springs, whose waves are the five vital breaths, whose fountain head is the mind, the course of the five kinds of perceptions. It has five whirlpools, its rapids are the five pains; it has fifty kinds of suffering, and five branches.

6. In that vast Brahma-wheel, in which all things live and rest, the bird flutters about, so long as he thinks that the self (in him) is different from the mover (the god, the lord). When he has been blessed by him, then he gains immortality².

7. But what is praised (in the Upanishads) is the

and knowledge, and the one deception arising from two causes is ignorance of self, produced by good or bad works.

¹ Here again, where the *īśvara* is likened to a stream, the minute coincidences are explained by Śaṅkara in accordance with certain systems of philosophy. The five streams are the five receptive organs, the five springs are the five elements, the five waves are the five active organs. The head is the *manas*, the mind, or common sensory, from which the perceptions of the five senses spring. The five whirlpools are the objects of the five senses, the five rapids are the five pains of being in the womb, being born, growing old, growing ill, and dying. The next adjective *pañākā-sadbhedām* is not fully explained by Śaṅkara. He only mentions the five divisions of the *kṣeṣa* (see *Yoga-sūtras* II, 2), but does not show how their number is raised to fifty. Dr. Roer proposes to read *pañākṣeṣa-bhedām*, but that would not agree with the metre. The five parvans or branches are not explained, and may refer to the fifty kinds of suffering (*kṣeṣa*). The whole river, like the wheel in the preceding verse, is meant for the Brahman as *kārya-kāraṇātma*, in the form of cause and effect, as the phenomenal, not the absolutely real world.

² If he has been blessed by the *Īśvara*, i. e. when he has been accepted by the Lord, when he has discovered his own true self in the Lord. It must be remembered, however, that both the *Īśvara*, the Lord, and the *puruṣa*, the individual soul, are phenomenal only, and that the Brahma-wheel is meant for the *prapañka*, the manifest, but unreal world.

Highest Brahman, and in it there is the triad¹. The Highest Brahman is the safe support, it is imperishable. The Brahma-students², when they have known what is within this (world), are devoted and merged in the Brahman, free from birth³.

8. The Lord (īsa) supports all this together, the perishable and the imperishable, the developed and the undeveloped. The (living) self, not being a lord, is bound⁴, because he has to enjoy (the fruits of works); but when he has known the god (deva), he is freed from all fetters.

9. There are two, one knowing (īśvara), the other not-knowing (gṛīva), both unborn, one strong, the other weak⁵; there is she, the unborn, through whom each man receives the recompense of his works⁶; and there is the infinite Self (appearing) under all forms, but himself inactive. When a man finds out these three, that is Brahma⁷.

10. That which is perishable⁸ is the Pradhâna⁹ (the first), the immortal and imperishable is Hara¹⁰.

¹ The subject (bhoktrī), the object (bhogya), and the mover (preritrī), see verse 12.

² B. has Vedavido, those who know the Vedas.

³ Tasmin praliyate tv ātmā samādhiḥ sa udāhṛtaḥ.

⁴ Read badhyate for budhyate.

⁵ The form īśanīsau is explained as śhāndasa; likewise brahmam for brahma.

⁶ Cf. Svet. Up. IV, 5, bhuktabhogyām.

⁷ The three are (1) the lord, the personal god, the creator and ruler; (2) the individual soul or souls; and (3) the power of creation, the devâtmasakti of verse 3. All three are contained in Brahman; see verses 7, 12. So 'pi mâyî paramesvaro mâyopâdhisannidhes tadvân iva.

⁸ See verse 8.

⁹ The recognised name for Prakṛiti, or here Devâtmasakti, in the later Sâṅkhya philosophy.

¹⁰ Hara, one of the names of Śiva or Rudra, is here explained as

The one god rules the perishable (the *pradhâna*) and the (living) self¹. From meditating on him, from joining him, from becoming one with him there is further cessation of all illusion in the end.

11. When that god is known, all fetters fall off, sufferings are destroyed, and birth and death cease. From meditating on him there arises, on the dissolution of the body, the third state, that of universal lordship²; but he only who is alone, is satisfied³.

12. This, which rests eternally within the self, should be known; and beyond this not anything has to be known. By knowing the enjoyer⁴, the enjoyed, and the ruler, everything has been declared to be threefold, and this is Brahman.

13. As the form of fire, while it exists in the under-wood⁵, is not seen, nor is its seed destroyed,

avidyâder haranât, taking away ignorance. He would seem to be meant for the *îsvara* or *deva*, the one god, though immediately afterwards he is taken for the true Brahman, and not for its phenomenal divine personification only.

¹ The self, *âtman*, used here, as before, for *purusha*, the individual soul, or rather the individual souls.

² A blissful state in the *Brahma-world*, which, however, is not yet perfect freedom, but may lead on to it. Thus it is said in the *Sivadharmottara* :

*Dhyânâd aisvaryam atulam aisvaryât sukham uttamam,
Gñânena tat parityagya videho muktim âpnuyât.*

³ This alone-ness, *kevalatvam*, is produced by the knowledge that the individual self is one with the divine self, and that both the individual and the divine self are only phenomenal forms of the true Self, the Brahman.

⁴ *Bhoktâ*, possibly for *bhoktrâ*, unless it is a *Khândasa* form. It was quoted before, *Bibl. Ind.* p. 292, l. 5. The enjoyer is the *purusha*, the individual soul, the subject; the enjoyed is *prakṛiti*, nature, the object; and the ruler is the *îsvara*, that is, Brahman, as god. I take *brahmam etat* in the same sense here as in verse 9.

⁵ This metaphor, like most philosophical metaphors in Sanskrit,

but it has to be seized again and again by means of the stick and the under-wood, so it is in both cases, and the Self has to be seized in the body by means of the *pranava* (the syllable Om).

14. By making his body the under-wood, and the syllable Om the upper-wood, man, after repeating the drill of meditation, will perceive the bright god, like the spark hidden in the wood¹.

15. As oil in seeds, as butter in cream, as water in (dry) river-beds², as fire in wood, so is the Self seized within the self, if man looks for him by truthfulness and penance³;

16. (If he looks) for the Self that pervades everything, as butter is contained in milk, and the roots whereof are self-knowledge and penance. That is the Brahman taught by the Upanishad.

is rather obscure at first sight, but very exact when once understood. Fire, as produced by a fire drill, is compared to the Self. It is not seen at first, yet it must be there all the time; its *linga* or subtle body cannot have been destroyed, because as soon as the stick, the *indhana*, is drilled in the under-wood, the *yoni*, the fire becomes visible. In the same way the Self, though invisible during a state of ignorance, is there all the time, and is perceived when the body has been drilled by the *Pranava*, that is, after, by a constant repetition of the sacred syllable Om, the body has been subdued, and the ecstatic vision of the Self has been achieved.

Indhana, the stick used for drilling, and *yoni*, the under-wood, in which the stick is drilled, are the two *araxis*, the fire-sticks used for kindling fire. See Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 260.

¹ Cf. *Dhyānavindūpan.* verse 20; *Brahmopanishad*, p. 256.

² *Srotas*, a stream, seems to mean here the dry bed of a stream, which, if dug into, will yield water.

³ The construction is correct, if we remember that he who is seized is the same as he who looks for the hidden Self. But the metre would be much improved if we accepted the reading of the *Brahmopanishad*, *evam ātmā ātmani gr̥hyate 'sau*, which is confirmed by B. The last line would be improved by reading, *satye-nainam ye 'nupasyanti dhīrāḥ*.

SECOND ADHYĀYA.

1¹. Savitri (the sun), having first collected his mind and expanded his thoughts, brought Agni (fire), when he had discovered his light, above the earth.

2². With collected minds we are at the command of the divine Savitri, that we may obtain blessedness.

¹ The seven introductory verses are taken from hymns addressed to Savitri as the rising sun. They have been so twisted by Saṅkara, in order to make them applicable to the teachings of the Yoga philosophy, as to become almost nonsensical. I have given a few specimens of Saṅkara's renderings in the notes, but have translated the verses, as much as possible, in their original character. As they are merely introductory, I do not understand why the collector of the Upanishad should have seen in them anything but an invocation of Savitri.

These verses are taken from various *Samhitās*. The first *yuñgānaḥ* *prathamam* is from *Taitt. Samh.* IV, 1, 1, 1, 1; *Vāg. Samh.* XI, 1; see also *Sat. Br.* VI, 3, 1, 12. The *Taittirīya*-text agrees with the Upanishad, the *Vāgasaneyi*-text has *dhiyam* for *dhiyaḥ*, and *agneḥ* for *agnim*. Both texts take *tatvāya* as a participle of *tan*, while the Upanishad reads *tattvāya*, as a dative of *tattva*, truth. I have translated the verse in its natural sense. Saṅkara, in explaining the Upanishad, translates: 'At the beginning of our meditation, joining the mind with the Highest Self, also the other *prāṇas*, or the knowledge of outward things, for the sake of truth, Savitri, out of the knowledge of outward things, brought Agni, after having discovered his brightness, above the earth, in this body.' He explains it: 'May Savitri, taking our thoughts away from outward things, in order to concentrate them on the Highest Self, produce in our speech and in our other senses that power which can lighten all objects, which proceeds from Agni and from the other favourable deities.' He adds that 'by the favour of Savitri, Yoga may be obtained.'

² The second verse is from *Taitt. Samh.* IV, 1, 1, 1, 3; *Vāg. Samh.* XI, 2. The *Vāgasaneyi*-text has *svargyāya* for *svargeyāya*, and *saktyā* for *saktyai*. Saṅkara explains: 'With a mind that has been joined

3¹. May Savitri, after he has reached with his mind the gods as they rise up to the sky, and with his thoughts (has reached) heaven, grant these gods to make a great light to shine.

4². The wise sages of the great sage collect their mind and collect their thoughts. He who alone knows the law (Savitri) has ordered the invocations ; great is the praise of the divine Savitri.

by Savitri to the Highest Self, we, with the sanction of that Savitri, devote ourselves to the work of meditation, which leads to the obtainment of Svarga, according to our power.' He explains Svarga by Paramâtman. Sâyana in his commentary on the Taittirîya-samhitâ explains svargeyâya by svargaloke gîyamânasyâgneḥ sampâdanâya ; Saṅkara, by svargaprâptihetubhûtâyâ dhyânakarmāne. Saktyai is explained by Saṅkara by yathâsâmarthyam ; by Sâyana, by saktâ bhûyâsma. Mahîdhara explains saktyâ by svasâmarthyena. I believe that the original reading was svargyâya saktyai, and that we must take saktyai as an infinitive, like ityai, construed with a dative, like drîsaye sûryâya, for the seeing of the sun. The two attracted datives would be governed by save, 'we are under the command of Savitri,' svargyâya saktyai, 'that we may obtain svargya, life in Svarga or blessedness.'

¹ The third verse is from Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 1, 2 ; Vâg. Samh. XI, 3. The Taittirîyas read yuktvâya manasâ ; the Vâgasaneyins, yuktvâya savitâ. Saṅkara translates : 'Again he prays that Savitri, having directed the devas, i. e. the senses, which are moving towards Brahman, and which by knowledge are going to brighten up the heavenly light of Brahman, may order them to do so ; that is, he prays that, by the favour of Savitri, our senses should be turned away from outward things to Brahman or the Self.' Taking the hymn as addressed to Savitri, I have translated deva by gods, not by senses, suvaryataḥ by rising to the sky, namely, in the morning. The opposition between manasâ and dhiyâ is the same here as in verse 1, and again in verse 4.

² This verse is from Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 1, 4 ; 1, 2, 13, 1, 1 ; Vâg. Samh. V, 14 ; XI, 4 ; XXXVII, 2 ; Rig-veda V, 81, 1 ; Sat. Br. III, 5, 3, 11 ; VI, 3, 1, 16. Saṅkara explains this verse again in the same manner as he did the former verses, while the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa supplies two different ritual explanations.

5¹. Your old prayer has to be joined² with praises. Let my song go forth like the path of the sun! May all the sons of the Immortal listen, they who have reached their heavenly homes.

6. Where the fire is rubbed³, where the wind is checked, where the Soma flows over, there the mind is born.

¹ For this verse, see Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 2, 1; Vâg. Samh. XI, 5; Atharva-veda XVIII, 3, 39; Rig-veda X, 13, 1. The Vâgasaneyins read *vi sloka etu* for *vi slokâ yanti*; *sûreḥ* for *sûrâḥ*; *srinvantu* for *srinvanti*; and the Rig-veda agrees with them. The dual *vâm* is accounted for by the verse belonging to a hymn celebrating the two *sakatas*, carts, bearing the offerings (*havirdhâne*); most likely, however, the dual referred originally to the dual deities of heaven and earth. I prefer the text of the Rig-veda and the Vâgasaneyins to that of the Taittirîyas, and have translated the verse accordingly. In the Atharva-veda XVIII, 39, if we may trust the edition, the verse begins with *svâsasthe bhavatam indave naḥ*, which is really the end of the next verse (Rv. X, 13, 2), while the second line is, *vi sloka eti pathyeva sûriḥ srinvantu visve amṛtâsa etat*. I see no sense in *pathyeva sûrâḥ*. Saṅkara explains *pathyeva* by *pathi sanmârge*, *athavâ pathyâ kîrtiḥ*, while his later commentary, giving *srinvantu* and *putrâḥ sûrâtmano hiranyagarbhasya*, leads one to suppose that he read *sûreḥ srinvantu*. Sâyana (Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 2) explains *pathyâ sûrâ iva* by *gîrvânamârga antarikshe sûryarasmayo yathâ prasaranti tadvat*. The same, when commenting on the Rig-veda (X, 13, 1), says: *pathyâ-iva sûreḥ, yathâ stotuḥ sva-bhûtâ pathyâ parinâmasukhâvahâhutir visvân devân prati vividham gakkhati tadvat*. Mahîdhara (Vâg. Samh. XI, 5) refers *sûreḥ* (*panditasya*) to *slokaḥ*, and explains *pathyeva* by *patho 'napetâ pathyâ yagnînamârgapravrittâhutiḥ*.

² *Yugé* cannot stand for *yuñge*, as all commentators and translators suppose, but is a dative infinitive. Neither can *yuñgate* in the following verse stand for *yuñkte* (see Boehlingk, s. v.), or be explained as a subjunctive form. A. reads *adhirudhyate*, B. *abhirudhyate*, with a marginal note *abhinudyate*. It is difficult to say whether in lighting the fire the wind should be directed towards it, or kept from it.

³ That is, at the Soma sacrifice, after the fire has been kindled and stirred by the wind, the poets, on partaking of the juice, are

7. Let us love the old Brahman by the grace of Savitri; if thou make thy dwelling there, the path will not hurt thee¹.

8. If a wise man hold his body with its three erect parts (chest, neck, and head) even², and turn his senses with the mind towards the heart, he will then in the boat of Brahman³ cross all the torrents which cause fear.

9. Compressing his breathings let him, who has subdued all motions, breathe forth through the nose with gentle breath⁴. Let the wise man without fail restrain his mind, that chariot yoked with vicious horses⁵.

10. Let him perform his exercises in a place⁶

inspired for new songs. Saṅkara, however, suggests another explanation as more appropriate for the Upanishad, namely, 'Where the fire, i.e. the Highest Self, which burns all ignorance, has been kindled (in the body, where it has been rubbed with the syllable Om), and where the breath has acted, i.e. has made the sound peculiar to the initial stages of Yoga, there Brahman is produced.' In fact, what was intended to be taught was this, that we must begin with sacrificial acts, then practise yoga, then reach samâdhi, perfect knowledge, and lastly bliss.

¹ We must read *krinavase*, in the sense of 'do this and nothing will hurt thee,' or, if thou do this, thy former deeds will no longer hurt thee.

² Cf. Bhagavadgîtâ VI, 13. *Samam kâyasirogrîvam dhârayan*. Saṅkara says: *trîny unnatâny urogrîvasirâmsy unnatâni yasmin sarîre*.

³ Explained by Saṅkara as the syllable Om.

⁴ Cf. Bhagavadgîtâ V, 27. *Prânâpânau samau kṛtvâ nâsâbhyantara kârinau*. See Telang's notes, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. viii, p. 68 seq.

⁵ A similar metaphor in *Kaṭh. Up.* III, 4-6; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xv, p. 13.

⁶ The question is whether *sabdagalâsrayâdibhiḥ* should be referred to *mano'nukûle*, as I have translated it, or to *vivargite*, as Saṅkara seems to take it, because he renders *sabda*, sound, by noise, and

level, pure, free from pebbles, fire, and dust, delightful by its sounds, its water, and bowers, not painful to the eye, and full of shelters and caves.

11. When Yoga is being performed, the forms which come first, producing apparitions in Brahman, are those of misty smoke, sun, fire, wind, fire-flies, lightnings, and a crystal moon¹.

12. When, as earth, water, light, heat, and ether arise, the fivefold quality of Yoga takes place², then there is no longer illness, old age, or pain³ for him who has obtained a body, produced by the fire of Yoga.

13. The first results of Yoga they call lightness, healthiness, steadiness, a good complexion, an easy pronunciation, a sweet odour, and slight excretions.

14. As a metal disk (mirror), tarnished by dust, shines bright again after it has been cleaned, so is the one incarnate person satisfied and free from grief, after he has seen the real nature of the self⁴.

âsraya by *mandapa*, a booth. See *Bhagavadgîtâ* VI, 11. In the *Maitr. Up.* VI, 30, Râmatîrtha explains *sukau dese* by *girinadî-pulinaguhâdisuddhashthâne*. See also *Âsv. Grîhya-sûtras* III, 2, 2.

¹ Or, it may be, a crystal and the moon.

² The *Yogaguna* is described as the quality of each element, i.e. smell of the earth, taste of water, &c. It seems that the perception of these *gunas* is called *yogapravṛtti*. Thus by fixing the thought on the tip of the nose, a perception of heavenly scent is produced; by fixing it on the tip of the tongue, a perception of heavenly taste; by fixing it on the point of the palate, a heavenly colour; by fixing it on the middle of the tongue, a heavenly touch; by fixing it on the roof of the tongue, a heavenly sound. By means of these perceptions the mind is supposed to be steadied, because it is no longer attracted by the outward objects themselves. See *Yoga-sûtras* I, 35.

³ Or no death, na *mṛityuḥ*, B.

⁴ *Pareshâm pâḥe tadvat sa tattvam prasamîkshya dehîti*.

15. And when by means of the real nature of his self he sees, as by a lamp, the real nature of Brahman, then having known the unborn, eternal god, who is beyond all natures¹, he is freed from all fetters.

16. He indeed is the god who pervades all regions: he is the first-born (as *Hiranyagarbha*), and he is in the womb. He has been born, and he will be born². He stands behind all persons, looking everywhere.

17. The god³ who is in the fire, the god who is in the water, the god who has entered into the whole world, the god who is in plants, the god who is in trees, adoration be to that god, adoration!

¹ *Sarvatattvair avidyâatkâryair visuddham asamsprisham.*

² This verse is found in the *Vâg. Samh.* XXXII, 4; *Taitt. Âr.* X, 1, 3, with slight modifications. The *Vâgasaneyins* read *esha hi*; *sa eva gâtaḥ* (A. B.) for *sa vigâtaḥ*; *ganâs* (A. B.) for *ganâms*. The *Âranyaka* has *sa vigâyamânaḥ* for *sa vigâtaḥ*, *pratyānmukhâs* for *pratyāṅganâms*, and *visvatomukhaḥ* for *sarvatomukhaḥ*. *Colebrooke* (*Essays*, I, 57) gives a translation of it. If we read *ganâḥ*, we must take it as a vocative.

³ B. (not A.) reads *yo rudro yo 'gnau*.

THIRD ADHYĀYA¹.

1. The snarer² who rules alone by his powers, who rules all the worlds by his powers, who is one and the same, while things arise and exist³,—they who know this are immortal.

2. For there is one Rudra only, they do not allow a second, who rules all the worlds by his powers. He stands behind all persons⁴, and after having created all worlds he, the protector, rolls it up⁵ at the end of time.

3⁶. That one god, having his eyes, his face, his arms, and his feet in every place, when producing heaven and earth, forges them together with his arms and his wings⁷.

¹ This Adhyāya represents the Highest Self as the personified deity, as the lord, *īśa*, or Rudra, under the sway of his own creative power, *prakṛiti* or *mâyā*.

² Śaṅkara explains *gāla*, snare, by *mâyā*. The verse must be corrected, according to Śaṅkara's commentary:

ya eko gālavân īśata īśanībhiḥ
sarvāñ llokān īśata īśanībhiḥ.

³ Sambhava, in the sense of *Vergehen*, perishing, rests on no authority.

⁴ Here again the MSS. A. B. read *ganâs*, as a vocative.

⁵ I prefer *samkukoka* to *samkukopa*, which gives us the meaning that Rudra, after having created all things, draws together, i. e. takes them all back into himself, at the end of time. I have translated *samsrīgya* by having created, because Boehtlingk and Roth give other instances of *samsrīg* with that sense. Otherwise, 'having mixed them together again,' would seem more appropriate. A. and B. read *samkukoka*.

⁶ This is a very popular verse, and occurs Rig-veda X, 81, 3; Vâg. Samh. XVII, 19; Ath.-veda XIII, 2, 26; Taitt. Samh. IV, 6, 2, 4; Taitt. Âr. X, 1, 3.

⁷ Śaṅkara takes *dhamati* in the sense of *samyogayati*, i. e. he joins men with arms, birds with wings.

4. He¹, the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the lord of all, he who formerly gave birth to Hiraṇyagarbha, may he endow us with good thoughts.

5². O Rudra, thou dweller in the mountains, look upon us with that most blessed form of thine which is auspicious, not terrible, and reveals no evil!

6³. O lord of the mountains, make lucky that arrow which thou, a dweller in the mountains, holdest in thy hand to shoot. Do not hurt man or beast!

7. Those who know beyond this the High Brahman, the vast, hidden in the bodies of all creatures, and alone enveloping everything, as the Lord, they become immortal⁴.

8⁵. I know that great person (purusha) of sunlike lustre beyond the darkness⁶. A man who knows him truly, passes over death; there is no other path to go⁷.

9. This whole universe is filled by this person (purusha), to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom there is

¹ See IV, 12.

² See Vâg. Samh. XVI, 2; Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1, 1.

³ See Vâg. Samh. XVI, 3; Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1, 1; Nilarudropan. p. 274.

⁴ The knowledge consists in knowing either that Brahman is Îsa or that Îsa is Brahman. But in either case the gender of the adjectives is difficult. The Svetâsvatara-upanishad seems to use *brîhanta* as an adjective, instead of *brîhat*. I should prefer to translate: Beyond this is the High Brahman, the vast. Those who know Îsa, the Lord, hidden in all things and embracing all things to be this (Brahman), become immortal. See also Muir, Metrical Translations, p. 196, whose translation of these verses I have adopted with few exceptions.

⁵ Cf. Vâg. Samh. XXX, 18; Taitt. Âr. III, 12, 7; III, 13, 1.

⁶ Cf. Bhagavadgîtâ VIII, 9.

⁷ Cf. Svet. Up. VI, 15.

nothing smaller or larger, who stands alone, fixed like a tree in the sky¹.

10. That which is beyond this world is without form and without suffering. They who know it, become immortal, but others suffer pain indeed².

11. That Bhagavat³ exists in the faces, the heads, the necks of all, he dwells in the cave (of the heart) of all beings, he is all-pervading, therefore he is the omnipresent Siva.

12. That person (purusha) is the great lord; he is the mover of existence⁴, he possesses that purest power of reaching everything⁵, he is light, he is undecaying.

13⁶. The person (purusha), not larger than a thumb,

¹ Divi, the sky, is explained by Saṅkara as dyotanâtmani svamāhimni.

² The pain of *samsâra*, or transmigration. See *Bṛihad. Up.* IV, 3, 20 (p. 178).

³ I feel doubtful whether the two names Bhagavat and Siva should here be preserved, or whether the former should be rendered by holy, the latter by happy. The commentator explains Bhagavat by

aisvaryaśya samagrasya vîryasya yasasaḥ śriyaḥ
Gñānavairāgyayoḥ kaiva śāntām bhaga itiranā.

Wilson, in his *Essay on the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, published in 1828, in the *Asiatic Researches*, XVI, p. 11, pointed out that this verse and another (*Svet. Up.* II, 2) were cited by the Saivas as Vedic authorities for their teaching. He remarked that these citations would scarcely have been made, if not authentic, and that they probably did occur in the Vedas. In the new edition of this *Essay* by Dr. Rost, 1862, the references should have been added.

⁴ Saṅkara explains *sattvasya* by *antaḥkaranasya*.

⁵ I take *prâpti*, like other terms occurring in this Upanishad, in its technical sense. *Prâpti* is one of the *vibhûtis* or *aisvaryaś*, viz. the power of touching anything at will, as touching the moon with the tip of one's finger. See *Yoga-sûtras*, ed. Rajendralal Mitra, p. 121.

⁶ Cf. *Taitt. Âr.* X, 71 (Anuv. 38, p. 858). *Kaṭh. Up.* IV, 12-13; above, p. 16.

dwelling within, always dwelling in the heart of man, is perceived by the heart, the thought¹, the mind; they who know it become immortal.

14². The person (purusha) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, having compassed the earth on every side, extends beyond it by ten fingers' breadth.

15. That person alone (purusha) is all this, what has been and what will be; he is also the lord of immortality; he is whatever grows by food³.

16. Its⁴ hands and feet are everywhere, its eyes and head are everywhere, its ears are everywhere, it stands encompassing all in the world⁵.

17. Separate from all the senses, yet reflecting the qualities of all the senses, it is the lord and ruler of all, it is the great refuge of all.

18. The embodied spirit within the town with nine gates⁶, the bird, flutters outwards, the ruler of

¹ The text has *manvîsa*, which Saṅkara explains by *gñânesa*. But Weber has conjectured rightly, I believe, that the original text must have been *manîshâ*. The difficulty is to understand how so common a word as *manîshâ* could have been changed into so unusual a word as *manvîsa*. See IV, 20.

² This is a famous verse of the Rig-veda, X, 90, 1; repeated in the Atharva-veda, XIX, 6, 1; Vâg. Samh. XXXI, 1; Taitt. Âr. III, 12, 1. Saṅkara explains ten fingers' breadth by endless; or, he says, it may be meant for the heart, which is ten fingers above the navel.

³ Sâyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda and the Taitt. Âr., gives another explanation, viz. he is also the lord of all the immortals, i. e. the gods, because they grow to their exceeding state by means of food, or for the sake of food.

⁴ The gender changes frequently, according as the author thinks either of the Brahman, or of its impersonation as *Îsa*, Lord.

⁵ Saṅkara explains *loka* by *nikâya*, body.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭh.* Up. V, 1.

the whole world, of all that rests and of all that moves.

19. Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, he sees without eyes, he hears without ears. He knows what can be known, but no one knows him; they call him the first, the great person (*purusha*).

20¹. The Self, smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of the creature. A man who has left all grief behind, sees the majesty, the Lord, the passionless, by the grace of the creator (the Lord).

21². I know³ this undecaying, ancient one, the self of all things, being infinite and omnipresent. They declare that in him all birth is stopped, for the Brahma-students proclaim him to be eternal⁴.

¹ Cf. Taitt. Âr. X, 12 (10), p. 800; Kañ. Up. II, 20; above, p. 11. The translation had to be slightly altered, because the Svetâsvataras, as Taittirîyas, read *akratum* for *akratuñ*, and *îsam* for *âtmanah*.

² Cf. Taitt. Âr. III, 13, 1; III, 12, 7.

³ A. reads *vedârûdham*, not B.

⁴ A. and B. read *brahmavâdino hi pravadanti*.

FOURTH ADHYĀYA.

1. He, the sun, without any colour, who with set purpose¹ by means of his power (*sakti*) produces endless colours², in whom all this comes together in the beginning, and comes asunder in the end—may he, the god, endow us with good thoughts³.

2. That (Self) indeed is Agni (fire), it is Âditya (sun), it is Vâyu (wind), it is *Kāndramas* (moon); the same also is the starry firmament⁴, it is Brahman (*Hiranyagarbha*), it is water, it is *Pragâpati* (*Virâg*).

3. Thou art woman, thou art man; thou art youth, thou art maiden; thou, as an old man, totterest⁵ along on thy staff; thou art born with thy face turned everywhere.

4. Thou art the dark-blue bee, thou art the green

¹ *Nihitârtha*, explained by Saṅkara as *gr̥h̥itaprayoganaḥ svârthanirapekshaḥ*. This may mean with set purpose, but if we read *agr̥h̥itaprayoganaḥ* it would mean the contrary, namely, without any definite object, irrespective of his own objects. This is possible, and perhaps more in accordance with the idea of creation as propounded by those to whom the *devâtmasakti* is *mâyâ*. *Nihita* would then mean hidden.

² Colour is intended for qualities, differences, &c.

³ This verse has been translated very freely. As it stands, *vi kaiti kânte visvam âdau sa devaḥ*, it does not construe, in spite of all attempts to the contrary, made by Saṅkara. What is intended is *yasminn idam sam ka vi kaiti sarvam* (IV, 11); but how so simple a line should have been changed into what we read now, is difficult to say.

⁴ This is the explanation of Saṅkara, and probably that of the Yoga schools in India at his time. But to take *sukram* for *dīptiman nakshatrâdi*, *brahma* for *Hiranyagarbha*, and *Pragâpati* for *Virâg* seems suggested by this verse only.

⁵ *Vañkayasi*, an exceptional form, instead of *vañkasi* (A. B.)

parrot with red eyes, thou art the thunder-cloud, the seasons, the seas. Thou art without beginning¹, because thou art infinite, thou from whom all worlds are born.

5². There is one unborn being (female), red, white, and black, uniform, but producing manifold offspring. There is one unborn being (male) who loves her and lies by her; there is another who leaves her, while she is eating what has to be eaten.

¹ We see throughout the constant change from the masculine to the neuter gender, in addressing either the lord or his true essence.

² This is again one of the famous verses of our Upanishad, because it formed for a long time a bone of contention between Vedânta and Sâṅkhya philosophers. The Sâṅkhyas admit two principles, the Purusha, the absolute subject, and the Prakṛiti, generally translated by nature. The Vedânta philosophers admit nothing but the one absolute subject, and look upon nature as due to a power inherent in that subject. The later Sâṅkhyas therefore, who are as anxious as the Vedântins to find authoritative passages in the Veda, confirming their opinions, appeal to this and other passages, to show that their view of Prakṛiti, as an independent power, is supported by the Veda. The whole question is fully discussed in the Vedânta-sûtras I, 4, 8. Here we read rohitakṛishṇa-suklâm, which seems preferable to lohita-kṛishṇa-varṇâm, at least from a Vedânta point of view, for the three colours, red, black, and white, are explained as signifying either the three guṇas, ragas, sattva, and tamas, or better (*Khând. Up. VI, 3, 1*), the three elements, tejas (fire), ap (water), and anna (earth). A. reads rohitasuklakṛishṇâm; B. lohitasuklakṛishṇâ (sic). We also find in A. and B. bhuktabhogâm for bhuktabhogyâm, but the latter seems technically the more correct reading. It would be quite wrong to imagine that aga and agâ are meant here for he-goat and she-goat. These words, in the sense of unborn, are recognised as early as the hymns of the Rig-veda, and they occurred in our Upanishad I, 9, where the two agas are mentioned in the same sense as here. But there is, no doubt, a play on the words, and the poet wished to convey the second meaning of he-goat and she-goat, only not as the primary, but as the secondary intention.

6¹. Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating.

7. On the same tree man sits grieving, immersed, bewildered, by his own impotence (an-īśā). But when he sees the other lord (īśa) contented, and knows his glory, then his grief passes away.

8². He who does not know that indestructible being of the *Rig-veda*, that highest ether-like (Self) wherein all the gods reside, of what use is the *Rig-veda* to him? Those only who know it, rest contented.

9. That from which the maker (mâyin³) sends forth all this—the sacred verses, the offerings, the sacrifices, the panaceas, the past, the future, and all

¹ The same verses occur in the *Mundaka Up.* III, 1.

² It is difficult to see how this verse comes in here. In the *Taitt. Ār.* II, 11, 6, it is quoted in connection with the syllable Om, the Akshara, in which all the Vedas are comprehended. It is similarly used in the *Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanī*, IV, 2; V, 2. In our passage, however, akshara is referred by Śaṅkara to the paramâtman, and I have translated it accordingly. *Rikah* is explained as a genitive singular, but it may also be taken as a nom. plur., and in that case both the verses of the Veda and the gods are said to reside in the Akshara, whether we take it for the Paramâtman or for the Om. In the latter case, parame vyoman is explained by *utkrīṣhṭe* and *rakshake*.

³ It is impossible to find terms corresponding to *mâyâ* and *mâyin*. *Mâyâ* means making, or art, but as all making or creating, so far as the Supreme Self is concerned, is phenomenal only or mere illusion, *mâyâ* conveys at the same time the sense of illusion. In the same manner *mâyin* is the maker, the artist, but also the magician or juggler. What seems intended by our verse is that from the akshara, which corresponds to brahman, all proceeds, whatever exists or seems to exist, but that the actual creator or the author of all emanations is *īśa*, the Lord, who, as creator, is acting through *mâyâ* or *devâtmasakti*. Possibly, however, *anya*, the other, may be meant for the individual *purusha*.

that the Vedas declare—in that the other is bound up through that *mâyâ*.

10. Know then *Prakṛiti* (nature) is *Mâyâ* (art), and the great Lord the *Mâyin* (maker); the whole world is filled with what are his members.

11. If a man has discerned him, who being one only, rules over every germ (cause), in whom all this comes together and comes asunder again, who is the lord, the bestower of blessing, the adorable god, then he passes for ever into that peace.

12¹. He, the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the lord of all, who saw² *Hiranyagarbha* being born, may he endow us with good thoughts.

13. He who is the sovereign of the gods, he in whom all the worlds³ rest, he who rules over all two-footed and four-footed beings, to that god⁴ let us sacrifice an oblation.

14. He who has known him who is more subtle than subtle, in the midst of chaos, creating all things, having many forms, alone enveloping everything⁵, the happy one (*Siva*), passes into peace for ever.

¹ See before, III, 4.

² *Saṅkara* does not explain this verse again, though it differs from III, 4. *Vigñânâtman* explains *pasyata* by *apasyata*, and qualifies the *Âtmanepada* as irregular.

³ B. reads *yasmin devâh*, not A.

⁴ I read *tasmai* instead of *kasmai*, a various reading mentioned by *Vigñânâtman*. It was easy to change *tasmai* into *kasmai*, because of the well-known line in the *Rig-veda*, *kasmai devâya havishâ vidhema*. Those who read *kasmai*, explain it as a dative of *Ka*, a name of *Pragâpati*, which in the dative should be *kâya*, and not *kasmai*. It would be better to take *kasmai* as the dative of the interrogative pronoun. See M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 433; and *Vitâna-sutras* IV, 22.

⁵ Cf. III, 7.

15. He also was in time¹ the guardian of this world, the lord of all, hidden in all beings. In him the Brahmarshis and the deities are united², and he who knows him cuts the fetters of death asunder.

16. He who knows Siva (the blessed) hidden in all beings, like the subtile film that rises from out the clarified butter³, alone enveloping everything,—he who knows the god, is freed from all fetters.

17. That god, the maker of all things, the great Self⁴, always dwelling in the heart of man, is perceived by the heart, the soul, the mind⁵;—they who know it become immortal.

18. When the light has risen⁶, there is no day, no night, neither existence nor non-existence⁷; Siva (the blessed) alone is there. That is the eternal, the adorable light of Savitri⁸,—and the ancient wisdom proceeded thence.

19. No one has grasped him above, or across, or in the middle⁹. There is no image of him whose name is Great Glory.

20. His form cannot be seen, no one perceives him with the eye. Those¹⁰ who through heart and

¹ In former ages, Saṅkara.

² Because both the Brahmarshis, the holy seers, and the deities find their true essence in Brahman.

³ We should say, like cream from milk.

⁴ Or the high-minded.

⁵ See III, 13.

⁶ Atamas, no darkness, i. e. light of knowledge.

⁷ See on the difficulty of translating sat and asat, τὸ ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν, the remarks in the Preface.

⁸ Referring to the Gâyatrî, Rig-veda III, 62, 10; see also Svet. Up. V, 4.

⁹ See Muir, Metrical Translations, p. 198; Maitr. Up. VI, 17.

¹⁰ B. reads *hrîdâ manîshâ manasâbhiklîpto, yat tad vidur*; A. *hrîdi hrîdistham manasâya enam evam vidur*.

mind know him thus abiding in the heart, become immortal.

21. 'Thou art unborn,' with these words some one comes near to thee, trembling. O Rudra, let thy gracious¹ face protect me for ever!

22². O Rudra! hurt us not in our offspring and descendants, hurt us not in our own lives, nor in our cows, nor in our horses! Do not slay our men in thy wrath, for, holding oblations, we call on thee always.

¹ Dakshina is explained either as invigorating, exhilarating, or turned towards the south.

² See Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, p. 141; *Rig-veda* I, 114, 8; *Taitt. Samh.* IV, 5, 10, 3; *Vâg. Samh.* XVI, 16. The various readings are curious. Âyushi in the *Svet. Up.*, instead of âyau in the *Rig-veda*, is supported by the *Taitt. Samh.* and the *Vâg. Samh.*; but *Vigñânâtman* reads âyau. As to bhâmito, it seems the right reading, being supported by the *Rig-veda*, the *Taitt. Samh.*, and the *Svet. Up.*, while bhâvito in Roer's edition is a misprint. The *Vâg. Samh.* alone reads bhâmino, which Mahidhara refers to virân. The last verse in the *Rig-veda* and *Vâg. Samh.* is havishmantah sadam it tvâ havâmahe; in the *Taitt. Samh.* havishmantanto namasâ vidhema te. In the *Svet. Up.* havishmantah sadasi tvâ havâmahe, as printed by Roer, seems to rest on Sankara's authority only. The other commentators, Sankarânanda and *Vigñânâtman*, read and interpret sadam it.

FIFTH ADHYĀYA.

1. In the imperishable and infinite Highest Brahman¹, wherein the two, knowledge and ignorance, are hidden², the one, ignorance, perishes³, the other, knowledge, is immortal; but he who controls both, knowledge and ignorance, is another⁴.

2. It is he who, being one only, rules over every germ (cause), over all forms, and over all germs; it is he who, in the beginning, bears⁵ in his thoughts the wise son, the fiery, whom he wishes to look on⁶ while he is born⁷.

3⁸. In that field⁹ in which the god, after spreading out one net after another¹⁰ in various ways, draws it together again, the Lord, the great Self¹¹, having

¹ Śaṅkara explains Brahmapare by *brahmano hiranyagarbhāt pare*, or by *parasmin brahmaṇi*, which comes to the same. *Vigñānātman* adds *hāṇḍasaḥ paranipātāḥ*. As the termination *e* may belong to the locative singular or to the nom. dual, commentators vary in referring some of the adjectives either to *brahman* or to *vidyāvidye*.

² *Gūḍhe*, *lokair gñātum asakye*, Śaṅkarānanda.

³ Śaṅkara explains *ksharam* by *samsrītikāraṇam*, *amṛitam* by *mokṣaḥetuḥ*.

⁴ Śaṅkara explains that he is different from them, being only the *sākshin*, or witness. Śaṅkarānanda seems to have read *Somya*, i. e. *Somavatpriyadarsana*, as if *Svetāśvatvara* addressed his pupil.

⁵ Like a mother, see I, 9.

⁶ Like a father.

⁷ See on this verse the remarks made in the Introduction.

⁸ The MSS. read *yasmin* for *asmin*, and *patayas* for *yatayas*, which the commentator explains by *patīn*.

⁹ The world, or the *mūlaprakṛti*, the net being the *samsāra*.

¹⁰ Śaṅkara explains *ekaikam* by *pratyekam*, i. e. for every creature, such as gods, men, beasts, &c.

¹¹ I doubt whether *mahātmā* should be translated by the great

further created the lords¹, thus carries on his lordship over all.

4. As the car (of the sun) shines, lighting up all quarters, above, below, and across, thus does that god, the holy, the adorable, being one, rule over all that has the nature of a germ².

5. He, being one, rules over all and everything, so that the universal germ ripens its nature, diversifies all natures that can be ripened³, and determines all qualities⁴.

6⁵. Brahmâ (Hiranyagarbha) knows this, which is hidden in the Upanishads, which are hidden in the Vedas, as the Brahma-germ. The ancient gods

Self, or whether great would not be sufficient. The whole verse is extremely difficult.

¹ From Hiranyagarbha to insects; or beginning with Marîçi.

² Cf. IV, 11; V, 2.

³ MS. B. has *prâkyân*, and explains it by *pûrvotpannân*.

⁴ This is again a very difficult verse. I have taken *visvayoniḥ* as a name for Brahman, possessed of that *devâtmasakti* which was mentioned before, but I feel by no means satisfied. The commentators do not help, because they do not see the difficulty of the construction. If one might conjecture, I should prefer *paṭet* for *paṭati*, and should write *parizâmayed yat*, and *viniyogayed yat*, unless we changed *yakṣa* into *yaṣṣa*.

⁵ This verse admits of various translations, and requires also some metrical emendations. Thus *Vigñânâtman* explains *vedaghyopanishatsu* very ingeniously by the Veda, i. e. that part of it which teaches sacrifices and their rewards; the *Guhya*, i. e. the *Âranyaka*, which teaches the worship of Brahman under various legendary aspects; and the *Upanishads*, which teach the knowledge of Brahman without qualities. These three divisions would correspond to the *karmakânda*, *yogakânda*, and *gñânakânda* (*Gaimini*, *Patañjali*, *Bâdarâyana*). See Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 20. Mr. Gough and Dr. Roer take *Brahmayoni* as 'the source of the Veda,' or as the source of *Hiranyagarbha*. The irregular form *vedate* may be due to a corruption of *vedânte*.

and poets who knew it, they became it and were immortal.

7¹. But he who is endowed with qualities, and performs works that are to bear fruit, and enjoys the reward of whatever he has done, migrates through his own works, the lord of life, assuming all forms, led by the three Guṇas, and following the three paths².

8³. That lower one also, not larger than a thumb, but brilliant like the sun, who is endowed with personality and thoughts, with the quality of mind and the quality of body, is seen small even like the point of a goad.

9. That living soul is to be known as part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair⁴, divided a hundred times, and yet it is to be infinite.

10. It is not woman, it is not man, nor is it neuter; whatever body it takes, with that it is joined⁵ (only).

11⁶. By means of thoughts, touching, seeing, and

¹ Here begins the description of what is called the *tvam* (thou), as opposed to the *tat* (that), i. e. the living soul, as opposed to the Highest Brahman.

² The paths of vice, virtue, and knowledge.

³ Both MSS. (A. and B.) read ârâgramâtro hy avaro 'pi *dri-sh/aḥ*.

⁴ An expression of frequent occurrence in Buddhist literature.

⁵ A. and B. read *yugyate*. A. explains *yugyate* by *sambadh-yate*. B. explains *adyate* *bhakshyate* *tirobhūtaḥ* *kriyate*. Śaṅkara explains *rakshyate*, *saṁrakshyate*, *tattaddharmân âtmany adhyasyâ-bhimanyate*.

⁶ The MSS. vary considerably. Instead of *mohair*, A. and B. read *homair*. They read *grâsâmbuvrîshyâ kâtma*. A. reads *âtmavivṛiddhiganma*, B. *âtmanivṛiddhaganmâ*. A. has *abhisam-prapadye*, B. *abhisamprapadyate*. My translation follows Śaṅkara, who seems to have read *âtmavivṛiddhiganma*, taking the whole line

passions the incarnate Self assumes successively in various places various forms¹, in accordance with his deeds, just as the body grows when food and drink are poured into it.

12. That incarnate Self, according to his own qualities, chooses (assumes) many shapes, coarse or subtile, and having himself caused his union with them, he is seen as another and another², through the qualities of his acts, and through the qualities of his body.

13³. He who knows him who has no beginning and no end, in the midst of chaos, creating all things, having many forms, alone enveloping everything, is freed from all fetters.

14. Those who know him who is to be grasped by the mind, who is not to be called the nest (the body⁴), who makes existence and non-existence, the

as a simile and in an adverbial form. *Vigñânâtman*, however, differs considerably. He reads *homaiḥ*, and explains *homa* as the act of throwing oblations into the fire, as in the *Agnihotra*. This action of the hands, he thinks, stands for all actions of the various members of the body. *Grâsâmbuvrîṣhā* he takes to mean free distribution of food and drink, and then explains the whole sentence by 'he whose self is born unto some states or declines from them again, namely, according as he has showered food and drink, and has used his hands, eyes, feelings, and thoughts.' *Saṅkarânanda* takes a similar view, only he construes *saṅkalpanam* and *sparśanam* as two *drîṣhās*, *te eva drîṣhāi*, *tayor âtmâgnau prakshepâ homâḥ*; and then goes on, *na kevalam etaiḥ, kim tv asmin sthâne jarire grâsâmbuvrîṣhyâ ka*. He seems to read *âtmavivṛddhaganmâ*, but afterwards explains *vivṛiddhi* by *vividhâ vṛiddhiḥ*.

¹ Forms as high as *Hiranyagarbha* or as low as beasts.

² Instead of *aparo*, B. reads *avaro*, but explains *aparo*.

³ Cf. III, 7; IV, 14, 16.

⁴ *Nîḍa* is explained as the body, but *Saṅkarânanda* reads *anilâkhyam*, who is called the wind, as being *prânasya prânam*, the breath of the breath.

happy one (Siva), who also creates the elements¹, they have left the body.

¹ Saṅkara explains kalāsargakaram by he who creates the sixteen kalās, mentioned by the Âtharvavikas, beginning with prâna, and ending with nâman; see Prasâna Up. VI, 4. Vigñânâtman suggests two other explanations, 'he who creates by means of the kalâ, i. e. his inherent power;' or 'he who creates the Vedas and other sciences.' The sixteen kalās are, according to Saṅkarânanda, prâna, sraddhâ, kha, vâyu, gyotiḥ, ap, prithivî, indriya, manaḥ, anna, vîrya, tapaḥ, mantra, karman, kâla (?), nâman. See also before, I, 4.

SIXTH ADHYĀYA.

1¹. Some wise men, deluded, speak of Nature, and others of Time (as the cause of everything²); but it is the greatness of God by which this Brahma-wheel is made to turn.

2. It is at the command of him who always covers this world, the knower, the time of time³, who assumes qualities and all knowledge⁴, it is at his command that this work (creation) unfolds itself, which is called earth, water, fire, air, and ether;

3⁵. He who, after he has done that work and rested again, and after he has brought together one essence (the self) with the other (matter), with one, two, three, or eight, with time also and with the subtile qualities of the mind, ↓

4. Who, after starting⁶ the works endowed with (the three) qualities, can order all things, yet when, in the absence of all these, he has caused the destruction of the work, goes on, being in truth⁷ different (from all he has produced);

¹ See Muir, Metrical Translations, p. 198.

² See before, I, 2.

³ The destroyer of time. *Vigñānātman* reads *kālakālo*, and explains it by *kālasya niyantā, upahartā*. *Saṅkarānanda* explains *kālāḥ sarvavināśakārī, tasyāpi vināśakaraḥ*. See also verse 16.

⁴ Or *sarvavid yaḥ*.

⁵ Instead of *vinivartya*, *Vigñānātman* and *Saṅkarānanda* read *vinivṛtya*.

⁶ *Āruhya* for *ārabhya*, *Saṅkarānanda*.

⁷ These two verses are again extremely obscure, and the explanations of the commentators throw little light on their real, original meaning. To begin with *Saṅkara*, he assumes the subject to be the same as he at whose command this work unfolds itself, and explains

5. He is the beginning, producing the causes which unite (the soul with the body), and, being

tattvasya tattvena sametya yogam by âtmano bhûmyâdinâ yogam samgamayya. As the eight Tattvas he gives earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, thought, personality, while the Âtmagunas are, according to him, the affections of the mind, love, anger, &c. In the second verse, however, Saṅkara seems to assume a different subject. 'If a man,' he says, 'having done works, infected by qualities, should transfer them on Îsvara, the Lord, there would be destruction of the works formerly done by him, because there would be no more connection with the self.' Something is left out, but that this is Saṅkara's idea, appears from the verses which he quotes in support, and which are intended to show that Yogins, transferring all their acts, good, bad, or indifferent, on Brahman, are no longer affected by them. 'That person,' Saṅkara continues, 'his works being destroyed and his nature purified, moves on, different from all things (tattva), from all the results of ignorance, knowing himself to be Brahman.' 'Or,' he adds, 'if we read anyad, it means, he goes to that Brahman which is different from all things.'

Saṅkarânanda takes a different view. He says: 'If a man has performed sacrifices, and has finished them, or, has turned away from them again as vain, and if he has obtained union with that which is the real of the (apparently) real, &c.' The commentator then asks what is that with which he obtains union, and replies, 'the one, i. e. ignorance; the two, i. e. right and wrong; the three, i. e. the three colours, red, white, and black; and the eight, i. e. the five elements, with mind, thought, and personality; also with time, and with the subtile affections of the mind.' He then goes on, 'If that man, after having begun qualified works, should take on himself all states (resulting from ignorance), yet, when these states cease, there would be an end of the work, good or bad, done by him, and when his work has come to an end, he abides in truth (according to the Veda); while the other, who differs from the Veda, is wrong.' Saṅkarânanda, however, evidently feels that this is a doubtful interpretation, and he suggests another, viz. 'If the Lord himself,' he says, 'determined these states (bhâva), it would seem that there would be no end of *samsâra*. He therefore says, that when these states, ignorance &c., cease, the work done by man ceases; and when the work done ceases, the living soul gets free of *samsâra*, being in truth another, i. e. different from ignorance and its products.'

Vigñânâtman says: 'If a man, having done work, turns away

above the three kinds of time (past, present, future), he is seen as without parts¹, after we have first worshipped that adorable god, who has many forms, and who is the true source (of all things), as dwelling in our own mind.

6. He is beyond all the forms of the tree² (of the world) and of time, he is the other, from whom this world moves round, when³ one has known him who

from it, and obtains union of one tattva (the *tvam*, or self) with the real tattva (the *tat*, or the Lord);—and how? By means of the one, i. e. the teaching of the Guru; the two, i. e. love of the Guru and of the Lord; the three, i. e. hearing, remembering, and meditating; the eight, i. e. restraint, penance, postures, regulation of the breath, abstraction, devotion, contemplation, and meditation (*Yoga-sûtras* II, 29); by time, i. e. the right time for work; by the qualities of the self, i. e. pity, &c.; by the subtle ones, i. e. the good dispositions for knowledge, then (we must supply) he becomes free.' And this he explains more fully in the next verse. 'If, after having done qualified works, i. e. works to please the Lord, a Yati discards all things, and recognises the phenomenal character of all states, and traces them back to their real source in *Mûlaprakṛiti* and, in the end, in the *Sakṣidânanda*, he becomes free. If they (the states) cease, i. e. are known in their real source, the work done ceases also in its effects, and when the work has been annihilated, he goes to freedom, being another in truth; or, if we read *anyat*, he goes to what is different from all these things, namely, to the Lord; or, he goes to a state of perfect lordship in truth, having discovered the highest truth, the oneness of the self with the Highest Self.'

I think that, judging from the context, the subject is really the same in both verses, viz. the Lord, as passing through different states, and at last knowing himself to be above them all. Yet, the other explanations may be defended, and if the subject were taken to be different in each verse, some difficulties would disappear.

¹ *Vigñânâtman* and *Saṅkarânanda* read *akalo 'pi*, without parts, and *Saṅkara*, too, presupposes that reading, though the text is corrupt in Roer's edition.

² Explained as *samsâravṛksha*, the world-tree, as described in the *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 1.

³ It seems possible to translate this verse in analogy with the former, and without supplying the verb either from *yâti*, in verse 4,

brings good and removes evil, the lord of bliss, as dwelling within the self, the immortal, the support of all.

7. Let us know that highest great lord of lords¹, the highest deity of deities, the master of masters, the highest above, as god, the lord of the world, the adorable.

8. There is no effect and no cause known of him, no one is seen like unto him or better; his high power is revealed as manifold, as inherent, acting as force and knowledge. ✓

9. There is no master of his in the world, no ruler of his, not even a sign of him². He is the cause, the lord of the lords of the organs³, and there is of him neither parent nor lord. \

10. That only god who spontaneously covered himself, like a spider, with threads drawn from the first cause (pradhâna), grant us entrance into Brahman⁴. ✓

11. He is the one God, hidden in all beings, all-

or from vidâma, in verse 7. The poet seems to have said, he is that, he is seen as that, when one has worshipped him, or when one has known him within oneself.

¹ Sāṅkara thinks that the lords are Vaivasvata &c.; the deities, Indra &c.; the masters, the Pragâpatīs. Viṣṇûânâtman explains the lords as Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, &c.; the deities as Indra, &c.; the masters as Hiranyagarbha, &c. Sāṅkarânanda sees in the lords Hiranyagarbha &c., in the deities Agni &c., in the masters the Pragâpatīs, such as Kasyapa.

² If he could be inferred from a sign, there would be no necessity for the Veda to reveal him.

³ Karana, instrument, is explained as organ of sense. The lords of such organs would be all living beings, and their lord the true Lord.

⁴ Besides brahmâpyayam, i. e. brahmany apyayam, ekîbhâvam, another reading is brahmâvyayam, i. e. brahma kâvyayam ka.

pervading, the self within all beings, watching over all works, dwelling in all beings, the witness, the perceiver¹, the only one, free from qualities.

✓ 12². He is the one ruler of many who (seem to act, but really do) not act³; he makes the one seed manifold. The wise who perceive him within their self, to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others.

13⁴. He is the eternal among eternal, the thinker among thinkers, who, though one, fulfils the desires of many. He who has known that cause which is to be apprehended by Sāṅkhya (philosophy) and Yoga (religious discipline), he is freed from all fetters.

¹ All the MSS. seem to read *ketâ*, not *ketâ*.

² See *Kaṭha-upanishad* V, 12-15.

³ Sāṅkara explains that the acts of living beings are due to their organs, but do not affect the Highest Self, which always remains passive (*nishkriya*).

⁴ I have formerly translated this verse, according to the reading *nityo 'nityânâm ketanas ketanânâm*, the eternal thinker of non-eternal thoughts. This would be a true description of the Highest Self who, though himself eternal and passive, has to think (*gīvâtman*) non-eternal thoughts. I took the first *ketana* in the sense of *ketâ*, the second in the sense of *ketanam*. The commentators, however, take a different, and it may be, from their point, a more correct view. Sāṅkara says: 'He is the eternal of the eternal, i. e. as he possesses eternity among living souls (*gīvas*), these living souls also may claim eternity. Or the eternal may be meant for earth, water, &c. And in the same way he is the thinker among thinkers.'

Sāṅkarānanda says: 'He is eternal, imperishable, among eternal, imperishable things, such as the ether, &c. He is thinking among thinkers.'

Vigñānātman says: 'The Highest Lord is the cause of eternity in eternal things on earth, and the cause of thought in the thinkers on earth.' But he allows another construction, namely, that he is the eternal thinker of those who on earth are endowed with eternity and thought. In the end all these interpretations come to

14. The¹ sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lightened.

15. He is the one bird² in the midst of the world; he is also (like) the fire (of the sun) that has set in the ocean. A man who knows him truly, passes over death³; there is no other path to go.

16. He makes all, he knows all, the self-caused, the knower⁴, the time of time (destroyer of time), who assumes qualities and knows everything, the master of nature and of man⁵, the lord of the three qualities (*guṇa*), the cause of the bondage, the existence, and the liberation of the world⁶.

17. He who has become that⁷, he is the immortal, remaining the lord, the knower, the ever-present guardian of this world, who rules this world for ever, for no one else is able to rule it.

18. Seeking for freedom I go for refuge to that God who is the light of his own thoughts⁸, he who

the same, viz. that there is only one eternal, and only one thinker, from whom all that is (or seems to be) eternal and all that is thought on earth is derived.

¹ See *Kath. Up.* V, 15; *Mund. Up.* II, 2, 10; *Bhagavadgītā* XV, 6.

² *Hamsa*, frequently used for the Highest Self, is explained here as *hantya avidyā dibandhakāraṇam iti hamsaḥ*.

³ Cf. III, 8.

⁴ Again the MSS. read *kālakālo*, as in verse 2. They also agree in putting *gñāḥ* before *kālakālo*, as in verse 2.

⁵ *Pradhānam avyaktam, kshetragñō vigñānātmā*.

⁶ He binds, sustains, and dissolves worldly existence.

⁷ He who seems to exist for a time in the form of *kshetragñā* and *pradhāna*.

⁸ The MSS. vary between *ātmabuddhiprakāśam* and *ātmabuddhiprasādam*. The former reading is here explained by *Saṅkarānanda* as *svabuddhisākṣinam*.

first creates Brahman (m.)¹ and delivers the Vedas to him ;

19. Who is without parts, without actions, tranquil, without fault, without taint², the highest bridge to immortality—like a fire that has consumed its fuel.

20. Only when men shall roll up the sky like a hide, will there be an end of misery, unless God has first been known³.

21. Through the power of his penance and through the grace of God⁴ has the wise Svetāsvatara truly⁵ proclaimed Brahman, the highest and holiest, to the best of ascetics⁶, as approved by the company of *Rishis*.

¹ Explained as *Hiranyagarbha*.

² *Nirāṅganam nirlepam*.

³ *Saṅkarānanda* reads *tadā śivam avigñāya dukkhasyānto bhaviṣyati*; *Vigñānātman* retains *devam*, but mentions *śivam* as a various reading. Both have *anto*, not *antam*, like *Roer*. *Saṅkara* seems to have found *na* before *bhaviṣyati*, or to have read *dukkhānto na bhaviṣyati*, for he explains that there will be no end of misery, unless God has first been known. It is possible, however, that the same idea may be expressed in the text as we read it, so that it should mean, Only when the impossible shall happen, such as the sky being rolled up by men, will misery cease, unless God has been discovered in the heart.

⁴ The MSS. read *devaprasādāt*, which is more in keeping with the character of this Upanishad.

⁵ *Samyak* may be both adverb and adjective in this sentence, *kākāḥshinyāyena*.

⁶ *Atyāsramin* is explained by *Saṅkara* as *atyantam pūgyatamā-sramibhyaḥ*; and he adds, *ṣaṭśikṣaḥ bhikṣavaḥ ka bahūdakakuṭṭakau, Hamsaḥ paramahamsas ka yo yaḥ paśkāt sa uttamaḥ*. *Weber* (*Indische Studien*, II, 109) has himself corrected his mistake of reading *antyāsramibhyaḥ*, and translating it by neighbouring hermits.

These four stages in the life of a *Sannyāsin* are the same to-day as they were in the time of the Upanishads, and *Dayānanda Sarasvatī*

22. This highest mystery in the Vedânta, delivered in a former age, should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued, nor to one who is not a son, or who is not a pupil¹.

23. If these truths have been told to a high-minded man, who feels the highest devotion for God, and for his Guru as for God, then they will shine forth,—then they will shine forth indeed.

describes them in his autobiography, though in a different order :

1. Kuśīkaka, living in a hut, or in a desolate place, and wearing a red-ochre coloured garment, carrying a three-knotted bamboo rod, and wearing the hair in the centre of the crown of the head, having the sacred thread, and devoting oneself to the contemplation of Parabrahma. 2. Bahūdaka, one who lives quite apart from his family and the world, maintains himself on alms collected at seven houses, and wears the same kind of reddish garment. 3. Hamsa, the same as in the preceding case, except the carrying of only a one-knotted bamboo. 4. Paramahansa, the same as the others ; but the ascetic wears the sacred thread, and his hair and beard are quite long. This is the highest of all orders. A Paramahansa who shows himself worthy is on the very threshold of becoming a Dīkshita.

¹ Cf. *Brh. Up.* VI, 3, 12 ; *Maitr. Up.* VI, 29.

PRASŔA-UPANISHAD.

PRASŒA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST QUESTION.

Adoration to the Highest Self! Hariḥ, Om!

1. Sukesas¹ Bhâradvâga², and Saivya Satyakâma, and Sauryâyanin³ Gârgya, and Kausalya⁴ Âsvalâyana, and Bhârgava Vaidarbhi⁵, and Kabandhin Kâtyâyana, these were devoted to Brahman, firm in Brahman, seeking for the Highest Brahman. They thought that the venerable Pippalâda could tell them all that, and they therefore took fuel in their hands (like pupils), and approached him.

2. That Rishi said to them: 'Stay here a year longer, with penance, abstinence, and faith; then you may ask questions according to your pleasure, and if we know them, we shall tell you all.'

3. Then⁶ Kabandhin Kâtyâyana approached him and asked: 'Sir, from whence may these creatures be born?'

¹ Sukesas seems better than Sukesan, and he is so called in the sixth Prasṇa, in MS. Mill 74.

² Bhâradvâga, Saivya, Gârgya, Âsvalâyana, Bhârgava, and Kâtyâyana are, according to Saṅkara, names of gotras or families.

³ Sûryasyâpatyam Sauryaḥ, tadapatyam Sauryâyaninḥ. Dîrghaḥ sulopas ka kṛândasa iti sa eva Sauryâyaninḥ.

⁴ Kausalyo nâmataḥ, kosalâyâm bhavo vâ.

⁵ Vaidarbhi is explained as vidarbheḥ prabhavaḥ, or Vidarbheshu prabhavaḥ. Vidarbha, a country, south of the Vindhya mountains, with Kundîna as its capital. Vaidarbha, a king of the Vidarbhas, is mentioned in the Ait. Brâhm. VII, 34. Vaidarbhi is a patronymic of Vidarbha. See B. R. s. v.

⁶ After the year was over.

4. He replied : 'Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) was desirous of creatures (pragâh). He performed penance¹, and having performed penance, he produces a pair, matter (rayi) and spirit (prâna), thinking that they together should produce creatures for him in many ways.

5². The sun is spirit, matter is the moon. All this, what has body and what has no body, is matter, and therefore body indeed is matter.

6. Now Âditya, the sun, when he rises, goes toward the East, and thus receives the Eastern spirits into his rays. And when he illuminates the South, the West, the North, the Zenith, the Nadir, the intermediate quarters, and everything, he thus receives all spirits into his rays.

7. Thus he rises, as Vaisvânara, (belonging to all men,) assuming all forms, as spirit, as fire. This has been said in the following verse :

8³. (They knew) him who assumes all forms, the golden⁴, who knows all things, who ascends highest, alone in his splendour, and warms us ; the thousand-rayed, who abides in a hundred places, the spirit of all creatures, the Sun, rises.

9. The year indeed is Pragâpati, and there are two paths thereof, the Southern and the Northern. Now those who here believe in sacrifices and pious gifts as work done, gain the moon only as their

¹ Or he meditated ; see Upanishads, vol. i, p. 238, n. 3.

² Saṅkara explains, or rather obscures, this by saying that the sun is breath, or the eater, or Agni, while matter is the food, namely, Soma.

³ Cf. Maitr. Up. VI, 8.

⁴ *Harinam* is explained as *rasmimantam*, or as *harati sarveshâm prâṇinâm âyûmshi bhaumân vâ rasân iti harinaḥ*. I prefer to take it in the sense of yellow, or golden.

(future) world, and return again. Therefore the *Rishis* who desire offspring, go to the South, and that path of the Fathers is matter (*rayi*).

10. But those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge, gain by the Northern path *Âditya*, the sun. This is the home of the spirits, the immortal, free from danger, the highest. From thence they do not return, for it is the end. Thus says the *Sloka*¹:

11. Some call him the father with five feet (the five seasons), and with twelve shapes (the twelve months), the giver of rain in the highest half of heaven; others again say that the sage is placed in the lower half, in the chariot² with seven wheels and six spokes.

12. The month is *Pragâpati*; its dark half is matter, its bright half spirit. Therefore some *Rishis* perform sacrifice in the bright half, others in the other half.

13. Day and Night³ are *Pragâpati*; its day is spirit, its night matter. Those who unite in love by day waste their spirit, but to unite in love by night is right.

14. Food is *Pragâpati*. Hence proceeds seed, and from it these creatures are born.

15. Those therefore who observe this rule of *Pragâpati* (as laid down in § 13), produce a pair, and to them belongs this Brahma-world here⁴. But

¹ *Rig-veda* I, 164, 12. We ought to read upare *viâkshanam*.

² *Saptaâkre*, i. e. rathe. The seven wheels are explained as the rays or horses of the sun; or as half-years, seasons, months, half-months, days, nights, and *muhûrtas*.

³ Taken as one, as a *Nychthemeron*.

⁴ In the moon, reached by the path of the Fathers.

those in whom dwell penance, abstinence, and truth,

16. To them belongs that pure Brahma-world, to them, namely, in whom there is nothing crooked, nothing false, and no guile.'

SECOND QUESTION.

1. Then Bhārgava Vaidarbhi asked him: 'Sir, How many gods¹ keep what has thus been created, how many manifest this², and who is the best of them?'

2. He replied: 'The ether is that god, the wind, fire, water, earth, speech, mind, eye, and ear. These, when they have manifested (their power), contend and say: We (each of us) support this body and keep it³.

3⁴. Then Prāṇa (breath, spirit, life), as the best, said to them: Be not deceived, I alone, dividing myself fivefold, support this body and keep it.

4. They were incredulous; so he, from pride, did as if he were going out from above. Thereupon,

¹ Devāḥ, powers, organs, senses.

² Their respective power.

³ This is Sāṅkara's explanation, in which *bāṇa* is taken to mean the same as *śarīra*, body. But there seems to be no authority for such a meaning, and Ānandagiri tries in vain to find an etymological excuse for it. *Bāṇa* or *Vāṇa* generally means an arrow, or, particularly in Brāhmaṇa writings, a harp with many strings. I do not see how an arrow could be used as an appropriate simile here, but a harp might, if we take *avashābhyā* in the sense of holding the frame of the instrument, and *vidhārayāmaḥ* in the sense of stretching and thereby modulating it.

⁴ On this dispute of the organs of sense, see *Brh. Up.* VI, 1, p. 201; *Khānd. Up.* V, 1 (S. B. E., vol. i, p. 72).

as he went out, all the others went out, and as he returned, all the others returned. As bees go out when their queen¹ goes out, and return when she returns, thus (did) speech, mind, eye, and ear; and, being satisfied, they praise *Prâna*, saying:

5. He is Agni (fire), he shines as *Sûrya* (sun), he is *Parganya* (rain), the powerful (*Indra*), he is *Vâyû* (wind), he is the earth, he is matter, he is God—he is what is and what is not, and what is immortal.

6. As spokes in the nave of a wheel, everything is fixed in *Prâna*, the verses of the *Rîg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, the sacrifice, the *Kshatriyas*, and the *Brâhmans*.

7. As *Pragâpati* (lord of creatures) thou movest about in the womb, thou indeed art born again. To thee, the *Prâna*, these creatures bring offerings, to thee who dwellest with the other *prânas* (the organs of sense).

8. Thou art the best carrier for the Gods, thou art the first offering² to the Fathers. Thou art the true work of the *Rîshis*³, of the *Atharvângiras*.

9. O *Prâna*, thou art *Indra* by thy light, thou art *Rudra*, as a protector; thou movest in the sky, thou art the sun, the lord of lights.

10. When thou showerest down rain, then, O *Prâna*, these creatures of thine are delighted⁴, hoping that there will be food, as much as they desire.

¹ In Sanskrit it is *madhukarârâga*, king of the bees.

² When a *srâddha* is offered to the *Pitrîs*.

³ Explained as the eye and the other organs of sense which the chief *Prâna* supports; but it is probably an old verse, here applied to a special purpose.

⁴ Another reading is *prânate*, they breathe.

11. Thou art a Vrâtya¹, O Prâna, the only *Rishi*², the consumer of everything, the good lord. We are the givers of what thou hast to consume, thou, O Mâtariśva³, art our father.

12. Make propitious that body of thine which dwells in speech, in the ear, in the eye, and which pervades the mind; do not go away!

13. All this is in the power of Prâna, whatever exists in the three heavens. Protect us like a mother her sons, and give us happiness and wisdom.'

THIRD QUESTION.

1. Then Kausalya Ârvalâyana asked: 'Sir, whence is that Prâna (spirit) born? How does it come into this body? And how does it abide, after it has divided itself? How does it go out? How does it support what is without⁴, and how what is within?'

2. He replied: 'You ask questions more difficult, but you are very fond of Brahman, therefore I shall tell it you.

3. This Prâna (spirit) is born of the Self. Like the shadow thrown on a man, this (the prâna) is

¹ A person for whom the *samskâras*, the sacramental and initiatory rites, have not been performed. Saṅkara says that, as he was the first born, there was no one to perform them for him, and that he is called Vrâtya, because he was pure by nature. This is all very doubtful.

² Agni is said to be the *Rishi* of the Âtharvans.

³ Instead of the irregular vocative Mâtariśva, there is another reading, Mâtariśvanaḥ, i. e. thou art the father of Mâtariśvan, the wind, and therefore of the whole world.

⁴ All creatures and the gods.

spread out over it (the Brahman)¹. By the work of the mind² does it come into this body.

4. As a king commands officials, saying to them : Rule these villages or those, so does that Prâna (spirit) dispose the other prânas, each for their separate work.

5. The Apâna (the down-breathing) in the organs of excretion and generation; the Prâna himself dwells in eye and ear, passing through mouth and nose. In the middle is the Samâna³ (the on-breathing); it carries what has been sacrificed as food equally (over the body), and the seven lights proceed from it.

6. The Self⁴ is in the heart. There are the 101 arteries, and in each of them there are a hundred (smaller veins), and for each of these branches there are 72,000⁵. In these the Vyâna (the back-breathing) moves.

¹ Over Brahman, i. e. the Self, the parama purusha, the akshara, the satya. The prâna being called a shadow, is thereby implied to be unreal (anrîta). Sâṅkara.

² Manokṛita is explained as an ârsha sandhi. It means the good or evil deeds, which are the work of the mind.

³ I keep to the usual translation of Samâna by on-breathing, though it is here explained in a different sense. Samâna is here supposed to be between prâna and apâna, and to distribute the food equally, samam, over the body. The seven lights are explained as the two eyes, the two ears, the two nostrils, and the mouth.

⁴ Here the Lingâtma or Givâtma.

⁵ A hundred times 101 would give us 10,100, and each multiplied by 72,000 would give us a sum total of 727,200,000 veins, or, if we add the principal veins, 727,210,201. Âṇandagiri makes the sum total, 72 koṭis, 72 lakshas, six thousands, two hundred and one, where the six of the thousands seems to be a mistake for dasasahasram. In the Brîhadâr. Upanishad II, 1, 19, we read of 72,000 arteries, likewise in Yâgñavalkya III, 68. See also Brîh. Up. IV,

7. Through one of them, the Udāna (the out-breathing) leads (us) upwards to the good world by good work, to the bad world by bad work, to the world of men by both.

8. The sun rises as the external Prāna, for it assists the Prāna in the eye¹. The deity that exists in the earth, is there in support of man's Apāna (down-breathing). The ether between (sun and earth) is the Samāna (on-breathing), the air is Vyāna (back-breathing).

9. Light is the Udāna (out-breathing), and therefore he whose light has gone out comes to a new birth with his senses absorbed in the mind.

10. Whatever his thought (at the time of death) with that he goes back to Prāna, and the Prāna, united with light², together with the self (the *gīvâtma*) leads on to the world, as deserved.

11. He who, thus knowing, knows Prāna, his offspring does not perish, and he becomes immortal. Thus says the *Sloka* :

12. He who has known the origin³, the entry, the place, the fivefold distribution, and the internal state⁴ of the Prāna, obtains immortality, yes, obtains immortality.'

3, 20; *Khând. Up.* VI, 5, 3, comm.; *Kaush. Up.* IV, 20; *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 16.

¹ Without the sun the eye could not see.

² With Udāna, the out-breathing.

³ This refers to the questions asked in verse 1, and answered in the verses which follow.

⁴ The *adhyâtma*, as opposed to the *vâhya*, mentioned in verse 1. *Ayati* instead of *âyâti* is explained by *khândasam hrasvatvam*.

FOURTH QUESTION.

1. Then Sauryâyanin Gârgya asked : 'Sir, What are they that sleep in this man, and what are they that are awake in him? What power (deva) is it that sees dreams? Whose is the happiness? On what do all these depend?'

2. He replied : 'O Gârgya, As all the rays of the sun, when it sets, are gathered up in that disc of light, and as they, when the sun rises again and again, come forth, so is all this (all the senses) gathered up in the highest faculty (deva)¹, the mind. Therefore at that time that man does not hear, see, smell, taste, touch, he does not speak, he does not take, does not enjoy, does not evacuate, does not move about. He sleeps, that is what people say.

3. The fires of the prâṇas are, as it were², awake in that town (the body). The Apâna is the Gârhapatya fire, the Vyâna the Anvâhâryapaṭana fire; and because it is taken out of the Gârhapatya fire, which is fire for taking out³, therefore the Prâṇa is the Âhavanîya fire⁴.

¹ See note to verse 5.

² We ought to read *agnaya iva*.

³ *Pranayana, pranîyate 'smâd iti pranayano gârhapatyô 'gniḥ*.

⁴ The comparison between the prâṇas and the fires or altars is not very clear. As to the fires or altars, there is the Gârhapatya, placed in the South-west, the household fire, which is always kept burning, from which the fire is taken to the other altars. The Anvâhâryapaṭana, commonly called the Dakshina fire, placed in the South, used chiefly for oblations to the forefathers. The Âhavanîya fire, placed in the East, and used for sacrifices to the gods.

Now the Apâna is identified with the Gârhapatya fire, no reason being given except afterwards, when it is said that the Prâṇa is the Âhavanîya fire, being taken out of the Gârhapatya, here called

4. Because it carries equally these two oblations, the out-breathing and the in-breathing, the Samâna is he (the Hotri priest)¹. The mind is the sacrificer, the Udâna is the reward of the sacrifice, and it leads the sacrificer every day (in deep sleep) to Brahman.

5. There that god² (the mind) enjoys in sleep greatness. What has been seen, he² sees again; what has been heard, he hears again; what has been enjoyed in different countries and quarters, he enjoys again; what has been seen and not seen, heard and not heard, enjoyed and not enjoyed, he sees it all; he, being all, sees.

6. And when he is overpowered by light³, then that god sees no dreams, and at that time that happiness arises in his body.

7. And, O friend, as birds go to a tree to roost, thus all this rests in the Highest Âtman,—

8. The earth and its subtile elements, the water and its subtile elements, the light and its subtile elements, the air and its subtile elements, the ether and its subtile elements; the eye and what can be

pranayana, in the same manner as the prâna proceeds in sleep from the apâna. The Vyâna is identified with the Dakshinâgni, the Southern fire, because it issues from the heart through an aperture on the right.

¹ The name of the Hotri priest must be supplied. He is supposed to carry two oblations equally to the Âhavanîya, and in the same way the Vyâna combines the two breathings, the in and out breathings.

² The gîvâtman under the guise of manas. The Sanskrit word is deva, god, used in the sense of an invisible power, but as a masculine. The commentator uses manodeva, p. 212, l. 5. I generally translate deva, if used in this sense, by faculty, but the context required a masculine. See verse 2.

³ In the state of profound sleep or sushupti.

seen, the ear and what can be heard, the nose and what can be smelled, the taste and what can be tasted, the skin and what can be touched, the voice and what can be spoken, the hands and what can be grasped, the feet and what can be walked, the mind and what can be perceived, intellect (buddhi) and what can be conceived, personality and what can be personified, thought and what can be thought, light and what can be lighted up, the Prâna and what is to be supported by it.

9. For he it is who sees, hears, smells, tastes, perceives, conceives, acts, he whose essence is knowledge¹, the person, and he dwells in the highest, indestructible Self,—

10. He who knows that indestructible being, obtains (what is) the highest and indestructible, he without a shadow, without a body, without colour, bright,—yes, O friend, he who knows it, becomes all-knowing, becomes all. On this there is this Śloka :

11. He, O friend, who knows that indestructible being wherein the true knower, the vital spirits (prânas), together with all the powers (deva), and the elements rest, he, being all-knowing, has penetrated all.'

FIFTH QUESTION.

1. Then Saivya Satyakâma asked him : 'Sir, if some one among men should meditate here until death on the syllable Om, what would he obtain by it ?'

2. He replied : 'O Satyakâma, the syllable Om (AUM) is the highest and also the other Brahman ;

¹ Buddhi and the rest are the instruments of knowledge, but there is the knower, the person, in the Highest Self.

therefore he who knows it arrives by the same means¹ at one of the two.

3. If he meditate on one Mâtrâ (the A)², then, being enlightened by that only, he arrives quickly at the earth³. The *Rik*-verses lead him to the world of men, and being endowed there with penance, abstinence, and faith, he enjoys greatness.

4. If he meditate with⁴ two Mâtrâs (A + U) he arrives at the Manas⁵, and is led up by the Yagus-verses to the sky, to the Soma-world. Having enjoyed greatness in the Soma-world, he returns again.

5. Again, he who meditates with this syllable AUM of three Mâtrâs, on the Highest Person, he comes to light and to the sun. And as a snake is freed from its skin, so is he freed from evil. He is led up by the Sâman-verses to the Brahma-world⁶; and from him, full of life (Hiranyagarbha, the lord of the Satya-loka⁷), he learns⁸ to see the all-pervading, the Highest Person. And there are these two Slokas :

6. The three Mâtrâs (A + U + M), if employed separate, and only joined one to another, are mortal⁹;

¹ Âyatanena, âlambanena.

² Dîpikâyâm Vâkaspatinaivâkâramâtram ityeva vyâkhyâtam.

³ Sampadyate prâpnoti ganmeti seshah.

⁴ Srutau tritîyâ dvitîyârthe.

⁵ Literally the mind, but here meant for the moon, as before. It is clear that manasi belongs to sampadyate, not, as the Dîpikâ and Roer think, to dhyâyîta. Some take it for svapnâbhimânî Hiranyagarbha.

⁶ The world of Hiranyagarbha, called the Satyaloka.

⁷ On a later addition, bringing in the Om as consisting of three Mâtrâs and a half, see Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 453; Roer, p. 138.

⁸ Tadupadeseneti yâvat.

⁹ Because in their separate form, A, U, M, they do not mean the Highest Brahman.

but in acts, external, internal, or intermediate, if well performed, the sage trembles not ¹.

7. Through the *Rik*-verses he arrives at this world, through the *Yagus*-verses at the sky, through the *Sâman*-verses at that which the poets teach,—he arrives at this by means of the *Oṅkāra*; the wise arrives at that which is at rest, free from decay, from death, from fear,—the Highest.’

SIXTH QUESTION.

1. Then Sukesas Bhâradvâga asked him, saying : ‘Sir, Hiranyanâbha, the prince of Kosalâ ², came to me and asked this question : Do you know the person of sixteen parts, O Bhâradvâga ? I said to the prince : I do not know him ; if I knew him, how should I not tell you ? Surely, he who speaks what is untrue withers away to the very root ; therefore I will not say what is untrue. Then he mounted his chariot and went away silently. Now I ask you, where is that person ?’

2. He replied : ‘Friend, that person is here within the body, he in whom these sixteen parts arise.

3. He reflected : What is it by whose departure I shall depart, and by whose staying I shall stay ?

4. He sent forth (created) *Prâna* (spirit) ³ ; from

¹ The three acts are explained as waking, slumbering, and deep sleep ; or as three kinds of pronunciation, *târa-mandra-madhyama*. They are probably meant for Yoga exercises in which the three *Mâtrâs* of Om are used as one word, and as an emblem of the Highest Brahman.

² Saṅkara explains Kausalya by Kosalâyâm bhavaḥ. Ânanda-tîrtha gives the same explanation. Kosalâ is the capital, generally called Ayodhyâ. There is no authority for the palatal s.

³ Saṅkara explains *prâna* by sarvapráno Hiranyagarbha (sarva-prâṇikaravâdhâram antarâtmânam).

Prāṇa Sraaddhā (faith)¹, ether, air, light, water, earth, sense, mind, food; from food came vigour, penance, hymns, sacrifice, the worlds, and in the worlds the name² also.

5. As these flowing rivers³ that go towards the ocean, when they have reached the ocean, sink into it, their name and form are broken, and people speak of the ocean only, exactly thus these sixteen parts of the spectator that go towards the person (purusha), when they have reached the person, sink into him, their name and form are broken, and people speak of the person only, and he becomes without parts and immortal. On this there is this verse :

6. That person who is to be known, he in whom these parts rest, like spokes in the nave of a wheel, you know him, lest death should hurt you.'

7. Then he (Pippalāda) said to them : ' So far do I know this Highest Brahman, there is nothing higher than it.'

8. And they praising him, said : ' You, indeed, are our father, you who carry us from our ignorance to the other shore.'

Adoration to the highest *Rishis* !

Adoration to the highest *Rishis* !

Tat sat. Hariḥ, Om !

¹ Faith is supposed to make all beings act rightly.

² Nāma stands here for nāmarūpe, name (concept) and form. See before, p. 259.

³ Cf. *Mund. Up.* IV, 2, 8 ; *Khând. Up.* VIII, 10.

MAITRÂYANA-BRÂHMANA-
UPANISHAD.

MAITRÂYANA-BRÂHMANA- UPANISHAD.

FIRST PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. The laying of the formerly-described sacrificial fires¹ is indeed the sacrifice of Brahman. Therefore let the sacrificer, after he has laid those fires, meditate on the Self. Thus only does the sacrificer become complete and faultless.

But who is to be meditated on? He who is called *Prâna* (breath). Of him there is this story :

2. A King, named *Bṛihadratha*, having established his son in his sovereignty², went into the forest, because he considered this body as transient, and had obtained freedom from all desires. Having performed the highest penance, he stands there, with uplifted arms, looking up to the sun. At the end of a thousand (days)³, the Saint *Sâkâyana*⁴, who knew the Self, came near⁵, burning with splendour,

¹ The performance of all the sacrifices, described in the *Maitrâyana-brâhmana*, is to lead up in the end to a knowledge of Brahman, by rendering a man fit for receiving the highest knowledge. See *Manu* VI, 82 : 'All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation ; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of the Self reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.'

² Instead of *virâgye*, a doubtful word, and occurring nowhere else, *m.* reads *vairâgye*.

³ Or years, if we read *sahasrasya* instead of *sahasrâhasya*.

⁴ The descendant of *Sâkâyana*. Saint is perhaps too strong ; it means a holy, venerable man, and is frequently applied to a Buddha.

⁵ Both *M.* and *m.* add *muneḥ* before *antikam*, whereas the commentary has *râgñāḥ*.

like a fire without smoke. He said to the King : 'Rise, rise! Choose a boon!'

The King, bowing before him, said : 'O Saint, I know not the Self, thou knowest the essence (of the Self). We have heard so. Teach it us.'

Śākāyanya replied : 'This was achieved of yore ; but what thou askest is difficult to obtain¹. O Aikshvāka, choose other pleasures.'

The King, touching the Saint's feet with his head, recited this Gāthā :

3. 'O Saint, What is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures in this offensive, pithless body—a mere mass of bones, skin, sinews, marrow², flesh, seed, blood, mucus, tears, phlegm, ordure, water³, bile, and slime! What is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures in this body which is assailed by lust, hatred, greed, delusion, fear, anguish, jealousy, separation from what is loved, union with what is not loved⁴, hunger, thirst, old age, death, illness, grief, and other evils!

4. And we see that all this is perishable, as these flies, gnats, and other insects, as herbs and trees⁵,

¹ Though the commentator must have read *etad vṛttam purastād duḥsakyam etat prasṇam*, yet *prasṇam* as a neuter is very strange. M. reads *etad vṛttam purastât, dussakama prikkha prasṇam* ; m. reads *etad vratam purastād asakyam mâ prikkha prasṇam aikshvāka, &c.* This suggests the reading, *etad vṛttam purastād duḥsakam mâ prikkha prasṇam*, i. e. this was settled formerly, do not ask a difficult or an impossible question.

² Read *maggâ*.

³ M. adds *vâta* before *pitta* ; not m.

⁴ An expression that often occurs in Buddhist literature. See also Manu VI, 62 : 'On their separation from those whom they love, and their union with those whom they hate ; on their strength overpowered by old age, and their bodies racked with disease.'

⁵ The Sandhi *vanaspatayodbhûta* for *vanaspataya udbhûta* is anomalous. M. reads *vanaspatayo bhûtapradhvamsinaḥ*.

growing and decaying. And what of these? There are other great ones, mighty wielders of bows, rulers of empires, Sudyumna, Bhûridyumna, Indradyumna, Kuvalayâsya, Yauvanâsya, Vadhryasva, Asvapati¹, Sasabindu, Hariskandra, Ambarîsha², Nahusha, Anânata, Saryâti, Yayâti, Anaranya³, Ukshasena⁴, &c., and kings such as Marutta, Bharata (Daushyanti), and others, who before the eyes of their whole family surrendered the greatest happiness, and passed on from this world to that. And what of these? There are other great ones. We see the destruction⁵ of Gandharvas, Asuras⁶, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Bhûtas, Garas, Pisâkas, snakes, and vampires. And what of these? There is the drying up of other great oceans, the falling of mountains, the moving of the pole-star, the cutting of the wind-ropes (that hold the stars), the submergence of the earth, and the departure of the gods (suras) from their place. In such a world as this, what is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures, if he who has fed⁷ on them is seen⁸ to return (to this world) again

¹ M. carries on asvapatisasabinduhariskandrâambarîsha.

² After Ambarîsha, M. reads Nabhushânanutasayyâtiyâyânanaranyâkshasenâdayo. Nahusha (Naghusha?) is the father of Saryâti; Nâbhâga, the father of Ambarîsha. These names are so carelessly written that even the commentator says that the text is either *khandasa* or *prâmâdika*. Anânata is a mere conjecture. It occurs as the name of a *Rishi* in Rig-veda IX, 111.

³ Anaranya, mentioned in the Mahâbhârata, I, 230.

⁴ M. reads anaranyâkshasena.

⁵ M. and m. read nirodhanam.

⁶ M. adds Apsarasas.

⁷ M. and m. read âsritasya, but the commentator explains *asitasya*.

⁸ Here we have the Maitrâyana Sandhi, *drisyatâ* iti, instead of *drisyata* iti; see von Schroeder, *Maitrâyani Samhitâ*, p. xxviii. M. and m. read *drisyata*.

and again! Deign therefore to take me out! In this world I am like a frog in a dry well. O Saint, thou art my way, thou art my way.'

SECOND PRAPĀTHAKA.

1. Then the Saint Sākāyanya, well pleased, said to the King: 'Great King *Bṛīhadratha*, thou banner of the race of *Ikshvāku*, quickly obtaining a knowledge of Self, thou art happy, and art renowned by the name of *Marut*, the wind¹. This indeed is thy Self².'

'Which³, O Saint,' said the King.

Then the Saint said to him:

2. 'He⁴ who, without stopping the out-breathing⁵, proceeds upwards (from the *sthūla* to the *sūkshma sarīra*), and who, modified (by impressions), and yet not modified⁶, drives away the darkness (of error), he is the Self. Thus said the Saint *Maitri*⁷.' And Sākāyanya said to the King *Bṛīhadratha*: 'He who in perfect rest, rising from this body (both from the *sthūla* and *sūkshma*), and reaching the highest

¹ *Prishadasva* in the Veda is another name of the *Maruts*, the storm gods. Afterwards the king is called *Marut*, VI, 30.

² This sentence is called a *Sūtra* by the commentator to VI, 32.

³ M. reads *Kathaya me katamo bhavān iti*.

⁴ M. leaves out *atha*.

⁵ One might read *āviśh/ambhanena*, in the sense of while preventing the departure of the vital breath, as in the *Bṛīh. Ār. VI, 3*, *prāṇena rakshann avaram kulāyam*.

⁶ M. reads *vyathamāno 'vyathamānas*.

⁷ M. leaves out *Maitri*—*ity evam hyāha*. The commentator explains *Maitri* by *mitrāyā apatyam rīshir maitrir maitreya*. In a later passage (II, 3) M. reads *Bhagavatā Maitreya*, likewise the *Anubhūti-prakāsa*.

light¹, comes forth in his own form, he is the Self² (thus said *Sâkâyanya*); this is the immortal, the fearless, this is *Brahman*.'

3. 'Now then this is the science of *Brahman*, and the science of all *Upanishads*, O King, which was told us by the Saint *Maitri*³. I shall tell it to thee :

'We hear (in the sacred records) that there were once the *Vâlakhilyas*⁴, who had left off all evil, who were vigorous and passionless. They said to the *Pragâpati Kratu* : "O Saint, this body is without intelligence, like a cart. To what supernatural being belongs this great power by which such a body has been made intelligent? Or who is the driver? What thou knowest, O Saint, tell us that⁵." ' *Pragâpati* answered and said :

4. 'He who in the *Sruti* is called "Standing above," like passionless ascetics⁶ amidst the objects of the world, he, indeed, the pure, clean, undeveloped, tranquil, breathless, bodiless⁷, endless, imperishable, firm, everlasting, unborn, independent one, stands in his own greatness, and by him has this body been made intelligent, and he is also the driver of it.'

¹ M. adds *svayam gyotir upasampadya*.

² M. reads *esha* for *ity esha*, which seems better.

³ M. reads *Maitrena vyâkhyâtâ*.

⁴ M. M., Translation of *Rig-veda*, Preface, p. xxxiv.

⁵ M. adds : *brûhîti te hoêur Bhagavan katham anena vâsyam yat Bhagavan vetsy etad asmâkam brûhîti tân hovâketi*.

⁶ The commentator allows *ûrdhvaretasasa* to be taken as a vocative also.

⁷ *Nirâtma* is explained by the commentator as thoughtless, without volition, &c. But *âtma* is frequently used for body also, and this seems more appropriate here. M., however, reads *anîsâtma*, and this is the reading explained in the *Anubhûtiprakâsa*, p. 228, ver. 60. This might mean the *Âtman* which has not yet assumed the quality of a personal god. See VI, 28 ; VI, 31.

They said : 'O Saint, How has this been made intelligent by such a being as this which has no desires¹, and how is he its driver?' He answered them and said :

5. 'That Self which is very small, invisible, incomprehensible, called Purusha, dwells of his own will here in part²; just as a man who is fast asleep awakes of his own will³. And this part (of the Self) which is entirely intelligent, reflected in man (as the sun in different vessels of water), knowing the body (kshetragña), attested by his conceiving, willing, and believing⁴, is Pragâpati (lord of creatures), called Visva. By him, the intelligent, is this body made intelligent, and he is the driver thereof.'

They said to him : 'O Saint⁵, if this has been made intelligent by such a being as this, which has no desires, and if he is the driver thereof, how was it?' He answered them and said :

6. 'In the beginning Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) stood alone. He had no happiness, when alone. Meditating⁶ on himself, he created many

¹ The reading *anish/hena* is explained by the commentator as free from any local habitation or attachment. He also mentions the various readings *anish/ena*, free from wishes, and *anish/hena*, the smallest. M. reads *anikk/hena*, and this seems better than *anish/ena*. The Anubhûtiprakâsa reads likewise *anikk/hasya*.

² I read *buddhipûrvam*, and again with M. *suptasyeva buddhipûrvam*. I also read *amsena* without *iti*, as in M. The simile seems to be that a man, if he likes, can wake himself at any time of night, and this 'if he likes' is expressed by *buddhipûrvam*. See Anubhûtiprakâsa, vv. 67, 68.

³ M. reads *vibodhayati, atha*.

⁴ See Maitr. Up. V, 2; Cowell's Translation, pp. 246, 256; Vedântaparibhâshâ, ed. A. Venis, in the Pandit, IV, p. 110.

⁵ M. adds: *bhagavann îdrîsasya katham amsena vartanam iti tân hovâka*.

⁶ M. reads *abhidhyâyan*.

creatures. He looked on them and saw they were, like a stone, without understanding, and standing like a lifeless post. He had no happiness. He thought, I shall enter¹ within, that they may awake. Making himself like air (vâyû)² he entered within. Being one, he could not do it. Then dividing himself fivefold, he is called Prâna, Apâna, Samâna, Udâna, Vyâna. Now that³ air which rises upwards, is Prâna. That which moves downwards, is Apâna. That by which these two are supposed to be held, is Vyâna. That⁴ which carries the grosser material of food to the Apâna, and brings the subtler material to each limb, has the name Samâna. [After these (Prâna, Apâna, Samâna) comes the work of the Vyâna, and between them (the Prâna, Apâna, and Samâna on one side and the Vyâna on the other) comes the rising of the Udâna.] That which brings up or carries down⁵ what has been drunk and eaten, is the Udâna⁶.

Now the Upâmsu-vessel (or prâna) depends on the Antaryâma-vessel (apâna) and the Antaryâma-

¹ It is better to read with M. visânîti.

² M. vâyum iva.

³ M. Atha yo 'yam.

⁴ M. reads: yo 'yam sthaviṣṭham annam dhâtum annasyâpâne sthâpayaty aṁṣiṣṭham kânge 'nge samnayati esha vâva sa samâno 'tha yo 'yam. Leaving out annam, this seems the right reading. The whole sentence from uttaram to udânasya is left out in M.

⁵ M. nigrati kâisho vâva sa udâno 'tha yenaitâs sirâ anuvyâptâ esha vâva sa vyânaḥ.

⁶ The views of these five kinds of wind differ considerably. Here the commentator explains that the prâna and apâna, the up-breathing and down-breathing, keep the bodily warmth alive, as bellows keep up a fire. The food cooked in it is distributed by the Samâna, so that the coarse material becomes ordure, the middle flesh, the subtle material mind (manas). The udâna brings up phlegm, &c., while the Vyâna gives strength to the whole body.

vessel (apâna) on the Upâmsu-vessel¹ (prâna), and between these two the self-resplendent (Self) produced heat². This heat is the purusha (person), and this purusha is Agni Vaisvânara. And thus it is said elsewhere³: "Agni Vaisvânara is the fire within man by which the food that is eaten is cooked, i.e. digested. Its noise is that which one hears, if one covers one's ears. When a man is on the point of departing this life, he does not hear that noise."

Now he⁴, having divided himself fivefold, is hidden in a secret place (buddhi), assuming the nature of mind, having the prânas as his body, resplendent, having true concepts, and free like ether⁵. Feeling even thus that he has not attained his object, he thinks from within the interior of the heart⁶, "Let me enjoy objects." Therefore, having first broken open these five apertures (of the senses), he enjoys the objects by means of the five reins. This means that these perceptive organs (ear, skin, eye, tongue, nose) are his reins; the active organs (tongue (for speaking), hands, feet, anus, generative organ) his horses; the body his chariot, the mind the charioteer, the whip being the temperament. Driven by that whip, this body goes round like the

¹ Two sacrificial vessels (graha) placed on either side of the stone on which the Soma is squeezed, and here compared to the Prâna and Apâna, between which the Self (kâitanyâtmâ) assumes heat.

² M. reads taylor antarâle kaushnyam prâsuwat.

³ See *Bṛiṣācāranyaka* Up. V, 9; *Khând.* Up. III, 13, 8.

⁴ The Vaisvânara or purusha, according to the commentator, but originally the Pragâpati, who had made himself like air, and divided himself into five vital airs.

⁵ Thus the âtmâ, with his own qualities and those which he assumes, becomes a living being.

⁶ M. reads esho 'sya hṛīdantare tishṭhann.

wheel driven by the potter. This body is made intelligent, and he is the driver thereof.

This¹ is indeed the Self, who seeming to be filled with desires, and seeming to be overcome² by bright or dark fruits of action, wanders about in every body (himself remaining free). Because he is not manifest, because he is infinitely small, because he is invisible, because he cannot be grasped, because he is attached to nothing, therefore he, seeming to be changing, an agent in that which is not (*prakṛiti*), is in reality not an agent and unchanging. He is pure, firm, stable, undefiled³, unmoved, free from desire, remaining a spectator, resting in himself. Having concealed himself in the cloak of the three qualities he appears as the enjoyer of *rīta*, as the enjoyer of *rīta* (of his good works).'

THIRD PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. The Vālakhilyas said to Pragâpati Kratu: 'O Saint, if thou thus showest the greatness of that Self, then who is that other different one, also called Self⁴, who really overcome by bright and dark fruits of action, enters on a good or bad birth?

¹ M. reads: Sa vâ esha âtmeti hosann iva sitâsitaiḥ. This seems better than *usanti kavayaḥ*, which hardly construes.

² M. reads *abhibhūyamānay iva*, which again is better than *ana-bhibhūta iva*, for he seems to be overcome, but is not, just as he seems to be an agent, but is not. See also III, 1.

³ M. has *alepo*.

⁴ The pure Self, called *âtma*, *brahma*, *kinmâtram*, *pragñānagha-nam*, &c., after entering what he had himself created, and no longer distinguishing himself from the created things (*bhūta*), is called *Bhûtâtma*.

Downward or upward is his course¹, and overcome by the pairs (distinction between hot and cold, pleasure and pain, &c.) he roams about².'

2. Pragâpati Kratu replied : 'There is indeed that other³ different one, called the elemental Self (Bhûtâtâmâ), who, overcome by bright and dark fruits of action, enters on a good or bad birth : downward or upward is his course, and overcome by the pairs he roams about. And this is his explanation : The five Tanmâtrâs⁴ (sound, touch, form, taste, smell) are called Bhûta ; also the five Mahâbhûtas (gross elements) are called Bhûta. Then the aggregate⁵ of all these is called sarîra, body⁶. And lastly he of whom it was said that he dwelt in the body⁷, he is called Bhûtâtâmâ, the elemental Self. Thus his immortal Self⁸ is like a drop of water on a lotus leaf⁹, and he himself is overcome by the qualities of nature. Then¹⁰, because he is thus overcome, he becomes bewildered, and because he is bewildered, he saw not the creator, the holy Lord, abiding within himself. Carried along by the waves of the qualities¹¹, darkened in his imaginations, unstable, fickle,

¹ M. reads here and afterwards avâkam ūrdhvam vâ gatidvandvaiḥ.

² M. adds at the end, paribhramatīti katama esha iti, tân hovâketi, and leaves it out at the end of § 2.

³ M. here reads avara.

⁴ M. reads tanmâtrâni.

⁵ M. reads teshâm samudayas takkharîram.

⁶ The commentator distinguishes between lînga-sarîra, consisting of prânas, indriyas, the antaḥkarana, and the sūkshmathûtas ; and the sthûla-sarîra, consisting of the five Mahâbhûtas.

⁷ M. reads sarîram ity uktam.

⁸ M. reads athâsti tasyâḥ bindur iva.

⁹ It sticks to it, yet it can easily run off again.

¹⁰ M. reads Ato, and the commentator explains atho by ataḥ kâranât, adding sandhiḥ khandasaḥ.

¹¹ See VI, 30.

crippled, full of desires, vacillating, he enters into belief, believing "I am he," "this is mine¹;" he binds his Self by his Self, as a bird with a net, and overcome afterwards by the fruits of what he has done, he enters on a good and bad birth; downward or upward is his course, and overcome by the pairs he roams about.'

They asked: 'Which is it?' And he answered them:

3. 'This also has elsewhere been said: He who acts, is the elemental Self; he who causes to act by means of the organs², is the inner man (*antaḥpuruṣa*). Now as even a ball of iron, pervaded (overcome) by fire, and hammered by smiths, becomes manifold (assumes different forms, such as crooked, round, large, small³), thus the elemental Self, pervaded (overcome) by the inner man, and hammered by the qualities, becomes manifold⁴. And the four tribes (mammals, birds, &c.), the fourteen worlds (*Bhûr*, &c.), with all the number of beings, multiplied eighty-four times⁵, all this appears as manifoldness. And those multiplied things are impelled by man (*puruṣa*) as the wheel by the potter⁶. And as when the ball of iron is hammered, the fire is not overcome, so the (inner) man is not overcome, but the elemental Self is overcome, because it has united itself (with the elements).

¹ M. reads *aham* so *mamedam*.

² M. *antaḥkaranaiḥ*.

³ See commentary, p. 48, l. 7.

⁴ M. reads *upety atha trigunam katurgālam*.

⁵ M. reads *katurasītilakshayoniparinatam*. See also *Anubhūti-prakāśa*, ver. 118.

⁶ *Mrityava* seems an impossible word, though the commentator twice explains it as *kulāla*, potter. M. reads *kakrineti*, which seems preferable. Weber conjectures *mritpaka*.

4. And it has been said elsewhere¹: This body produced from marriage, and endowed with growth² in darkness, came forth by the urinary passage, was built up with bones, bedaubed with flesh, thatched with skin, filled with ordure, urine, bile, slime, marrow, fat, oil³, and many impurities besides, like a treasury full of treasures⁴.

5. And it has been said elsewhere: Bewilderment, fear, grief, sleep, sloth, carelessness, decay, sorrow, hunger, thirst, niggardliness, wrath, infidelity, ignorance, envy, cruelty⁵, folly, shamelessness, meanness⁶, pride, changeability⁷, these are the results of the quality of darkness (*tamaḥ*)⁸.

¹ Part of this passage has been before the mind of the author of the *Mânava-dharmasâstra*, when writing, VI, 76, 77: *asthithûnam snâyuyutam mâmsaronitalepanam, karmâvanaddham durgandhi pûrnam mûtrapurîshayoḥ, garâsokasamâvisham rogâyatanam âturam ragasvalam anityam ka bhûtâvâsam imam tyaget*. The same verses occur in the *Mahâbhârata* XII, 12463-4, only with *tyaga* at the end, instead of *tyaget*. The rendering of *asthibhis kîtam* by *asthithûnam* shows that *kîta* was understood to mean piled or built up, i. e. supported by bones.

² Instead of *samvridhyupetam* M. reads *samviddhyapetam*.

³ M. adds *snâyū* after *vasâ*, and instead of *âmayaiḥ* reads *malaiḥ*. This reading, *malaiḥ*, would seem preferable, though Manu's *rogâyatanam* might be quoted in support of *âmayaiḥ*. The exact meaning of *vasâ* is given in the *Âryavidyâsudhâkara*, p. 82, l. 9.

⁴ Therefore should wise people not identify their true Self with the body. M. reads *vasuneti*.

⁵ M. reads *vaikârūyam*.

⁶ Instead of *nirâkrîtitvam* M. reads *nikrîtatvam*, which is decidedly preferable. We may take it to mean either meanness, as opposed to *uddhatatvam*, overbearing, or knavery, the usual meaning of *nikrîti*.

⁷ M. reads *asatvam*, possibly for *asattvam*.

⁸ M. reads *tâmasânvitaiḥ*, and afterwards *râgasânvitaiḥ*; also *trishnâ* instead of *antastrishnâ*.

Inward thirst, fondness, passion, covetousness, unkindness, love, hatred, deceit¹, jealousy, vain restlessness, fickleness², unstableness, emulation, greed, patronising of friends, family pride, aversion to disagreeable objects, devotion to agreeable objects, whispering³, prodigality, these are the results of the quality of passion (ragas).

By these he is filled, by these he is overcome, and therefore this elemental Self assumes manifold forms, yes, manifold forms.'

FOURTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. The Vâlakhilyas, whose passions were subdued, approached him full of amazement and said: 'O Saint, we bow before thee; teach thou, for thou art the way, and there is no other for us. What process is there for the elemental Self, by which, after leaving this (identity with the elemental body), he obtains union⁴ with the (true) Self?' Pragâpati Kratu said to them:

2. 'It has been said elsewhere: Like the waves in large rivers, that which has been done before, cannot be turned back, and, like the tide of the sea, the approach of death is hard to stem. Bound⁵ by the fetters of the fruits of good and evil, like a cripple; without freedom, like a man in prison; beset by many fears, like one standing before Yama (the judge of

¹ M. reads vyavartatvam.

² It should be *kañkalatvam*.

³ M. reads mattasvaro.

⁴ Instead of the irregular *sâyogyam*, M. always reads *sâyugyam*.

⁵ It is not quite clear what is the subject to which all these adjectives refer. M. reads *baddho* for *baddham*, but afterwards agrees with the text as published by Cowell.

the dead); intoxicated by the wine of illusion, like one intoxicated by wine; rushing about, like one possessed by an evil spirit; bitten by the world, like one bitten by a great serpent; darkened by passion, like the night; illusory, like magic; false, like a dream; pithless, like the inside of the Kadalt; changing its dress in a moment, like an actor¹; fair in appearance, like a painted wall, thus they call him; and therefore it is said:

Sound², touch, and other things are like nothings; if the elemental Self is attached to them, it will not remember the Highest Place³.

3. This is indeed the remedy for the elemental Self: Acquirement of the knowledge of the Veda, performance of one's own duty, therefore conformity on the part of each man to the order to which he happens to belong. This⁴ is indeed the rule for one's own duty, other performances are like the mere branches of a stem⁵. Through it one obtains the Highest above, otherwise one falls downward⁶. Thus is one's own duty declared, which is to be found in the Vedas. No one belongs truly to an order (âsrama) who transgresses his own law⁷. And if people say, that a man does not belong to any of the orders, and that he is an ascetic⁸, this is wrong, though, on

¹ M. reads na/avat.

² M. reads ye 'rthâ anarthâ iva te sthitâh, esham.

³ M. reads na smaret paramam padam.

⁴ M. reads svadharma eva sarvam dhatte, stambhasâkhevetarâni.

⁵ The commentator considers the other sacrificial performances as hurtful, and to be avoided.

⁶ M. reads anyathâdha/ pataty, esha.

⁷ The rules of the order to which he belongs.

⁸ A Tapasvin is free from the restrictions of the preceding âsra-

the other hand, no one who is not an ascetic brings his sacrificial works to perfection or obtains knowledge of the Highest Self¹. For thus it is said :

By ascetic penance goodness is obtained, from goodness understanding is reached, from understanding the Self is obtained, and he who has obtained that, does not return².

4. "Brahman is," thus said one who knew the science of Brahman; and this penance is the door to Brahman, thus said one who by penance had cast off all sin. The syllable Om is the manifest greatness of Brahman, thus said one who well grounded (in Brahman) always meditates on it. Therefore by knowledge, by penance, and by meditation is Brahman gained. Thus one goes beyond³ Brahman (Hiranyagarbha), and to a divinity higher than the gods; nay, he who knows this, and worships Brahman by these three (by knowledge, penance, and meditation), obtains bliss imperishable, infinite, and unchangeable. Then freed from those things (the senses of the body, &c.) by which he was filled and overcome, a mere charioteer⁴, he obtains union with the Self.'

mas, but he must have obeyed them first, before he can become a real Tapasvin.

¹ M. reads *âsrameshv evâvasthitas tapasvî kety uk̐yata ity, etad apy uktam, &c.* This would mean, 'For it is said that he only who has dwelt in the âsramas is also called a Tapasvin, a real ascetic; and this also has been said, that no one obtains self-knowledge except an ascetic.' This is not impossible, but the commentator follows the text as printed by Cowell. M. reads *âtmagñânênâdhigamaḥ, karmasuddhi.*

² M. reads *manasâ prâpyate tv âtmâ hy âtmâptyâ na nivartata iti.*

³ M. reads *pura eta*, which may be right.

⁴ *Rathitaḥ* is a very strange word, but, like everything else, it is

5. The Vâlakhilyas said: 'O Saint, thou art the teacher, thou art the teacher¹. What thou hast said, has been properly laid up in our mind. Now answer us a further question: Agni, Vâyû, Âditya, Time (kâla) which is Breath (prâna²), Food (anna), Brahmâ³, Rudra, Vishnu, thus do some meditate on one, some on another. Say which of these is the best for us.' He said to them:

6. 'These are but the chief manifestations of the highest, the immortal, the incorporeal Brahman. He who is devoted to one, rejoices here in his world (presence), thus he said. Brahman indeed is all this, and a man may meditate on, worship, or discard also those which⁴ are its chief manifestations. With these (deities) he proceeds to higher and higher worlds, and when all things perish, he becomes one with the Purusha, yes, with the Purusha.'

explained by the commentator, viz. as ratham prâpito rathitvam ka prâpita iti yâvat. Nevertheless the reading of M. seems to me preferable, viz. atha yaiḥ paripūrṇo 'bhibhūto 'yam tathaitais ka, taiḥ sarvair vimukta svâtmany eva sâyugyam upaiti. I should prefer vimuktas tv âtmany eva, and translate, 'But then, freed from all those things by which he was filled and likewise was overcome by them, he obtains union with the Self.'

¹ M. reads the second time abhivâdy asmîti, which is no improvement. It might have been ativâdyasîti.

² M. reads Yamaḥ prâṇo.

³ This is, of course, the personal Brahmâ of the Hindu triad. To distinguish this personal Brahmâ from the impersonal, I sometimes give his name in the nom. masc., Brahmâ, and not the grammatical base, Brahman.

⁴ M. reads yâ vâ asyâ. The commentator explains yâ vâsyâḥ by vâsayogyâḥ; or yâ vâ yâḥ by kâśīti, admitting a Vedic irregularity which is not quite clear.

FIFTH PRAPÂTHAKA ¹.

1. Next follows Kutsâyana's hymn of praise :

'Thou art Brahmâ, and thou art Vishnu, thou art Rudra, thou Pragâpati ², thou art Agni, Varuna, Vâyu, thou art Indra, thou the Moon.

Thou art Anna ³ (the food or the eater), thou art Yama, thou art the Earth, thou art All, thou art the Imperishable. In thee all things exist in many forms, whether for their natural or for their own (higher) ends.

Lord of the Universe, glory to thee! Thou art the Self of All, thou art the maker of All, the enjoyer of All; thou art all life, and the lord of all pleasure and joy ⁴. Glory to thee, the tranquil, the deeply hidden, the incomprehensible, the immeasurable, without beginning and without end.'

2. 'In the beginning ⁵ darkness (tamas) alone was this. It was in the Highest, and, moved by the Highest, it becomes uneven. Thus it becomes obscurity

¹ At the beginning of the fifth Prapâthaka my MS. gives the Slokas which in the printed edition are found in VI, 34, p. 178, *Atreme slokâ bhavanti, yathâ nirindhano vahnir, &c., to nirvishayam smritam.* Then follows as § 2, *Atha yathedam Kautsyâyânistutis, tvam, &c.*

² The commentator explains Brahmâ by *Hiranyagarbha* and Pragâpati by *Virâg*.

³ M. reads *tvam Manus, tvam Yamas ka tvam, prithivî tvam athâ-kyutah*, which is so clearly the right reading that it is difficult to understand how the mistakes arose which are presupposed by the commentary. See *Taitt. Up. II, 2*.

⁴ M. reads *visvakrîdârati prabhu*, which seems better.

⁵ M. reads *tamo vâ idam ekam âsta tat paro syât tat pareneritam.* It may have been *tat pare 'sthât*.

(ragas)¹. Then this obscurity, being moved, becomes uneven. Thus it becomes goodness (sattva). Then this goodness, being moved, the essence flowed forth². This is that part (or state of Self) which is entirely intelligent, reflected in man (as the sun is in different vessels of water) knowing the body (kshetragña), attested by his conceiving, willing, and believing, it is Pragâpati, called Visva. His manifestations have been declared before³. Now that part of him which belongs to darkness, that, O students⁴, is he who is called Rudra. That part of him which belongs to obscurity, that, O students, is he who is called Brahmâ. That part of him which belongs to goodness, that, O students, is he who is called Vishnu. He being one, becomes three, becomes eight⁵, becomes eleven⁶, becomes twelve, becomes infinite. Because⁷ he thus came to be, he is the Being (neut.), he moves about, having entered all beings, he has become the Lord of all beings. He is the Self within and without, yes, within and without.'

¹ M. reads *etad vai ragaso rūpam*, which is better, or, at least, more in accordance with what follows.

² M. reads *sattvam everitarasasam prâsrivat*.

³ A reference to Maitr. Up. II, 5, would have saved the commentator much trouble. M. has a better text. It leaves out *visveti* or *visvâkhyas* after *pragâpati*, which may be wrong, but then goes on: *tasya proktâ agryâs tanavo brahmâ rudro vishnur iti*. In enumerating the three *agryâs tanavaḥ*, however, M. is less consistent, for it begins with *ragas* or *Brahmâ*, then goes on to *tamas* or *Rudra*, and ends with *sattva* or *Vishnu*. The *Anubhûtiprakâsa*, verse 142, has the right succession.

⁴ This vocative, *brahma-kârino*, is always left out in M.

⁵ The five *prâṇas*, the sun, moon, and asterisms.

⁶ The eleven organs of sense and action, which, by dividing *manas* and *buddhi*, become twelve.

⁷ M. reads *aparimitadhâ kodbhûtatvâd bhûteshu karati pravishat sarvabhûtânâm*.

SIXTH PRAPÂTHAKA ¹.

1. He (the Self) bears the Self in two ways ², as he who is Prâna (breath), and as he who is Âditya (the sun). Therefore there are two paths for him ³, within and without, and they both turn back in a day and night. The Sun is the outer Self, the inner Self is Breath. Hence the motion of the inner Self is inferred from the motion of the outer Self ⁴. For thus it is said :

‘He who knows, and has thrown off all evil, the overseer of the senses ⁵, the pure-minded, firmly

¹ The commentator describes the sixth and seventh chapters as Khila, supplementary, and does not think that they are closely connected with the chief object of the Upanishad. This chief object was to show that there is only one thinking Self (ĥidâtġmâ) to be known, and that the same is to be meditated on as manifested in the different forms of Rudra, Brahmâ, Vishnu, &c. Thus the highest object of those who wish for final liberation has been explained before, as well as the proper means of obtaining that liberation. What follows are statements of the greatness of the various manifestations of the Âtman, and advice how to worship them. My MS. gives the beginning of the sixth Prapâthaka, but ends with the end of the eighth paragraph. The verses in paragraph 34, as mentioned before, are given in my MS. at the end of the fourth Prapâthaka. My translation deviates considerably from the commentary. The text is obscure and not always correct. My rule has been throughout to begin a new sentence with *evam* hy âha, ‘for thus it is said,’ which introduces proofs of what has been said before. The passages thus quoted as proofs from the Veda are often difficult to understand, nor do they always consist of a complete sentence. My translation therefore is often purely tentative.

² M. reads *dvitiyâ* for *dvidhâ*.

³ M. reads *dvaṁ vâ etâv asya paññadhâ nâmantar bahis kâhorâtretau vyâvartete*.

⁴ While the sun goes round Meru in a day and a night, the breath performs 21,000 breathings, or, more exactly, 21,600. M. reads *bahirâtmagatyâ*.

⁵ M. reads *adhyaksha*, not *akshâdhyaksha*.

grounded (in the Self) and looking away (from all earthly objects), he is the same.' Likewise the motion of the outer Self is inferred from the motion of the inner Self. For thus it is said :

'He who within the sun is the golden person, who looks upon this earth from his golden place, he is the same who, after entering the inner lotus of the heart¹, devours food (perceives sensuous objects, &c.)'

2. And he who having entered the inner lotus of the heart, devours food, the same, having gone to the sky as the fire of the sun, called Time, and being invisible, devours all beings as his food.

What is that lotus and of what is it made? (the Vâlakhilyas ask².)

That lotus is the same as the ether; the four quarters, and the four intermediate points are its leaves³.

These two, Breath and the Sun, move on near to each other (in the heart and in the ether). Let him worship these two, with the syllable Om, with the Vyâhrîti words (bhûh, bhuvaḥ, svar), and with the Sâvitri hymn.

3. There are two forms of Brahman⁴, the material (effect) and the immaterial (cause). The material is false, the immaterial is true. That which is true is Brahman, that which is Brahman is light, and that which is light is the Sun⁵. And this Sun became the Self of that Om.

¹ M. reads sa esho 'ntaḥ pushkare hrîtpushkare vâsrito.

² The commentator ascribes the dialogue still to the Vâlakhilyas and Pragâpati Kratu.

³ M. reads dalasamsthâ âsur vâgniḥ parata etaiḥ prânâdityâv etâ.

⁴ See Brîh. Up. II, 3, 1.

⁵ Professor Cowell, after giving the various readings of his MSS., says, 'the true reading would seem to be yat satyam tad brahma,

He divided himself threefold, for Om consists of three letters, a + u + m. Through them all this¹ is contained in him as warp and woof. For thus it is said :

‘Meditate on that Sun as Om, join your Self (the breath) with the (Self of the) Sun.’

4. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The Udgîtha (of the Sâma-veda) is the Pranava² (of the Rig-veda), and the Pranava is the Udgîtha, and thus the Sun is Udgîtha, and he is Pranava or Om. For thus it is said³ :

‘The Udgîtha, called Pranava, the leader (in the performance of sacrifices), the bright⁴, the sleepless, free from old age and death, three-footed⁵, consisting of three letters (a + u + m), and likewise to be known as fivefold (five prânas) placed in the cave.’ And it is also said :

‘The three-footed Brahman has its root upward⁶, the branches are ether, wind, fire, water, earth, &c. This one Asvattha⁷ by name, the world, is Brahman, and of it that is the light which is called the Sun, and it is also the light of that syllable Om. Therefore let him for ever worship that (breath and sun, as manifestations of Brahman) with the syllable Om.’

He alone enlightens us. For thus it is said :

yad brahma tag gyotir, yad gyotis sa âdityaḥ.’ This is exactly the reading of my own MS.

¹ M. reads *kaivâsminn ity evam* hyâha.

² The mystic syllable Om.

³ See *Khândogyaopanishad* I, 5 ; Maitr. Up. VI, 25.

⁴ M. reads *nâmarûpam*.

⁵ The three feet of the prâna are waking, slumber, and deep sleep ; the three feet of the sun, the three worlds, bhûḥ, bhuvaḥ, svar, as in VII, 11. See also *Khând. Up.* III, 12.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* VI, 1.

⁷ Asvattha, lit. fig-tree, then frequently used metaphorically as a name of the world. Here explained as ‘it will not stand till to-morrow.’

‘This alone is the pure syllable, this alone is the highest syllable; he who knows that syllable only, whatever he desires, is his¹.’

5. And thus it has been said elsewhere: This Om² is the sound-endowed body of him (Prânâdityâtman). This is his gender-endowed body, viz. feminine, masculine, neuter. This is his light-endowed body, viz. Agni, Vâyu, Âditya. This is his lord-endowed body, viz. Brahmâ, Rudra, Vishnu. This is his mouth-endowed body, viz. Gârhapatya, Dakshinâgni, Âhavanîya³. This is his knowledge-endowed body, viz. Rik, Yagus, Sâman. This is his world-endowed body, viz. Bhûh, Bhuva, Svar. This is his time-endowed body, viz. Past, Present, Future. This is his heat-endowed body, viz. Breath, Fire, Sun. This is his growth-endowed body, viz. Food, Water, Moon. This is his thought-endowed body, viz. intellect, mind, personality. This is his breath-endowed body, viz. Prâna, Apâna, Vyâna. Therefore by the aforesaid syllable Om are all these here enumerated bodies praised and identified (with the Prânâdityâtman). For thus it is said⁴:

‘O Satyakâma, the syllable Om is the high and the low Brahman.’

6. This⁵ (world) was unuttered⁶. Then forsooth Pragâpati, having brooded, uttered it in the words Bhûh, Bhuva, Svar. This is the grossest body of that Pragâpati, consisting of the three worlds⁷. Of that body Svar is the head, Bhuva the navel, Bhûh

¹ Ka/h. Up. II, 16.

² M. reads tanûr yom iti.

³ The fires on the three altars.

⁴ Prasña Up. V, 2.

⁵ M. reads atha vyâtman.

⁶ So far the pranava or Om has been explained; now follows the explanation of the Vyâhrîtis; cf. VI, 2. Vyâhrîti is derived from vyâhar, and means an utterance.

⁷ Cf. VI, 5.

the feet, the sun the eye. For in the eye is fixed man's great measure, because with the eye he makes all measurements. The eye is truth (*satyam*), for the person (*purusha*) dwelling in the eye proceeds to all things (knows all objects with certainty). Therefore let a man worship with the *Vyâhr̥tis*, *Bhûh*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svar*, for thus *Pragâpati*, the Self of All, is worshipped as the (sun, the) Eye of All¹. For thus it is said :

‘ This (the sun) is *Pragâpati*'s all-supporting body, for in it this all² is hid (by the light of the sun); and in this all it (the light) is hid. Therefore this is worshipped³.’

7. (The *Sâvitṛi* begins⁴ :) *Tat Savitur vareṇyam*, i.e. ‘ this of *Savitṛi*, to be chosen.’ Here the *Âditya* (sun) is *Savitṛi*, and the same is to be chosen by the love(r) of Self, thus say the Brahma-teachers.

(Then follows the next foot in the *Sâvitṛi*): *Bhargo devasya dhîmahî*, i.e. ‘ the splendour of the god we meditate on.’ Here the god is *Savitṛi*, and therefore he who is called his splendour, him I meditate on, thus say the Brahma-teachers.

¹ M. reads *visvatasakshur*.

² *Pragâpati*, according to the commentator, is identified with *Satya*, the true, because *sat* means the three worlds, and these (*bhûh*, *bhuvaḥ*, *sva*) are said to be his body. Hence probably the insertion of *Satyam* before *Pragâpati* at the beginning of the paragraph. Then he argues, as the eye has been called *satya*, and as the eye is *Âditya*, therefore *Pragâpati* also, being *Satya*, is *Âditya*, the sun. And again, if the sun is worshipped (by the *vyâhr̥tis*) then, like the sun, the eye of all, *Pragâpati* also, the self of all, is worshipped.

³ *Eshopas̥ta* is impossible. We must either read, with the commentator, *etām upâs̥ta*, or with M. *eshopas̥iteti*.

⁴ He now proceeds to explain the worship of the *Sâvitṛi* verse, which had been mentioned in VI, 2, after the *Om* and the *Vyâhr̥tis*, as the third mode of worshipping *Prâṇa* (breath) and *Âditya* (sun), these being two correlative embodiments of the Self. The *Sâvitṛi* is found in *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10, but it is here explained in a purely philosophical sense. See also *Bṛh. Up.* VI, 3, 6.

(Then follows the last foot): *Dhiyo yo nañ prakodayât*, i.e. 'who should stir up our thoughts.' Here the *dhiyañ* are thoughts, and he should stir these up for us, thus say the Brahma-teachers.

(He now explains the word *bhargas*). Now he who is called *bhargas* is he who is placed in yonder *Âditya* (sun), or he who is the pupil in the eye¹. And he is so called, because his going (*gati*) is by rays (*bhâbhiñ*); or because he parches (*bhargayati*) and makes the world to shrivel up. *Rudra* is called *Bhargas*, thus say the Brahma-teachers. Or *bha* means that he lights up these worlds; *ra*, that he delights these beings, *ga* that these creatures go to him and come from him; therefore being a *bha-ra-ga*, he is called *Bhargas*.

*Sûrya*² (sun) is so called, because *Soma* is continually squeezed out (*su*). *Savitri* (sun) is so called, because he brings forth (*su*). *Âditya* (sun) is so called, because he takes up (*âdâ*, scil. vapour, or the life of man). *Pâvana*³ is so called, because he purifies (*pu*). *Âpas*, water, is so called, because it nourishes (*pyâ*).

And it is said:

'Surely the Self (absorbed in *Prâna*, breath), which is called Immortal⁴, is the thinker, the perceiver, the goer, the evacuator⁵, the delighter, the doer, the speaker, the taster, the smeller, the seer, the hearer, and he touches. He is *Vibhu* (the pervader), who has entered into the body.' And it is said:

¹ M. reads *târake* 'kshmi.

² *Sûrya* is considered as the daily performer of the *Prâtaḥsavana*, &c., the sacrifice at which *Soma* is squeezed out as an offering.

³ M. reads *pavamânât pavamânañ*.

⁴ M. reads *amṛtâkhyas ketâkhyas ketâ*.

⁵ M. reads *gantâ srîshâ*.

‘When the knowledge is twofold (subjective and objective), then he hears, sees, smells, tastes, and touches (something), for it is the Self that knows everything.’

But when the knowledge is not twofold (subjective only), without effect, cause, and action¹, without a name, without a comparison, without a predicate²— what is that? It cannot be told³.

8. And the same Self is also called *Isâna* (lord), *Sambhu*, *Bhava*, *Rudra* (*tâmasa*); *Pragâpati* (lord of creatures), *Visvasrig* (creator of all), *Hiranyagarbha*, *Satyam* (truth), *Prâna* (breath), *Hamsa* (*râgasa*); *Sâstri* (ruler), *Vishnu*, *Nârâyana* (*sâtvika*); *Arka*, *Savitri*, *Dhâtri* (supporter), *Vidhâtri*⁴ (creator), *Samrâg* (king), *Indra*, *Indu* (moon). He is also he who warms, the Sun, hidden by the thousand-eyed golden egg, as one fire by another. He is to be thought after, he is to be sought after. Having said farewell to all living beings, having gone to the forest, and having renounced all sensuous objects, let man perceive the Self⁵ from his own body.

‘(See him)⁶ who assumes all forms, the golden, who knows all things, who ascends highest, alone in his splendour, and warms us; the thousand-rayed,

¹ M. reads *kâryakâraṇakarmavinirmuktam*.

² *Nirupâkhyam*, rightly translated by Cowell by ‘without a predicate,’ and rendered by the commentator by *apramaya*, i. e. not to be measured, not to be classed, i. e. without a predicate.

³ I have translated this in accordance with a well-known passage, quoted by the commentator from the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, rather than in accordance with his own interpretation.

⁴ M. leaves out *vidhâtâ*.

⁵ Instead of the peculiar *Maitrâyaṇi* reading, *svâñ sârîrâd*, M. reads *svâs kharîrâd*.

⁶ The oneness of the Sun and the Breath is proclaimed in the following verse of the *Prasṇa Upanishad* I, 8.

who abides in a hundred places, the spirit of all creatures, the Sun, rises¹.'

9. Therefore he who by knowing this has become the Self of both Breath and Sun, meditates (while meditating on them) on his Self, sacrifices (while sacrificing to them) to his Self—this meditation, the mind thus absorbed in these acts, is praised by the wise.

Then let him purify the contamination of the mind by the verse *Ukkl̥ish̥topahatam*, &c.²: 'Be it food left, or food defiled by left food, be it food given by a sinner, food coming from a dead person, or from one impure from childbirth, may the purifying power of Vasu, may Agni, and the rays of Savitr̥i, purify it, and all my sin³.'

First (before eating) he surrounds (the offered food) with water (in rinsing his mouth⁴). Then saying, Svâhâ to Prâna, Svâhâ to Apâna, Svâhâ to Vyâna, Svâhâ to Samâna, Svâhâ to Udâna, he offers (the food) with five invocations (in the fire of the mouth). What is over, he eats in silence, and then he surrounds (the food) once more afterwards with water (rinsing the mouth after his meal). Having washed let him, after sacrificing to himself, meditate on his Self with these two verses, Prâno 'gniḥ and Visvo 'si, viz. 'May the Highest Self as breath, as fire (digestive heat), as consisting of the

¹ Here ends the M. manuscript, with the following title: iti sr̥iyagussâkhâyâm Maitrâyan̥tyabrâhmanopanishadi shash̥hah̥ prapâḥhakaḥ. Samâptâ.

² In the following paragraphs the taking of food is represented as a sacrifice offered by the Self to the Self (âtmayaganarûpam bhoganam, p. 106, l. 13).

³ Several words have been inserted in this verse, spoiling the metre.

⁴ See *Khând. Up. V, 2*.

five vital airs, having entered (the body), himself satisfied, satisfy all, he who protects all.' 'Thou art Visva (all), thou art Vaisvânara (fire), all that is born is upheld by thee; may all offerings enter into thee; creatures live where thou grantest immortality to all.' He who eats according to this rule, does not in turn become food for others.

10. There is something else to be known. There is a further modification of this Self-sacrifice (the eating), namely, the food and the eater thereof. This is the explanation. The thinking Purusha (person), when he abides within the Pradhâna (nature), is the feeder who feeds on the food supplied by Prakṛiti (nature). The elemental Self¹ is truly his food, his maker being Pradhâna (nature²). Therefore what is composed of the three qualities (*gunas*) is the food, but the person within is the feeder. And for this the evidence is supplied by the senses. For animals spring from seed, and as the seed is the food, therefore it is clear that what is food is Pradhâna (the seed or cause of everything). Therefore, as has been said, the Purusha (person) is the eater, Prakṛiti, the food; and abiding within it he feeds. All that begins with the Mahat³ (power of intellect) and ends with the Viśeṣas (elements⁴), being developed from the distinction of nature with its three qualities, is the sign (that there must be a Purusha, an intel-

¹ See before, III, 3.

² This is very doubtful, in fact, unintelligible. The commentator says, *asya bhûtâtmanaḥ kartâ pradhânaḥ pûrvoktaḥ*, so 'pi bhogyā ity arthaḥ.

³ Technical terms, afterwards adopted by the Sâṅkhya philosophers.

⁴ Professor Cowell observes that the term *viśeṣa*, as here applied to the five gross elements, occurs in the Sâṅkhya-kârikâ, ver. 38.

ligent subject). And in this manner the way with its fourteen steps has been explained¹. (This is comprehended in the following verse): 'This world is indeed the food, called pleasure, pain, and error (the result of the three qualities); there is no laying hold of the taste of the seed (cause), so long as there is no development (in the shape of effect).' And in its three stages also it has the character of food, as childhood, youth, and old age; for, because these are developed, therefore there is in them the character of food².

And in the following manner does the perception of Pradhâna (nature) take place, after it has become manifest:—Intellect and the rest, such as determination, conception, consciousness, are for the tasting (of the effects of Pradhâna). Then there are the five (perceptive organs) intended for the (five) objects of senses, for to taste them. And thus are all acts of the five active organs, and the acts of the five Prânas or vital airs (for the tasting of their corresponding objects). Thus what is manifest (of nature) is food, and what is not manifest is food. The enjoyer of it is without qualities, but because he has the quality of being an enjoyer, it follows that he possesses intelligence.

As Agni (fire) is the food-eater among the gods, and Soma the food, so he who knows this eats food by Agni (is not defiled by food, as little as Agni, the sacrificial fire). This elemental Self, called Soma (food), is also called Agni, as having undeveloped nature for its mouth (as enjoying through nature, and being independent of it), because it is said, 'The

¹ Five receptive, five active organs, and four kinds of consciousness.

² Its very development proves it to be food. Cowell.

Purusha (person) enjoys nature with its three qualities, by the mouth of undeveloped nature.' He who knows this, is an ascetic, a yogin, he is a performer of the Self-sacrifice (see before). And he who does not touch the objects of the senses when they intrude on him, as no one would touch women intruding into an empty house, he is an ascetic, a yogin, a performer of the Self-sacrifice.

11. This is the highest form of Self, viz. food, for this Prâṇa (this body) subsists on food. If it eats not, it cannot perceive, hear, touch, see, smell, taste, and it loses the vital airs¹. For thus it is said :

'If it eats, then in full possession of the vital airs, it can perceive, hear, touch, speak, taste, smell, see.' And thus it is said :

'From food are born all creatures that live on earth ; afterwards they live on food, and in the end (when they die) they return to it².'

12. And thus it is said elsewhere: Surely all these creatures run about day and night, wishing to catch food. The sun takes food with his rays, and by it he shines. These vital airs digest, when sprinkled with food. Fire flares up by food, and by Brahmâ (Pragâpati), desirous of food, has all this been made. Therefore let a man worship food as his Self. For thus it is said :

'From food creatures are born, by food they grow when born ; because it is eaten and because it eats creatures, therefore it is called food (annam).'

13. And thus it is said elsewhere: This food is the body of the blessed Vishṇu, called Visvabhṛt (all-sustaining). Breath is the essence of food, mind of breath, knowledge of mind, joy of knowledge. He

¹ *Khând. Up.* VII, 9, 1.

² *Taitt. Up.* II, 2.

who knows this is possessed of food, breath, mind, knowledge, and joy. Whatever creatures here on earth eat food, abiding in them he, who knows this, eats food. Food has been called undecaying, food has been called worshipful; food is the breath of animals, food is the oldest, food has been called the physician.

14. And thus it has been said elsewhere: Food is the cause of all this, time of food, and the sun is the cause of time¹. The (visible) form of time is the year, consisting of twelve months, made up of Nimeshas (twinklins) and other measures. Of the year one half (when the sun moves northward) belongs to Agni, the other to Varuṇa (when the sun moves southward). That which belongs to Agni begins with the asterism of Maghâ and ends with half of the asterism of Śravishṭhâ, the sun stepping down northward. That which belongs to Soma (instead of Varuṇa) begins with the asterism (of Aśleshâ), sacred to the Serpents, and ends with half of the asterism of Śravishṭhâ, the sun stepping up southward. And then there (are the months) one by one, belonging to the year, each consisting of nine-fourths of asterisms (two asterisms and a quarter being the twelfth part of the passage of the sun through the twenty-seven Nakṣatras), each determined by the sun moving together with the asterisms. Because time is imperceptible by sense, therefore this (the progress of the sun, &c.) is its evidence, and by it alone is time proved to exist. Without proof there is no apprehension of what is to be proved; but even what is to be proved can become proof, for the sake of making itself known,

¹ As food depends on time, therefore time is praised, which again depends on the sun, which is a form of the Self.

if the parts (the twinklings, &c.) can be distinguished from the whole (time¹). For thus it is said :

‘As many portions of time as there are, through them the sun proceeds : he who worships time as Brahman, from him time moves away very far.’ And thus it is said :

‘From time all beings flow, from time they grow ; in time they obtain rest ; time is visible (sun) and invisible (moments).’

15. There are two forms of Brahman, time and non-time. That which was before the (existence of the) sun is non-time and has no parts. That which had its beginning ‘from the sun is time and has parts. Of that which has parts, the year is the form, and from the year are born all creatures ; when produced by the year they grow, and go again to rest in the year. Therefore the year is Pragâpati, is time, is food, is the nest of Brahman, is Self. Thus it is said :

‘Time ripens and dissolves all beings in the great Self, but he who knows into what time itself is dissolved, he is the knower of the Veda.’

16. This manifest time is the great ocean of creatures. He who is called *Savitri* (the sun, as begetter) dwells in it, from whence the moon, stars, planets, the year, and the rest are begotten. From them again comes all this, and thus, whatever of good or evil is seen in this world, comes from them. Therefore Brahman is the Self of the sun, and a man should worship the sun under the name of time. Some say the sun is Brahman, and thus it is said :

¹ Thus, the commentator says, the existence of the lamp can be proved by the light of the lamp, as the existence of time is proved by what we see, the rising of the sun. All this is very obscure.

‘The sacrificer, the deity that enjoys the sacrifice, the oblation, the hymn, the sacrifice, Vishnu, Pragâpati, all this is the Lord, the witness, that shines in yonder orb.’

17. In the beginning Brahman was all this¹. He was one, and infinite ; infinite in the East, infinite in the South, infinite in the West, infinite in the North, above and below and everywhere infinite. East and the other regions do not exist for him, nor across, nor below, nor above. The Highest Self is not to be fixed, he is unlimited, unborn, not to be reasoned about, not to be conceived. He is like the ether (everywhere), and at the destruction of the universe, he alone is awake. Thus from that ether he wakes all this world, which consists of thought only, and by him alone is all this meditated on, and in him it is dissolved. His is that luminous form which shines in the sun, and the manifold light in the smokeless fire, and the heat which in the stomach digests the food. Thus it is said :

‘He who is in the fire, and he who is in the heart, and he who is in the sun, they are one and the same.’

He who knows this becomes one with the one.

18. This is the rule for achieving it (viz. concentration of the mind on the object of meditation): restraint of the breath, restraint of the senses, meditation, fixed attention, investigation, absorption, these are called the sixfold Yoga². When beholding by

¹ Brahman used as neuter, but immediately followed by *eko 'nantaḥ*, &c.

² After having explained the form of what is to be meditated on and the mode of meditation, the Upanishad now teaches the Yoga which serves to keep our thoughts in subjection, and to fix our thoughts on the object of meditation. See Yoga-Sûtras II, 29.

this Yoga, he beholds the gold-coloured maker, the lord, the person, Brahman, the cause, then the sage, leaving behind good and evil, makes everything (breath, organs of sense, body, &c.) to be one in the Highest Indestructible (in the pratyagâtman or Brahman). And thus it is said :

‘As birds and deer do not approach a burning mountain, so sins never approach those who know Brahman.’

19. And thus it is said elsewhere : When he who knows has, while he is still *Prâna* (breath), restrained his mind, and placed all objects of the senses far away from himself, then let him remain without any conceptions. And because the living person, called *Prâna* (breath), has been produced here on earth from that which is not *Prâna* (the thinking Self), therefore let this *Prâna* merge the *Prâna* (himself) in what is called the fourth¹. And thus it is said :

‘What is without thought, though placed in the centre of thought, what cannot be thought, the hidden, the highest—let a man merge his thought there : then will this living being (*liṅga*) be without attachment².’

20. And thus it has been said elsewhere : There is the superior fixed attention (*dhâraṇâ*) for him, viz. if he presses the tip of the tongue down the palate and restrains voice, mind, and breath, he sees

¹ The fourth stage is meant for the thinking Self, the earlier stages being waking, slumbering, and sleep.

² Professor Cowell offers two renderings of this difficult passage : ‘This which is called *prâna*, i.e. the individual soul as characterised by the subtil body, will thus no longer appear in its separate individuality from the absence of any conscious subject ; or, this subtil body bearing the name of intellect will thus become void of all objects.’

Brahman by discrimination (tarka). And when, after the cessation of mind¹, he sees his own Self, smaller than small, and shining, as the Highest Self², then having seen his Self as the Self, he becomes Self-less, and because he is Self-less, he is without limit, without cause, absorbed in thought. This is the highest mystery, viz. final liberation. And thus it is said :

‘Through the serenity of the thought he kills all actions, good or bad ; his Self serene, abiding in the Self, obtains imperishable bliss.’

21. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The artery, called Sushumnâ, going upwards (from the heart to the Brahmarandhra), serving as the passage of the Prâna, is divided within the palate. Through that artery, when it has been joined by the breath (held in subjection), by the sacred syllable Om, and by the mind (absorbed in the contemplation of Brahman), let him proceed upwards³, and after turning the tip of the tongue to the palate, without⁴ using any of the organs of sense, let greatness perceive greatness⁵. From thence he goes to selflessness, and through selflessness he ceases to be an enjoyer of pleasure and pain, he obtains aloneness (kevalatva, final deliverance). And thus it is said :

¹ The commentator remarks that this process is called Lambikâ-yoga, and the state produced by it Unmanî or Unmanîbhâva ; see amanîbhâva, in VI, 34, ver. 7.

² I should have preferred to translate âtmânam âtmanâ pasyati by ‘he sees his Self by his Self,’ but the commentator takes a slightly different view, and says : itthambhâve tṛtīyâ ; paramâtmārûpeṇa pasyati.

³ Cf. Kaṭha Up. VI, 16 ; Prasṇa Up. III, 6 (p. 277).

⁴ If we read samyogya we must follow the commentator in translating by ‘uniting the senses with the prâna and the manas.’

⁵ Let the Self perceive the Self.

‘Having successively fixed the breath, after it had been restrained, in the palate, thence having crossed the limit (the life), let him join himself afterwards to the limitless (Brahman) in the crown of the head.’

22. And thus it has been said elsewhere: Two Brahmins have to be meditated on, the word and the non-word. By the word alone is the non-word revealed. Now there is the word Om. Moving upward by it (where all words and all what is meant by them ceases), he arrives at absorption in the non-word (Brahman). This is the way, this is the immortal, this is union, and this is bliss. And as the spider, moving upward by the thread, gains free space, thus also he who meditates, moving upward by the syllable Om, gains independence.

Other teachers of the word (as Brahman) think otherwise. They listen to the sound of the ether within the heart while they stop the ears with the thumbs. They compare it to seven noises, like rivers, like a bell, like a brazen vessel, like the wheels of a carriage, like the croaking of frogs, like rain, and as if a man speaks in a cavern. Having passed beyond this variously apprehended sound, and having settled in the supreme, soundless (non-word), unmanifested Brahman, they become undistinguished and undistinguishable, as various flavours of the flowers are lost in the taste of honey. And thus it is said:

‘Two Brahmins are to be known, the word-Brahman and the highest Brahman; he who is perfect in the word-Brahman attains the highest Brahman¹.’

¹ Cf. Mahâbhârata XII, 8540; Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha, p. 147; Cowell's Translation, p. 271.

23. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The syllable Om is what is called the word. And its end is the silent, the soundless, fearless, sorrowless, joyful, satisfied, firm, unwavering, immortal, immovable, certain (Brahman), called Vishnu. Let him worship these two, that he may obtain what is higher than everything (final deliverance). For thus it is said :

‘He who is the high and the highest god¹, by name Om-kâra, he is soundless and free from all distinctions : therefore let a man dwell on him in the crown of his head.’

24. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The body is the bow, the syllable Om is the arrow, its point is the mind. Having cut through the darkness, which consists of ignorance², it approaches that which is not covered by darkness³. Then having cut through that which was covered (the personal soul), he saw Brahman, flashing like a wheel on fire, bright like the sun, vigorous, beyond all darkness, that which shines forth in yonder sun, in the moon, in the fire, in the lightning⁴. And having seen him, he obtains immortality. And thus it has been said :

‘Meditation is directed to the highest Being (Brahman) within, and (before) to the objects (body, Om, mind) ; thence the indistinct understanding becomes distinct.

And when the works of the mind are dissolved,

¹ The commentator takes devâ as devaḥ, though the accent is against it ; see Schroeder, *Über die Maitrâyana Samhitâ*, p. 9, l. 11.

² Should it not be, ‘darkness is the mark?’

³ Atamâvishā, explained as an irregular compound, atama-âvishāam, tama-âvesanarahitam.

⁴ Cf. *Bhagavadgîtâ* XV, 12.

then that bliss which requires no other witness, that is Brahman (Âtman), the immortal, the brilliant, that is the way, that is the (true) world.'

25. And thus it has been said elsewhere: He who has his senses hidden as in sleep, and who, while in the cavern of his senses (his body), but no longer ruled by them, sees, as in a dream, with the purest intellect, Him who is called *Pranava* (Om), the leader¹, the bright, the sleepless, free from old age, from death, and sorrow, he is himself also called *Pranava*, and becomes a leader, bright, sleepless, free from old age, from death, and sorrow. And thus it is said:

'Because in this manner he joins the *Prâna* (breath), the Om, and this Universe in its manifold forms, or because they join themselves (to him), therefore this (process of meditation) is called *Yoga* (joining).

The oneness of breath, mind, and senses, and then the surrendering of all conceptions, that is called *Yoga*.'

26. And thus it has also been said elsewhere: As a sportsman, after drawing out the denizens of the waters with a net, offers them (as a sacrifice) in the fire of his stomach, thus are these *Prânas* (vital airs), after they have been drawn out with the syllable Om, offered in the faultless fire (Brahman)².

Hence he is like a heated vessel (full of clarified butter); for as the clarified butter in the heated vessel lights up, when touched with grass and sticks, thus does this being which is called Not-breath (Âtman) light up, when touched by the *Prânas* (the

¹ Cf. VI, 4.

² Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* III, 10.

vital airs)¹. And that which flares up, that is the manifest form of Brahman, that is the highest place of Vishnu², that is the essence of Rudra. And this, dividing his Self in endless ways, fills all these worlds. And thus it is said :

‘As the sparks from the fire, and as the rays from the sun, thus do his Prâṇas and the rest in proper order again and again proceed from him here on earth³.’

27. And thus it has also been said elsewhere : This is the heat of the highest, the immortal, the incorporeal Brahman, viz. the warmth of the body. And this body is the clarified butter (poured on it, by which the heat of Brahman, otherwise invisible, is lighted up). Then, being manifest, it is placed in the ether (of the heart). Then by concentration they thus remove that ether which is within the heart, so that its light appears, as it were⁴. Therefore the worshipper becomes identified with that light without much delay. As a ball of iron, if placed in the earth, becomes earth without much delay, and as, when it has once become a clod of earth, fire and smiths have nothing more to do with that ball of iron, thus does thought (without delay) disappear, together with its support⁵. And thus it is said :

¹ As the fire which exists invisibly in a heated vessel becomes visible when the heated vessel is touched with sticks dipped in butter, thus the Âtman in the body appears only when the Prâṇas are diffused in it. Or, as the clarified butter, heated together with the vessel, lights up grass that comes in contact with it, so does this Âtman (called Not-breath), by heating its two bodies which are pervaded by the reflections of the thinker, light up everything brought in contact with it, viz. the world.

² See *Kaṭha Up.* III, 9.

³ See VI, 31; *Bṛih. Up.* II, 1, 10.

⁴ The light was always there, but it seems then only to appear.

⁵ The commentator explains this differently. He says that the

‘The shrine which consists of the ether in the heart, the blissful, the highest retreat, that is our own, that is our goal, and that is the heat and brightness of the fire and the sun.’

28. And thus it has been said elsewhere : After having left behind the body, the organs of sense, and the objects of sense (as no longer belonging to us), and having seized the bow whose stick is fortitude and whose string is asceticism, having struck down also with the arrow, which consists in freedom from egotism, the first guardian of the door of Brahman—(for if man looks at the world egotistically, then, taking the diadem of passion, the earrings of greed and envy, and the staff of sloth, sleep; and sin, and having seized the bow whose string is anger, and whose stick is lust, he destroys with the arrow which consists of wishes, all beings)—having therefore killed that guardian, he crosses by means of the boat Om to the other side of the ether within the heart, and when the ether becomes revealed (as Brahman), he enters slowly, as a miner seeking minerals in a mine, into the Hall of Brahman. After that let him, by means of the doctrine of his teacher, break through the shrine of Brahman, which consists of the four nets (of food, breath, mind, knowledge, till he reaches the last shrine, that of blessedness and identity with Brahman). Thenceforth pure,

similes are intended to show how, as soon as the impediment is removed, the worshipper obtains his true form, i.e. becomes Brahman. Afterwards he explains *ġittam*, thought, by the individual thinker, and declares that he vanishes together with the thought, which forms the *āsraya*, the place, or the *upādhi*, the outward form. Or again, he says that the *ġitta*, the mind, vanishes with its outward sign, viz. the thoughts and imaginations.

clean, undeveloped, tranquil, breathless, bodiless, endless, imperishable, firm, everlasting, unborn and independent, he stands on his own greatness¹, and having seen (the Self), standing in his own greatness, he looks on the wheel of the world as one (who has alighted from a chariot) looks on its revolving wheel. And thus it is said :

‘If a man practises Yoga for six months and is thoroughly free (from the outer world), then the perfect Yoga (union), which is endless, high, and hidden, is accomplished.

But if a man, though well enlightened (by instruction), is still pierced by (the *gunas* of) passion and darkness, and attached to his children, wife, and house, then perfect Yoga is never accomplished².’

29. After he had thus spoken (to *Brîhadratha*), *Sâkâyanya*, absorbed in thought, bowed before him, and said : ‘O King, by means of this Brahma-knowledge have the sons of *Pragâpati* (the *Vâlakhilyas*) gone to the road of Brahman. Through the practice of Yoga a man obtains contentment, power to endure good and evil, and tranquillity. Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to any one who is not his son or his pupil³, and who is not of a serene mind. To him alone who is devoted to his teacher only, and endowed with all necessary qualities, may he communicate it⁴.

¹ See *Maitr. Up.* II, 4 ; VI, 31.

² This would seem to have been the end of the dialogue between *Pragâpati* and the *Vâlakhilyas*, which, as related by *Sâkâyanya* to King *Brîhadratha*, began in II, 3. See, however, VII, 8.

³ *Svet. Up.* VI, 22 (p. 267) ; *Brîh. Up.* VI, 3, 12.

⁴ Here may have been the end of a chapter, but the story of *Sâkâyanya* and *Brîhadratha* is continued to VI, 30.

30. Om! Having settled down in a pure place let him, being pure himself, and firm in goodness, study the truth, speak the truth, think the truth, and offer sacrifice to the truth¹. Henceforth he has become another; by obtaining the reward of Brahman his fetters are cut asunder, he knows no hope, no fear from others as little as from himself, he knows no desires; and having attained imperishable, infinite happiness, he stands blessed in the true Brahman, who longs for a true man². Freedom from desires is, as it were, the highest prize to be taken from the best treasure (Brahman). For a man full of all desires, being possessed of will, imagination, and belief, is a slave; but he who is the opposite, is free.

Here some say, it is the *Guna*³ (i. e. the so-called Mahat, the principle of intellect which, according to the Sâṅkhyas, is the result of the *Gunas* or qualities), which, through the differences of nature (acquired in the former states of existence), goes into bondage to the will, and that deliverance takes place (for the *Guna*) when the fault of the will has been removed. (But this is not our view), because (call it *guna*, intellect, buddhi, manas, mind, ahaṅkāra, egotism, it is not the mind that acts, but) he sees by the mind (as his instrument), he hears by the mind; and all that we call

¹ The truth or the true are explained by, (1) the book which teaches the Highest Self; (2) by Brahman, who is to be spoken about; (3) by Brahman, who is to be meditated on; (4) by Brahman, who is to be worshipped in thought.

² I have translated this according to the commentary, but I should prefer to read *satyâbhilâshini*.

³ The passages within brackets had to be added from the commentary in order to make the text intelligible, at least according to Râmatîrtha's views.

desire, imagination, doubt, belief, unbelief, certainty, uncertainty, shame, thought, fear, all that is but mind (manas). Carried along by the waves of the qualities, darkened in his imaginations, unstable, fickle, crippled, full of desires, vacillating, he enters into belief, believing I am he, this is mine, and he binds his Self by his Self, as a bird with a net¹. Therefore a man, being possessed of will, imagination, and belief, is a slave, but he who is the opposite is free. For this reason let a man stand free from will, imagination, and belief—this is the sign of liberty, this is the path that leads to Brahman, this is the opening of the door, and through it he will go to the other shore of darkness. All desires are there fulfilled. And for this they quote a verse :

“When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state².”

Having thus said, Sākāyanya became absorbed in thought. Then Marut (i. e. the King *Bṛihadṛatha*)³, having bowed before him and duly worshipped him, went full of contentment to the Northern Path⁴, for there is no way thither by any side-road. This is the path to Brahman. Having burst open the solar door, he rose on high and went away. And here they quote :

‘There are endless rays (arteries) for the Self who, like a lamp, dwells in the heart: white and black, brown and blue, tawny and reddish⁵.

¹ See III, 2.

² See the same verse in *Kaṭha* Up. VI, 10.

³ See before, II, 1.

⁴ See *Prasṇa* Up. I, 10, ‘But those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge, gain by the Northern Path *Āditya*, the sun.’

⁵ See *Khând.* Up. VIII, 6, 1.

One of them (the Sushumnâ) leads upwards, piercing the solar orb : by it, having stepped beyond the world of Brahman, they go to the highest path.

The other hundred rays¹ rise upwards also, and on them the worshipper reaches the mansions belonging to the different bodies of gods.

But the manifest rays of dim colour which lead downwards, by them a man travels on and on helplessly, to enjoy the fruits of his actions here.'

Therefore it is said that the holy Âditya (sun) is the cause of new births (to those who do not worship him), of heaven (to those who worship him as a god), of liberty (to those who worship him as Brahman)².

31. Some one asks : 'Of what nature are those organs of sense that go forth (towards their objects)? Who sends them out here, or who holds them back?'

Another answers : 'Their nature is the Self ; the Self sends them out, or holds them back ; also the Apsaras (enticing objects of sense), and the solar rays (and other deities presiding over the senses).'

Now the Self devours the objects by the five rays (the organs of sense) ; then who is the Self?

He who has been defined by the terms pure, clean, undeveloped, tranquil³, &c., who is to be apprehended independently by his own peculiar signs. That sign of him who has no signs, is like what the pervading

¹ A similar verse, but with characteristic variations, occurs in the *Khând. Up.* VIII, 6, 6, and in the *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 16.

² Here ends the story of *Sâkâyanya*, which began I, 2, and was carried on through chap. VI, though that chapter and the seventh are called *Khilas*, or supplements, and though the MS. M. also ends, as we saw, with the eighth paragraph of the sixth chapter.

³ See before, II, 4 VI, 1⁵

heat is of fire, the purest taste of water ; thus say some¹. It is speech, hearing, sight, mind, breath ; thus say others². It is intellect, retention, remembering, knowledge ; thus say others³. Now all these are signs of the Self in the same sense in which here on earth shoots are the signs of seed, or smoke, light, and sparks of fire. And for this they quote⁴ :

‘As the sparks from the fire, and as the rays from the sun, thus do his Prâṇas and the rest in proper order again and again proceed from him here on earth.’

32. From this very Self, abiding within his Self, come forth all Prâṇas (speech, &c.), all worlds, all Vedas, all gods, and all beings ; its Upanishad (revelation)⁵ is that it is ‘the true of the true.’ Now as from a fire of greenwood, when kindled, clouds of smoke come forth by themselves (though belonging to the fire), thus from that great Being has been breathed forth all this which is the *Rig-veda*, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sâma-veda*, the *Atharvângirasas* (*Atharva-veda*), the *Itihâsa* (legendary stories), the *Purâna* (accounts of the creation, &c.), *Vidyâ* (ceremonial doctrines), the *Upanishads*, the *Slokas* (verses interspersed in the *Upanishads*, &c.), the *Sûtras* (compendious statements), the *Anuvyâkhyânas* (explanatory notes), the *Vyâkhyânas* (elucidations)⁶—all these things are his.

¹ See *Svet. Up.* VI, 13.

² See *Ken. Up.* 2.

³ See *Ait. Up.* III, 2. Here we find *dhr̥iti* (holding), *smṛ̥ti* (remembering), *pragñānam* (knowledge), but not *buddhi*. *Pragñānam* seems the right reading, and is supported by M.

⁴ See before, VI, 26.

⁵ Revelation is here the rendering of *Upanishad*, *upanigamaitritvât sâkshâdrahasyam*, and the true (*sattya*) is explained first by the five elements, and then by that which is their real essence.

⁶ See *K&and. Up.* VI, 1. The explanations given of these literary

33. This fire (the Gârhapatya-fire) with five bricks is the year. And its five bricks are spring, summer, rainy season, autumn, winter ; and by them the fire has a head, two sides, a centre, and a tail. This earth (the Gârhapatya-fire) here is the first sacrificial pile for Pragâpati, who knows the Purusha (the Virâg). It presented the sacrificer to Vâyû (the wind) by lifting him with the hands to the sky. That Vâyû is Prâna (Hiranyagarbha).

Prâna is Agni (the Dakshinâgni-fire), and its bricks are the five vital breaths, Prâna, Vyâna, Apâna, Samâna, Udâna ; and by them the fire has a head, two sides, a centre, and a tail. This sky (the Dakshinâgni-fire) here is the second sacrificial pile for Pragâpati, who knows the Purusha. It presented the sacrificer to Indra, by lifting him with the hands to heaven. That Indra is Âditya, the sun.

That (Indra) is the Agni (the Âhavanîya-fire), and its bricks are the *Rik*, the Yagush, the Sâman, the Atharvângirasas, the Itihâsa, and the Purâna ; and by them the fire has a head, two sides, a tail, and a centre. This heaven (Âhavanîya-fire) is the third sacrificial pile for Pragâpati, who knows the

titles are on the whole the same as those we had before in similar passages. What is peculiar to Râmatîrtha is that he explains Upanishad by such passages as we had just now, viz. its Upanishad is that it is the true of the true. The Slokas are explained as verses like those in VI, 19, *akittam kittamadhyastham*. The Sûtras are explained as comprehensive sentences, such as II, 2, *ayam vâva khalv âtmâ te*. Anuvyâkhyânas are taken as explanations following on the Sûtra in II, 2, beginning with *atha ya eshokâhâvâsâvish/ambhanena*. The Vyâkhyânas are taken as fuller statements of the meaning contained in the Sûtra, such as the dialogue between the Vâ lakhilyas and Kratu.

Purusha. With the hands it makes a present of the sacrificer to the Knower of the Self (Pragâpati); then the Knower of the Self, lifting him up, presented him to Brahman. In him he becomes full of happiness and joy.

34. The earth is the Gârhapatya-fire, the sky the Dakshina-fire, the heaven the Âhavanîya-fire; and therefore they are also the Pavamâna (pure), the Pāvaka (purifying), and the Suḍi (bright)¹. By this (by the three deities, Pavamâna, Pāvaka, and Suḍi) the sacrifice (of the three fires, the Gârhapatya, Dakshina, and Âhavanîya) is manifested. And because the digestive fire also is a compound of the Pavamâna, Pāvaka, and Suḍi, therefore that fire is to receive oblations, is to be laid with bricks, is to be praised, and to be meditated on. The sacrificer, when he has seized the oblation, wishes² to perform his meditation of the deity:

‘The gold-coloured bird abides in the heart, and in the sun—a diver bird, a swan, strong in splendour; him we worship in the fire.’

Having recited the verse, he discovers its meaning, viz. the adorable splendour of Savitrî (sun) is to be meditated on by him who, abiding within his mind, meditates thereon. Here he attains the place of rest for the mind, he holds it within his own Self. On this there are the following verses:

(1) As a fire without fuel becomes quiet in its

¹ Epithets of Agni, the sacrificial-fire, pavamâna applying to the Gârhapatya-fire, pāvaka to the Dakshina-fire, and suḍi to the Âhavanîya-fire. The construction of the sentence, however, is imperfect.

² This means, he ought to perform it.

place¹, thus do the thoughts, when all activity ceases, become quiet² in their place.

(2) Even in a mind which loves the truth³ and has gone to rest in itself there arise, when it is deluded by the objects of sense, wrongs resulting from former acts⁴.

(3) For thoughts alone cause the round of births⁵; let a man strive to purify his thoughts. What a man thinks, that he is: this is the old secret⁶.

(4) By the serenity of his thoughts a man blots out all actions, whether good or bad. Dwelling within his Self with serene thoughts, he obtains imperishable happiness.

(5) If the thoughts of a man were so fixed on Brahman as they are on the things of this world, who would not then be freed from bondage?

(6) The mind, it is said, is of two kinds, pure or impure; impure from the contact with lust, pure when free from lust⁷.

(7) When a man, having freed his mind from sloth, distraction, and vacillation, becomes as it were delivered from his mind⁸, that is the highest point.

(8) The mind must be restrained in the heart till it comes to an end;—that is knowledge, that is liberty: all the rest are extensions of the ties⁹ (which bind us to this life).

¹ Dies in the fireplace.

² M. reads *uparâmtyati* twice.

³ M. reads *satyakâminaḥ*.

⁴ The commentator inserts a negative.

⁵ M. reads *samsâraḥ*.

⁶ This is very like the teaching of the Dhammapada, I, 1.

⁷ Cf. Ind. Stud. II, 60. Brahnavindu Up. v. 1, where we read *kâmasaṅkalpam*, as in MS. M.

⁸ See note to VI, 20.

⁹ M. reads *mokshaḥ* and *śeṣaḥ* tu. The commentator says that

(9) That happiness which belongs to a mind which by deep meditation has been washed¹ clean from all impurity and has entered within the Self, cannot be described here by words ; it can be felt by the inward power only².

(10) Water in water, fire in fire, ether in ether, no one can distinguish them ; likewise a man whose mind has entered (till it cannot be distinguished from the Self), attains liberty.

(11) Mind alone is the cause of bondage and liberty for men ; if attached to the world, it becomes bound ; if free from the world, that is liberty³.

Therefore those who do not offer the Agnihotra (as described above), who do not lay the fires (with the bricks, as described above), who are ignorant (of the mind being the cause of the round of births), who do not meditate (on the Self in the solar orb) are debarred from remembering the ethereal place of Brahman. Therefore that fire is to receive oblations, is to be laid with bricks, is to be praised, to be meditated on.

35⁴. Adoration to Agni, the dweller on earth, who remembers his world. Grant that world to this thy worshipper !

Adoration to Vâyu, the dweller in the sky, who remembers his world. Grant that world to this thy worshipper !

this line is easy, but it is so by no means. Professor Cowell translates *granthavistarâh* by book-prolixity, but this sounds very strange in an Upanishad. I am not satisfied with my own translation, but it may stand till a better one is found. M. reads *grîndhavistarâh*. The *granthis* are mentioned in *Khând. Up. VII, 26* ; *Ka/h. Up. VI, 15*.

¹ M. reads *nirdhûta*.

² M. reads *karaneti*.

³ M. reads *vishayâsaktam muktyai*.

⁴ Next follow invocations to be addressed to the deities.

Adoration to Âditya, the dweller in heaven, who remembers his world. Grant that world to this thy worshipper!

Adoration to Brahman, who dwells everywhere, who remembers all. Grant all to this thy worshipper!

The mouth of the true (Brahman) is covered with a golden lid; open that, O Pûshan (sun), that we may go to the true one, who pervades all (Vishnu)¹.

He who is the person in the sun, I am he².

And what is meant by the true one is the essence of the sun, that which is bright, personal, sexless³; a portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether; which is, as it were, in the midst of the sun, and in the eye, and in the fire. That is Brahman, that is immortal, that is splendour.

That is the true one, a portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether, which is in the midst of the sun, the immortal, of which Soma (the moon) and the vital breaths also are offshoots: that is Brahman, that is immortal, that is splendour.

That is the true one, a portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether, which in the midst of the sun shines as Yagus, viz. as Om, as water, light, essence, immortal, Brahman, Bhûh, Bhuva, Svar, Om.

‘The eight-footed⁴, the bright, the swan, bound

¹ The verse occurs in a more original form in Tal. Up. 15.

² The commentator adds *iti* after *aham*.

³ *Khând.* Up. I, 6, 6; *Svet.* Up. V, 10.

⁴ The eight feet are explained as the eight regions, or *âroga* and the rest. The swan is the sun. The three threads are the three Vedas; see *Kûl.* Up. I, 1; *Ind. Stud.* IX, 11—*ashṭapâdam suṭir hamsam trisûtram manim avyayam, dvivartamânam taigasaidham*

with three threads, the infinitely small, the imperishable, blind for good and evil, kindled with light—he who sees him, sees everything.’

A portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether, are the two rays rising in the midst of the sun. That is the knower¹ (the Sun), the true one. That is the Yagus, that is the heat, that is Agni (fire), that is Vâyu (wind), that is breath, that is water, that is the moon, that is bright, that is immortal, that is the place of Brahman, that is the ocean of light. In that ocean the sacrificers are dissolved² like salt, and that is oneness with Brahman, for all desires are there fulfilled. And here they quote :

‘Like a lamp, moved by a gentle wind, he who dwells within the gods shines forth. He who knows this, he is the knower, he knows the difference (between the high and the highest Brahman); having obtained unity, he becomes identified with it.

They who rise up in endless number, like spray drops (from the sea), like lightnings from the light within the clouds in the highest heaven, they, when they have entered into the light of glory (Brahman), appear like so many flame-crests in the track of fire.’

36. There are two manifestations of the Brahma-light : one is tranquil, the other lively. Of that which is tranquil, the ether is the support ; of that which is lively, food. Therefore (to the former) sacrifice must be offered on the house-altar with hymns, herbs, ghee, meat, cakes, sthâlpâka, and other things ; to the latter, with meat and drinks (belonging to the great sacrifices) thrown into the mouth, for the mouth

sarvaḥ pāyan na pāyati. Here the eight feet are explained as the five elements, manas, buddhi, and ahaṅkāra.

¹ Savit for savitri.

² Vilīyante for vilīyante.

is the Âhavanîya-fire ; and this is done to increase our bodily vigour, to gain the world of purity, and for the sake of immortality. And here they quote :

‘Let him who longs for heaven, offer an Agni-hotra. By an Agnishôma he wins the kingdom of Yama ; by Uktha, the kingdom of Soma ; by a Shodasin-sacrifice, the kingdom of Sûrya ; by an Atirâtra-sacrifice, the kingdom of Indra ; by the sacrifices beginning with the twelve-night sacrifice and ending with the thousand years’ sacrifice, the world of Pragâpati.

As a lamp burns so long as the vessel that holds the wick is filled with oil, these two, the Self and the bright Sun, remain so long as the egg (of the world) and he who dwells within it hold together.’

37. Therefore let a man perform all these ceremonies with the syllable Om (at the beginning). Its splendour is endless, and it is declared to be three-fold, in the fire (of the altar), in the sun (the deity), in the breath (the sacrificer). Now this is the channel to increase the food, which makes what is offered in the fire ascend to the sun. The sap which flows from thence, rains down as with the sound of a hymn. By it there are vital breaths, from them there is offspring. And here they quote :

‘The offering which is offered in the fire, goes to the sun ; the sun rains it down by his rays ; thus food comes, and from food the birth of living beings.’

And thus he said :

‘The oblation which is properly thrown on the fire, goes toward the sun ; from the sun comes rain, from rain food, from food living beings¹.’

¹ See Manu III, 76.

38. He who offers the Agnihotra breaks through the net of desire. Then, cutting through bewilderment, never approving of anger, meditating on one desire (that of liberty), he breaks through the shrine of Brahman with its four nets, and proceeds thence to the ether. For having there broken through the (four) spheres of the Sun, the Moon, the Fire, and Goodness, he then, being purified himself, beholds dwelling in goodness, immovable, immortal, indestructible, firm, bearing the name of Vishnu, the highest abode, endowed with love of truth and omniscience, the self-dependent Intelligence (Brahman), standing in its own greatness. And here they quote :

‘In the midst of the sun stands the moon, in the midst of the moon the fire, in the midst of fire goodness, in the midst of goodness the Eternal.’

Having meditated on him who has the breadth of a thumb within the span (of the heart) in the body, who is smaller than small, he obtains the nature of the Highest ; there all desires are fulfilled. And on this they quote :

‘Having the breadth of a thumb within the span (of the heart) in the body, like the flame of a lamp, burning twofold or threefold, that glorified Brahman, the great God, has entered into all the worlds. Om ! Adoration to Brahman ! Adoration !’

SEVENTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. Agni, the Gâyatra (metre), the Trivṛt (hymn), the Rathantara (song), the spring, the upward breath (prâṇa), the Nakshatras, the Vasus (deities)—these rise in the East ; they warm, they rain, they praise¹

¹ Other MSS. read *sruvanti*, which seems better.

(the sun), they enter again into him (the sun), they look out from him (the sun). He (the sun) is inconceivable, without form, deep, covered, blameless, solid, unfathomable, without qualities, pure, brilliant, enjoying the play of the three qualities, awful, not caused, a master-magician¹, the omniscient, the mighty, immeasurable, without beginning or end, blissful, unborn, wise, indescribable, the creator of all things, the self of all things, the enjoyer of all things, the ruler of all things, the centre of the centre of all things.

2. Indra, the Trishṭubh (metre), the Pañḥadasa (hymn), the Brīhat (song), the summer, the through-going breath (Vyāna), Soma, the Rudras—these rise in the South; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him. He (the sun) is without end or beginning, unmeasured, unlimited, not to be moved by another, self-dependent, without sign, without form, of endless power, the creator, the maker of light.

3. The Maruts, the Gagatī (metre), the Saptadasa (hymn), the Vairupa (song), the rainy season, the downward breath (apāna), Sukra, the Âdityas—these rise in the West; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him. That is the tranquil, the soundless, fearless, sorrowless, joyful, satisfied, firm, immovable, immortal, eternal, true, the highest abode, bearing the name of Vishṇu.

4. The Visve Devas, the Anushṭubh (metre), the Ekaviṃśa (hymn), the Vairāga (song), the autumn, the equal breath (samāna), Varuṇa, the Sādhyas—these rise in the North; they warm, they rain, they

¹ See VII, 11, abhidhyātur viśrātir iva.

praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him. He is pure within, purifying, undeveloped, tranquil, breathless, selfless, endless.

5. Mitrâ-Varunau, the Pañkti (metre), the Trina-vatrayastrimsa (hymns), the Sâkvara-raivata (songs), the snowy and dewy seasons, the out-going breath (udâna), the Ângiras, the Moon—these rise above ; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him—who is called Pranava (Om), the leader, consisting of light, without sleep, old age, death, and sorrow.

6. Sani (Saturn), Rahu and Ketu (the ascending and descending nodes), the serpents, Rakshas, Yakshas, men, birds, sarabhas, elephants, &c.—these rise below ; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him—he who is wise, who keeps things in their right place, the centre of all, the imperishable, the pure, the purifier, the bright, the patient, the tranquil.

7. And he is indeed the Self, smaller (than small) within the heart, kindled like fire, endowed with all forms. Of him is all this food, within him all creatures are woven. That Self is free from sin¹, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, imagining nothing but what it ought to imagine, and desiring nothing but what it ought to desire. He is the highest lord, he is the supreme master of all beings, the guardian of all beings, a boundary keeping all things apart in their right places². He the Self, the lord, is indeed Sambhu, Bhava, Rudra, Pragâpati, the creator of all, Hiranya-

¹ See *Khând. Up.* VIII, 7, 1.

² See *Khând. Up.* VIII, 4, 1, where we find *setur vidhrîr eshâm lokânâm*.

garbha, the true, breath, the swan, the ruler, the eternal, Vishnu, Nârâyana. And he who abides in the fire, and he who abides in the heart, and he who abides in the sun, they are one and the same. To thee who art this, endowed with all forms, settled in the true ether, be adoration !

8. Now follow the impediments in the way of knowledge, O King¹ ! This is indeed the origin of the net of bewilderment, that one who is worthy of heaven lives with those who are not worthy of heaven. That is it. Though they have been told that there is a grove before them, they cling to a small shrub. And others also who are always merry, always abroad, always begging, always making a living by handiwork ; and others who are begging in towns, performing sacrifices for those who are not allowed to offer sacrifices, who make themselves the pupils of Sûdras, and Sûdras who know the sacred books ; and others who are malignant, who use bad language, dancers, prize-fighters, travelling mendicants, actors, those who have been degraded in the king's service ; and others who for money pretend that they can lay (the evil influences) of Yakshas, Râkshasas, ghosts, goblins, devils, serpents, imps, &c. ; and others who falsely wear red dresses², earrings, and skulls ; and others who wish to entice by the jugglery of false arguments, mere comparisons and paralogisms, the believers in the Veda—with all these he should not

¹ This king is not meant for Brîhadratha.

² This refers to people who claim the privileges and licence of Sannyâsins without having passed through the discipline of the preceding âramas. As this was one of the chief complaints made against the followers of Sâkyamuni, it might refer to Buddhists, but it ought to be borne in mind that there were Buddhists before Buddha.

live together. They are clearly thieves, and unworthy of heaven. And thus it is said :

‘The world unsettled by the paralogisms of the denial of Self, by false comparisons and arguments, does not know what is the difference between Veda and philosophy¹.’

9. *Br̥haspati*, having become *Sukra*, brought forth that false knowledge for the safety of *Indra* and for the destruction of the *Asuras*. By it they show that good is evil, and that evil is good. They say that we ought to ponder on the (new) law, which upsets the Veda and the other sacred books². Therefore let no one ponder on that false knowledge : it is wrong, it is, as it were, barren. Its reward lasts only as long as the pleasure lasts, as with one who has fallen from his caste. Let that false science not be attempted, for thus it is said :

(1) Widely opposed and divergent are these two, the one known as false knowledge, the other as knowledge. I (*Yama*) believe *Naṭiketas* to be possessed by a desire of knowledge ; even many pleasures do not move thee³.

(2) He who knows at the same time both the imperfect (sacrifice, &c.) and the perfect knowledge (of the Self), he crosses death by means of the imperfect, and obtains immortality by means of the perfect knowledge⁴.

(3) Those who are wrapped up⁵ in the midst of

¹ If we translate thus, the use of *vidyâ* for *vr̥thâ* *vidyâ* is unusual ; if we follow the commentary, we should have to translate, he does not know the Veda and the other knowledge.

² All this may refer to Buddhists, but not by necessity, for there were heretics, such as *Br̥haspati*, long before *Sâkyamuni*.

³ See *Kaṭh.* Up. II, 4.

⁴ See *Vâg.* Up. II, 11.

⁵ *Veshṭyamânâḥ*, instead of *vartamânâḥ*.

imperfect knowledge, fancying themselves alone wise and learned, they wander about floundering and deceived, like the blind led by the blind¹.

10. The gods and the demons, wishing to know the Self, went into the presence of Brahman (their father, Pragâpati)². Having bowed before him, they said: 'O blessed one, we wish to know the Self, do thou tell us.' Then, after having pondered a long while, he thought, these demons are not yet self-subdued³; therefore a very different Self was told to them (from what was told to the gods). On that Self these deluded demons take their stand, clinging to it, destroying the true means of salvation (the Veda), preaching untruth. What is untrue they see as true, as in jugglery. Therefore, what is taught in the Vedas, that is true. What is said in the Vedas, on that the wise keep their stand. Therefore let a Brâhman not read what is not of the Veda, or this will be the result.

11. This is indeed the nature of it (the Veda), the supreme light of the ether which is within the heart. This is taught as threefold, in the fire, in the sun, in the breath. This is indeed the nature of it, the syllable Om, of the ether which is within the heart. By it (by the Om) that (light) starts, rises, breathes forth, becomes for ever the means of the worship and knowledge of Brahman. That (light, in the shape of

¹ See *Kaṭh. Up.* II, 5.

² Cf. *Khând. Up.* VIII, 8.

³ I prefer *ayatât mânâh*, though it is the easier (*sugama*) reading, as compared with *anyatât mânâh*, those who seek for the Self elsewhere, namely, in the body. It seems to me to refer to those who, without having subdued the passions of their body, wish to obtain the knowledge of the Highest Self. Possibly, however, the author may have intended a climax from *ayatât mânâh* to *anyatamam*.

Om), when there is breathing, takes the place of the internal heat, free from all brightness¹. This is like the action of smoke; for when there is a breath of air, the smoke, first rising to the sky in one column, follows afterwards every bough, envelopes it and takes its shape². It is like throwing salt (into water), like heating ghee³. The Veda comes and goes like the dissolving view of a master-magician⁴. And here they quote:

‘Why then is it called “like lightning?” Because as soon as it comes forth (as Om) it lights up the whole body. Therefore let a man worship that boundless light by the syllable Om.’

(1) The man in the eye who abides in the right eye, he is Indra, and his wife abides in the left eye⁵.

(2) The union of these two takes place in the cavity within the heart, and the ball of blood which is there, that is indeed the vigour and life of these two.

(3) There is a channel going from the heart so far, and fixed in that eye; that is the artery for both of them, being one, divided into two.

¹ This seems to be the meaning adopted by the commentator; but may it not be, sending forth brightness?

² The simile is not very clear. The light of Brahman is below the sphere of fire in the body. That sphere of fire becoming heated, the light of Brahman becomes manifest. When the fire has been fanned by the wind of sonant breath, then the light of Brahman, embodying itself in the wind and the fire, manifests itself first in the mere sound of Om, but afterwards, checked by throat, palate, &c., it assumes the form of articulate letters, and ends by becoming the Veda in its many branches.

³ As these are outwardly changed, without losing their nature, thus the light of Brahman, though assuming the different forms of the Veda, remains itself.

⁴ See before, VII, 1.

⁵ See *Bṛh. Up.* IV, 2, 2, 3, where Indra is explained as Indha.

(4) The mind excites the fire of the body, that fire stirs the breath, and the breath, moving in the chest, produces the low sound.

(5) Brought forth by the touch of the fire, as with a churning-stick, it is at first a minim, from the minim it becomes in the throat a double minim; on the tip of the tongue know that it is a treble minim, and, when uttered, they call it the alphabet (στοιχεῖα)¹.

(6) He who sees this, does not see death, nor disease, nor misery, for seeing he sees all (objectively, not as affecting him subjectively); he becomes all everywhere (he becomes Brahman).

(7) There is the person in the eye, there is he who walks as in sleep, he who is sound asleep, and he who is above the sleeper: these are the four conditions (of the Self), and the fourth is greater than all².

(8) Brahman with one foot moves in the three, and Brahman with three feet is in the last.

¹ A comparison of this verse with *Khând. Up. VII, 26*, shows the great freedom with which the wording of these ancient verses was treated. Instead of—

Na pasyan *mṛityum* pasyati na rogāṃ nota duḥkhatām,
Sarvāṃ hi pasyan pasyati sarvāṃ āpnoti sarvasaḥ,

the *Khândogya Up.* reads:

Na pasyo *mṛityum* pasyati na rogāṃ nota duḥkhatām,
Sarvāṃ ha pasyaḥ pasyati sarvāṃ āpnoti sarvasaḥ.

² The conditions here described are sometimes called the *Viśva* (*Vaiśvānara*), *Tāgasa*, *Prāgñā*, and *Turīya*. In the first state the Self is awake, and enjoys the world; in the second he sees everything as in a dream; in the third the two former states cease, and he is absorbed in sleep; in the fourth he becomes again the pure Self. In the first state the Self has the disguise of a coarse material body; in the second of a subtle material body; in the third its disguise is potential only; in the fourth it has no disguise, either potential or realised.

It is that both the true (in the fourth condition) and the untrue (in the three conditions) may have their desert, that the Great Self (seems to) become two, yes, that he (seems to) become two¹.

¹ 'By reason of the experience of the false and the true, the great Soul appears possessed of duality.' Cowell.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.										
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.							.	
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 𐬙 (ng) } { 𐬚 (ñ) }	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	h, hs	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	.	
8 " lenis	,	.	.							.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.							.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.							.	
11 " asper fricatus		'h	.							.	
12 " lenis fricatus		'h	.							.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	k	.	क	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	ख	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	ग	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	.
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	घ	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	.
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ñ	.	ङ	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	.	.	य	𐬨	𐬎	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	.	(ʔ)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
20 " lenis . . . . .	.	(j)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	.	s	.	श	𐬑	𐬑	ش	ش	ש	.
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	.	z	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	.	.	त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	.	.	थ	𐬕	𐬕	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata	d	.	TH	द	.	.	.	.	.	.
26 Media	dh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
27 " aspirata . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
28 " assibilata . . . . .	.	.	DH	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
29 Nasalis	n	.	.	न	.	.	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	.	.	ल	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	.	l	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	.	.	L	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	.	.	स	𐬑	𐬑	س	س	ש	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	.	.	s (ʃ)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
35 " lenis	z	.	.	.	.	.	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	.	.	z (ʒ)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	.	.	z (ʒ)	.	.	.	.	.	.	ʒ, ʒh

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	48 Tenuis	ph
40 Media	d	49 " aspirata	b
41 " aspirata	dh	50 Media	bh
42 Nasalis	n	51 " aspirata	
43 Semivocalis	r	52 Tenuissima	m
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	w
45 " diacritica		54 Semivocalis	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	f
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	v
		57 " lenis	m
		58 Anusvāra	h
		59 Visarga	

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	0									
1 Neutralis	0			.	.	.	.	.	.	ǎ . . .
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ǎ			.	.	.	.	.	.	â . . .
3 " labialis	ǒ			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			.	.	.	.	.	.	â . . .
5 " longa	ā	(a)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
6 Palatalis brevis	i			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
7 " longa	ī	(i)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
8 Dentalis brevis	ɿ			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
9 " longa	ɿ̄			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
11 " longa	rī			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
12 Labialis brevis	u			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
13 " longa	ū	(u)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
15 " longa	é(ai)	(e)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
17 " "	ei(ēi)			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
18 " "	oi(ōu)			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
20 " longa	ô(au)	(o)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
22 " "	eu(ēu)			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
23 " "	ou(ōu)			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			.	.	.	.	.	.	î . . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			î . . .
26 Labialis fracta	ū			î . . .
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			î . . .

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